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EXERCISES,

POLITICAL AND OTHERS.

By Lieut. Colonel T. Perronet Thompson.

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Consisting of matter previously published with and without the author's name, and of some not published before.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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PREFACE

TO ALL THE VOLUMES.

THE first impression on review of this publication, part of which dates from a considerable time back, is the very slight degree in which circumstances are substantially altered. Like the mounted sentries at the Horse Guards, they might be taken for the same instead of a succession; so like in all important points is the new face of things to the old. It may not be John, it may be Robert, whose feet are actually in the stirrups; but Robert and John are one, in the eyes of the rustic spectator who looks only to the general effect.

Scarcely any great quarrel existed at the earliest period referred to, of which the roots are not as much in the ground as ever, though some of the stalks have been pulled up. The argument on the Catholic Question, may be re-read with a transference to Church Monopolies of other kinds; and the agitation preceding the Reform Bill, may hold a lantern to show how little has been accomplished, and how much thrown away.

In the department of Political Economy, something like a manual for one side of the struggle at this moment at its height, may be collected from the subjects and quotations introduced.

On what has obtained the name of the "Greatest-Happiness Principle," a continued discussion will be found kept up. The writer would be glad to think he had availed to make the subject clearer, to any of those who profess to find difficulties in the style or matter of the original propounder.

On the Military System of Napoleon, he has endeavoured to collect and compress, what might be sought and perhaps missed, in the pages of bulletins and the comments of friends and foes. On some military questions of detail, articles and observations will be found, which must owe any interest, to having been framed under the guidance of experiment, and published generally with some view to the advancement of the liberal cause.

On the principles of Geometry as connected with the *vexata quæstio* of the Theory of Parallels, inquiries will be found which, like those of the alchemists, lead to useful results though without implying a claim to general success. On the mathematics of Music, observations and experiments will be met with, which when the tide shall set in that direction, may be turned to the improvement of the executive branch of Harmony.

The documents connected with Sierra Leone point to remarkable facts in the history of that colony. The Treaty of January

1820 in the Persian Gulph, is a transcript of the first public act in which the Slave Trade was written down Piracy.

The "Letters of a Representative" were written to the constituency of Hull, during a short period of sitting in parliament. That the consequence on the first opportunity was permanent exclusion from the House of Commons, by the exertions at different times and places of the leaders of almost every class assuming the name of Liberals, may be not without its value to such as may ever employ themselves in raking among the characteristics of the times. *Eight* Conservatives, with more or less directness, were introduced in part of process; of whom five were on the benches at once, making a difference of ten upon the votes, being within two or three of some of the majorities by which the Whigs were expelled from office.

On Irish questions, the author has gone as close to the enemy, as any sane leader could desire. The return made him, was fierce attack from the "boys" of Kilkenny, when he was seen ridden over as in the way of the compact by which three kingdoms were turned over to the Tories.

Both in those Letters, and others to various portions of the public press which follow, useful references will be found to gone-by events, and to the feelings and arguments by which they were attended. If proof is sometimes presented of the prudence of dealing with enemies as if they were some day to be friends, and with friends as if they were to be enemies, there can be nothing surprising in finding a precept of antiquity confirmed by the experience of the passing hour.

On one point, an observation may be serviceable. The writer adhered to the people called Chartists, till they denounced him in their gazette and added the enormous childishness of telling the House of Commons they wanted an edge tool and wanted it to cut the givers' throats. On such adhesion, there will of course be a diversity of opinions; but there are always enough to quit the party of the poor, the moment abiding by it will make an unfavourable balance of twenty votes at an election. The observation intended was, that much of what the Chartists did not use, might be found cut and dried for any other portion of the public, who should apply themselves to compass a substantial and not a mock Reform.

To A. S., J. S., and S. B., Esqs., the survivors of the friends mentioned in the Appendix, the thanks of the writer are due, for the readiness with which they permitted the use of Articles in which a mixture of hands was concerned.

Blackheath, London. 1 *August*, 1842.

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ERRATA.

In Vol. I. p. 368, *line* 25, *for* nigh *read* high.

In Vol. II. p. 136, *line* 5, *for* Chapter XVII *read* Chapter XVIII.
p. 217, *last word, for* ou *read* no.
p. 224, head line, for *Supplement to Article on* read *Supplement to Article on Silk and Glove Trades.*

In Vol. III. p. 97, bottom line, for *Imprisonment* read *Impressment.*
p. 175, *line* 36, *for* inferrible *read* inferible.
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p. 433, *line* 35, *dele* * *at the end.*

In Vol. IV. p. 63, *line* 2, *for* 1838 *read* 1836.
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In Vol. VI. p. 67 *and p.* 90, two Letters to the *Editor of the Statesman* should be transposed; as is apparent from their dates.

END OF INDEX.

Programme to the Westminster Review for 1 January, 1834.

THE Whigs refuse to put down the Corn Laws. They say they are convinced the robbers do not benefit; but as the robbers are not yet convinced, they will wait till they are.

As the people, however, are beginning to stir in their own cause, it is time for them to be considering what they mean to do. The advice given to them is, to allow their adversaries a reasonable graduality of change; but to insist not only on removal, but on retribution. The lightest retribution ever heard of in such cases, is the Mosaic fivefold restitution; but they are advised to waive the fivefold restitution, and stand upon the principle of a tax on home-grown corn, for the benefit of the manufacturers, for nineteen years, and as nearly as possible of the same pressure as the other. Of course the landlords will see their interest, in the benefit thus done to their best customers the manufacturers. But to make the retribution more beneficial to the public without increasing the suffering of the criminals, it should be commuted into a Tax on Rent, to be entitled in the Act the "Compensation Rent-Tax," of such magnitude as to be in perpetual value equal to the nineteen years' tax specified.

Anything short of this, would be only holding out the English people to sale, to anybody who through the corruption of Parliaments can for a season get the upper hand of them.

At the same time the people will do right at all times to take anything they can get;—always remembering that they and their children are sworn, like Hannibal and the little Plunketts, not to stop short in the end, of all they have determined on. The moment the Whigs see it is a bad case, they will apply themselves to make the best bargain for the plunderers, as in the instance of the other Slavery; and there is no reason why the people should pay twenty millions for their own pillage, again.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, 1 January, 1834.

ART. I.—*The Bridgewater Treatises, on the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, as manifested in the Creation.* Treatise I. *The Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man.* By the Rev. Thomas Chalmers D.D. Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh.—2 vols. 8vo. London. Pickering. 1833.

TO Cambridge men, at least of standing, the word "virtue" is apt to suggest the recollection of a hack preacher (as was thirty years ago the not very civil term for a divine that preached for any of the Masters of Arts in their turns for a *consideration*), now probably gathered to his fathers; in whose discourses this word made a disproportionate figure, with the further disadvantage of being turned by some provincial or other peculiarity into the sound of "vartue." The good man old, whose effigy surmounts the present page*, was fond, in his post-prandial hours, of satirizing this kind of verbiage by quoting a Westminster boy's theme which once began, "*There is nothing so virtuous as virtue.*" It is astonishing what a proportion of the world's wisdom in the ethical department, this promising youngster compressed into his procœmium.

The history of the Bridgewater Treatises is pretty generally known. The Right Honourable and Reverend Francis Henry, Earl of Bridgewater,—distinguished by the possession of immense wealth, and by leading a most eccentric and unclerical life at Paris, as far as can well be from anything like the odour of sanctity,—left at his death eight thousand pounds to establish the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God. It is not universally necessary to recall the failings of individuals; but when the Quarterly Review chuses to be diffuse upon the case, to the honour and glory of a clerical nobility, it becomes a fraud not to state the whole. Money however, as the Roman emperor said, has never an ill smell; and the Trustee, with the assistance of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, divided the bequest into eight parts, and appointed eight gentlemen to write separate Treatises on different branches of the subject, of whom the Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh is placed the first.

If the branch-subject undertaken by the author, was assigned to him by the high authorities engaged, he may justly complain that they gave him what John Bunyan would have called

* In the Westminster Review, a head of Bentham, from the period of his death, appeared in a medallion at the top of the leading article.

"hard nuts," without even the certainty of advantage arising from "hard *texts* when crack'd." What *is* "External Nature"? What is "the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man"? And what above all is "The Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man"? Numbers will be at a loss to tell, before they have read the book; and it may in fairness be ascribed to the nature of the subject, if a great proportion of them are not much more illuminated afterwards.

The object here, however, is not so much to examine the degree of success with which the subject has been pursued, as to answer the remarks which the author has been led from time to time to direct against the people called Utilitarians;—to compare the magnitude of his results and theirs,—and to point out the "more excellent way" in which he might profitably have exerted his talents and his industry.

He begins by quarrelling with "atheistical writers." This was perhaps a necessary deference to his employers. La Place turns out to be the culprit; and when his crime is examined, it proves to be the having "endeavoured to demonstrate of the law of gravitation, that, in respect of its being inversely proportional to the square of the distance from the centre, it is an essential property of matter." [Vol. I. p. 17.] There appears small policy in fixing on a speculation, which in the first place La Place could not be expected to conceal if he thought it true, and which in the next place had always been considered as put beyond doubt in question of fact, ever since Dr. Maskelyne's celebrated experiment on the mountain Schehallien. If it be true that all matter so attracts, what so innocent as the surmise that there is some reason common to all matter *why* it so attracts? A cowled monk, would hardly have spied sin beneath the thought. If the author and Professor Robison believe what they teach to be true, why should they have qualms lest it should be disproved or weakened by the discoveries of La Place? Either it is true, or it is not. If it is true, is there any danger that La Place should disprove it? If La Place can disprove it, do they want what is not true to be believed? The tremulous Professors appear to be in the figure called a crocodile. And after all, is not this exactly the folly displayed in the case of Galileo? The clergy of that day were afraid that Galileo should disprove something they wished to teach. And what would have been the result if they had succeeded, except that we should have believed this speck we walk on and the twinkling lights that shine on it, to be the limits of God's creation,—instead of knowing that the heaven of heavens can-

not contain Him, and the verge of man's imaginations is but the threshold of His works?

At the same time it must be acknowledged that the church is made of stretching materials; it always gives up a point when it is forced. The mark it aims at, is invariably the undecided state, between suspicion of truth, and certainty; when sacerdotal discouragement may by possibility check some inquiry, and smother some discovery in its birth. For example, forty years ago it was an unpardonable offence to believe, suspect, or insinuate, that anything in the world was older than some six thousand years the theologians assigned to it; witness the hard measure poured out upon a certain Abbé Recupero, who persisted in making "his mountain" older than was orthodox; witness too, Cowper's witty and well-meant lines,—

> 'Some drill and bore
> The solid earth, and from the strata there
> Extract a register, by which we learn,
> That he who made it, and reveal'd its date
> To Moses, was mistaken in its age.'

None of them ever suspected that a time might come, when they would be glad to say they were wrong in believing the date had been revealed. But the thing that has been, is the thing that will be; and when the clergy complain, as they are apt to do, of the little influence they possess over men and men's affairs, the hereditary "obscurantism" of their caste is, to a considerable extent, at once the reason and the defence.

But the author hastens to involve himself in controversy, and to break a lance with the haters of Axioms.

'But, although in the mental department of creation, the argument for a God that is gathered out of such materials, is not so strong as in the other great department—yet it does furnish a peculiar argument of its own, which, though not grounded on mathematical data, and not derived from a lengthened and logical process of reasoning, is of a highly effective and practical character notwithstanding. It has not less in it of the substance, though it may have greatly less in it of the semblance of demonstration, that it consists of but one step between the premises and the conclusion. It is briefly, but cannot be more clearly and emphatically, expressed than in the following sentence.—"He that formed the eye, shall he not see? He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? He that teacheth man knowledge, shall he not know?" That the parent cause of intelligent beings shall be itself intelligent is an aphorism, which, if not demonstrable in the forms of logic, carries in the very announcement of it a challenging power over the acquiescence of almost all spirits. It is a thing of instant conviction, as if seen in the light of its own

evidence, more than a thing of lengthened and laborious proof. It may be stigmatized as a mere impression—nevertheless the most of intellects go as readily along with it, as they would from one *contiguous* step to another of many a stately argumentation. If it cannot be exhibited as the conclusion of a syllogism, it is because of its own inherent right to be admitted there as the major proposition. To proscribe every such truth, or to disown it from being truth, merely because incapable of deduction, would be to cast away the first principles of all reasoning. It would banish the authority of intuition, and so reduce all philosophy and knowledge to a state of universal scepticism—for what is the first departure of every argument but an intuition, and what but a series of intuitions are its successive stepping-stones? We should soon involve ourselves in helpless perplexity and darkness, did we insist on every thing being proved and on nothing being assumed—for valid assumptions are the materials of truth, and the only office of argument is to weave them together into so many pieces of instruction for the bettering or enlightening of the species.'—I. *p.* 35.

A stout gentleman in one of the small colleges, subsequently an imposing dignitary of the church in the fens, was celebrated for having maintained in the lecture-room the uselessness of Euclid's demonstrations; and when the blushing lecturer asked how he knew the propositions to be true, he replied magnanimously,—"By intuition." Akin to this is probably the Scottish Professor's notion of the term. What *is* "intuition," but the perceiving a thing to be so and so at sight? and has anybody ever objected to a thing being received when the evidence at sight is distinct and unsuspected? But the misfortune is, that this evidence at sight is generally no evidence at all. What is opposed, therefore, is the making of assumptions upon evidence that may be no evidence. In the immediate instance, the whole is perfectly explicable without a word of "intuition." "That the parent [*creative or fabricating*] cause of intelligent beings shall be itself intelligent, is an aphorism [*Why not a proposition? why mystify it by calling it an aphorism? Are people to believe it because of its aphorismatic form, or by reason of the jingle between "intelligent" and "intelligent"?*] which, if not demonstrable in the forms of logic, carries in the very announcement of it a challenging power over the acquiescence of almost all spirits." What does this mean, being sifted, but that men generally believe, what on examination they see reason to believe? That nobody, or no being, can advisedly and of intelligence aforethought, frame any complicated work to a particular purpose, without being intelligent,—is a truism, an identical proposition, the poorest production of man's brain. But if it is impossible to frame any ordinarily complicated work, still more is it impossible to frame that most

curious of all works, so far surpassing all human power as never to have been attempted by human ambition, *an intelligent being*. There seems nothing about this conclusion, which should teach mankind to eschew demonstration, and take to believing upon intuition through terror of falling into universal scepticism.

'That blind and unconscious matter cannot, by any of her combinations, [Why *her* ? This sexing is a stock receipt for mystification.] evolve the phenomena of mind, is a proposition seen in its own immediate light, and felt to be true with all the speed and certainty of an axiom.'—*Ib.*

That there is no evidence that "blind and unconscious matter" can "evolve the phænomena of mind," and consequently the thing is, to say the least, unproved,—appears to be what we really know upon the subject. But as concerns being "seen in its own immediate light," and so forth,—that "cold and inactive matter" could by none of *her* combinations evolve the phænomena of "heat and motion," would be just as good a play upon words, and just as well proved by anything that is in the text. Yet

'It is to such truth, as being of instant and almost universal consent, that, more than to any other, we owe the existence of a natural theology among men.'—*Ib.*

A passage in a following Section holds out some prospect of arriving at the meaning of the title.

'We hold that the material universe affords decisive attestation to the natural perfections of the Godhead, but that it leaves the question of his moral perfections involved in profoundest mystery. The machinery of a serpent's tooth, for the obvious infliction of pain and death upon its victims, may speak as distinctly for the power and intelligence of its Maker as the machinery of those teeth which, formed and inserted for simple mastication, subserve the purposes of a bland and beneficent economy. An apparatus of suffering and torture might furnish as clear an indication of design, though a design of cruelty, as does an apparatus for the ministration of enjoyment furnish the indication also of design, but a design of benevolence. Did we confine our study to the material constitution of things, we should meet with the enigma of many perplexing and contradictory appearances. We hope to make it manifest, that in the study of the mental constitution this enigma is greatly alleviated, if not wholly done away; and, at all events, that within our peculiar province there lie the most full and unambiguous demonstrations, which nature hath any where given to us, both of the benevolence and the righteousness of God.'—I. *p.* 38.

A serpent's tooth was probably intended to enable the animal to feed on prey it could not otherwise master, and possibly

also to shorten the sufferings of the victim. If it sometimes falls on man, it is only by accident; and the number of men who die by serpents' teeth, is decidedly inferior to the number accidentally drowned. There is therefore no more apparent reason for concluding the tooth to be formed with malevolent intent, than streams and water, or at all events than any other tooth of a carnivorous animal. But passing this, the assertion to be stored as explanatory of the title, is that the *material* universe "leaves the question of the moral perfections of the Godhead involved in profoundest mystery," but "in the study of the *mental* constitution, this enigma is greatly alleviated, if not wholly done away." This grain of wheat was not so easily found out.

A passage somewhat further on, is remarkable as contrasted with the mode in which the author afterwards inveighs against the principle of "utility."

'— for many are both the material and the mental processes which might be recognized as pregnant with utility, and so, pregnant with evidence for a God, long before the processes themselves are analyzed.'—I. *p.* 45.

If then "utility" is "evidence for a God," why should it be such a bad measure of conduct when applied to man? Does not this look like the natural Dr. Chalmers at issue with the artificial one? So again in the next page;—

'So that long ere the philosophy of matter is perfected, or all its phenomena and its secondary laws have been resolved into their original and constituent principles—may we, in their obvious and immediate utility alone, detect as many separate evidences in nature as there are separate facts in nature, for a wise and benevolent Deity.'—I. *p.* 46.

If then every separate fact in the construction of the natural world which presents evidence of "utility," presents evidence for a wise and benevolent Deity,—why should not "utility" be something like a mark or measure, for a wise and benevolent *man?* It is *Naturam expellas furcâ—;* the opponents can none of them keep clear of it.

All the above extracts are from the Introductory Chapter. The next is entitled "On the Supremacy of Conscience." Locke's definition of Conscience was, that it is "our own opinion of our own actions*." The present author, without ever

* 'Others also may come to be of the same Mind, from their Education, Company, and Customs of their Country; which Persuasion however got, will serve to set Conscience on work, which is nothing else, but our own Opinion of our own Actions. And if Conscience be a Proof of innate Principles, contraries may be innate Principles: Since some Men with the same bent of Conscience, prosecute, what others avoid.'—*Locke on Human Understanding.* B. 1, c. 3. § 8.

disproving or absolutely denying Locke's assertion, expends forty pages on trying to corrupt the simplicity of the idea. What he aims at, and why, will be best collected from extracts; in the course of which, the mode of opposition chiefly adopted will be by the intrusion of Locke's definition.

The commencement of the Chapter presents a specimen, of what at the pleasure of the reader may be termed the mystical, the unsubstantial, or the unprofitable; such as belongs rather to the speculations of gone-by ages, than of the present.

'An abstract question in morals is distinct from a question respecting the constitution of man's moral nature; and the former ought no more to be confounded with the latter, than the truths of geometry with the faculties of the reasoning mind which comprehends them.'—I. *p.* 57.

Not very close, the illustration. To have had any bearing as a parallel, it should have run—"than the truths of geometry with the constitution of triangles;" which would have shown the whole to be naught. But proceed.

'The virtuousness of justice was a stable doctrine in ethical science, anterior to the existence of the species; and would remain so, though the species were destroyed—just as much as the properties of a triangle are the enduring stabilities of mathematical science; and that, though no matter had been created to exemplify the positions or the figures of geometry.'—*Ib.*

The *virtuousness of justice*—what is it? Can the Westminster boy tell? The author has used the word *virtue* and its relatives, several hundred times in the present work, without ever throwing the least light upon the question. He seems to think men must be born with an innate knowledge of what he means by the term. But leaving this,—was there ever so unpromising, so damping a commencement for a moral treatise professing to be intended to be useful, as plunging into the question, fittest for the ancient school-men, of whether there would have been the evil of tight shoes if nobody had had any feet; for to this in fact does the latter part of the proposition amount. It is fortunate when a fallacy or a weakness will take to earth in geometry. The properties of a triangle depend on the properties of the straight line; and these again depend on the property of the sphere by which it will be turned about its centre without change of place, and consequently the point of contact between two spheres remain unmoved; and this again, upon that property of matter which may be called hardness or fixedness, by virtue of which two particles which will coincide with others today, will do the same tomorrow. It may be left therefore for the school-men to determine, whether the properties of a

triangle would have been "the enduring stabilities of mathematical science though no matter had been created." This may not all seem very important; but it is of weight as an indication of the habitude of gathering up straws to the omission of weightier matters, which has made metaphysics, and almost ethics, a kind of bye-word among men of plain straight-forward understandings, a something approaching to a synonyme with the shadowy and the frail.

But there seems some risk of "virtue" being explained.

'Virtue is not a creation of the Divine will, but has had everlasting residence in the nature of the Godhead.—I. *p.* 58.

Alas that any man of talent in this latter day, should have written anything so washy, ineffectual, and *fizenless*, instead of giving something like a "stand-up" definition of what this "virtue" is, the pother is about. Who is to be persuaded, by men who cannot or will not explain the thing they talk of? Who is to be instructed, by such

'Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm,

This sown with aught of profit or delight.'

More threats are held out, but not fulfilled.

'We must frequently in the course of this discussion, advert to the principles of ethics; but it is not on the system of ethical doctrine that our argument properly is founded.'—I. *p.* 58.

It is a mere *brutum fulmen.* The author never lets out anything of the principles of ethics. He cannot tell why ethics are ethics. He cannot tell why some things are ethics and other things are not ethics. He cannot tell what things are ethics and what are not. Or if he can, it is at all events kept as a sealed book from his readers. There is nothing bestowed upon them but the ringing of changes between *ignotum* and *ignotius*, with which the world has been troubled ever since philosophy became a trade.

'The facts of the human constitution, apart altogether from the philosophy of their causation, demonstrate the wisdom and benevolence of Him who framed it: and while it is our part to follow the light of this philosophy, as far as the light and the guidance of it are sure, we are not, in those cases, when the final cause is obvious as day, though the proximate efficient cause should be hidden in deepest mystery,—we are not, on this account, to confound darkness with light, or light with darkness.'

'By attending throughout to this observation, we shall be saved from a thousand irrelevancies as well as obscurities of argument; and it is an observation peculiarly applicable, in announcing that great fact or phenomenon of mind, which, for many reasons, should hold a foremost

place in our demonstration—we mean the felt supremacy of conscience [*the felt supremacy, that is, of our own opinion of our own actions*]. Philosophers there are, who have attempted to resolve this fact into ulterior or ultimate ones in the mental constitution; and who have denied to the faculty a place among its original and uncompounded principles. ... It is somewhat like an antiquarian controversy respecting the first formation, and historical changes of some certain court of government, the rightful authority of whose decisions and acts is at the same time fully recognised. And so, philosophers have disputed regarding the court of conscience—[*The figure called encroachment. Conscience, from being a man's own opinion of his own actions,—has got to be something that holds a court—a court of conscience too—a happy jingle.*] of what materials it is constructed, and by what line of genealogy from the anterior principles of our nature it has sprung. Yet most of these have admitted the proper right of sovereignty which belongs to it; its legitimate place as the master and the arbiter over all the appetites and desires and practical forces of human nature. Or, if any have dared the singularity of denying this, they do so in opposition to the general sense and general language of mankind, whose very modes of speech compel them to affirm that the biddings of conscience [*that is, of a man's own opinion of his own actions*] are of paramount authority—its peculiar office being to tell what all men should, [*Not what all men should, but to tell each individual what he severally thinks he should. And after all, what is the sense or meaning of the "office" of telling a man what he thinks?*] or ought to do.'

'The proposition, however, which we are now urging, is not that the obligations of virtue are binding [*What is "virtue"? and what are its "obligations"?*], but that man has a conscience which tells him that they are so—not that justice and truth and humanity are the dogmata of the abstract moral system, but that they are the dictates of man's moral nature [*What is "man's moral nature," and what are "its dictates"?*]—not that in themselves they are the constituent parts of moral rectitude [*What is "moral rectitude," and what its "constituent parts"?*], but that there is a voice within every heart which thus pronounces on them. It is not with the constitution of morality [*What is "morality"?*], viewed objectively, as a system or theory of doctrine, that we have properly to do; but with the constitution of man's spirit, viewed as the subject of certain phenomena and laws—and, more particularly, with a great psychological fact in human nature, namely, the homage rendered by it to the supremacy of conscience. In a word, it is not of a category, but of a creation that we are speaking. The one can tell us nothing of the Divine character, while the other might afford most distinct and decisive indications of it. We could found no demonstration whatever of the Divine purposes, on a mere ethical, any more than we could, on a logical or mathematical category. But it is very different with an actual creation, whether in mind or in matter—a mechanism of obvious contrivance, and whose workings and tendencies, therefore, must be referred to the design, and so to the disposition or character of that Being, whose spirit hath devised and whose fingers have framed it.'—I. *p.* 59.

The evident spirit and bearing of all this, is to lead away from the simplicity of Locke's discovery or definition, by involving it in the mysterious and the figurative, and representing conscience as a court, as a voice, as a sovereign, as a female, as a mechanism. The "voice within every heart" is from Rousseau, a bad substitute for Locke. The whole is mere retrograding. The fact is the ecclesiastics do not like a tangible criterion; they had vastly rather have the keeping of the tree of knowledge of good and evil in their own garden. They desire, and always have desired, to be the servers-out of morals; and they view with dislike any dissemination of knowledge, which may tend to make every man his own casuist. They wish the decision of what men shall and shall not do or encourage, to be considered as dependent on an impression, an impulse, an instinct, a direct operation of the Deity;—in short anything which shall exclude the dangerous idea, that the knowledge of right and wrong may be arrived at by the use of the ordinary faculties bestowed on man. It is a secret, a family nostrum, to be kept; they want to *make* morality, and are naturally jealous of interlopers in the field.

Suppose now a theologian should tell a sailor, the commander of a twelve-hundred-ton ship, that instead of believing that God had bestowed on him and other men natural faculties, by the application of which to his particular calling, and using all diligence in collecting the observations and ideas of others and backing them with his own, he might acquire and daily improve the power of judging of what it is desirable that twelve-hundred-ton ships should do and what they should avoid;—suppose he should tell him that instead of believing this, he should believe there was in some part of his inward man a *court*, a *voice*, a *sovereign*, a *lady whisperer*, a *mechanism*, which taught all men when to heave in stays and when to make sail an end, by dint of a divinity that stirred within them. What would this be, but trying to set the man wrong and keep him wrong? Or what could be the inference, but that the teacher was jealous of "Hamilton Moore" and the "Shipmaster's Assistant," and wanted to be the keeper of the captain's naval conscience that he recommends to him? And the great practical mischief as regards the scholar, is that instead of being taught that he has before him the competent means of acquiring the necessary knowledge;—instead of being told, in apostolic language, that God has not left him without witness, but has surrounded him with a host of testimonies, that if he confounds shoal water with deep or lets go his anchor in the bottomless pit of the ocean, it can scarcely be through anything but his own culpable neglect and voluntary ignorance;—instead of being counselled to a humble seeking of wisdom in the way

where God has laid it to be found, he is told that a certain divine *afflatus*, a puff of inspiration existing in some part of his human microcosm, is the true and great director of men of water-borne businesses, and if he leaves his vessel's bones upon the beach, it is through nothing but too little consulting of the inborn monitor.

Not the smallest argument would be derivable in such a case, from the fact that some sea-captains know their duty and do it not. It may be perfectly true, that many a captain knows he ought not to be bemused with drink on the setting-in of a December's night, and still does not abstain from familiarity with the case-bottle. He knows as well as he can be told, that he risks his own life and comfort as well as of all on board; and still he does it. There is nothing mysterious in a man's grasping at an immediate enjoyment, at the risk of a remote and uncertain evil; the good use to be made of the occasion, would be to try to demonstrate to the offender, that he is only a sot and a fool after all. But not a fragment of inference can thence be derived, in favour of a man's directing his quarter-deck or cabin operations by the inborn monitor. It is within everybody's compass to attain to the knowledge by natural means, that a drunken captain is a most dangerous animal to himself and everybody else, and to be held in hate and horror by all that value their nautical security. The weakest of all conclusions, would be that because the skipper knows drunkenness is bad seamanship, there can be nothing but the inborn monitor to tell him so. Yet this is precisely the argument the author appears to have subsequently adopted in the case of conscience.

But the great and insuperable argument against the inbred monitor, is that it cries to one man "helm a-weather" and to another "a-lee;" and that when one of them is wrecked in consequence, they cannot both have been right. This had been urged before; and it is alluded to in the following characteristic manner by the Bridgewater advocate.

'The law of conscience may be regarded as comprising all those virtues which the hand of the Deity hath inscribed on the tablet of the human heart, or on the tablet of natural jurisprudence; and an argument for these being the very virtues which characterise and adorn Himself, is that they must have been transcribed from the prior tablet of His own nature.'—I. *p.* 84.

O for five minutes of Jeremy Bentham after meat, to hang up such useless verbiage on the pot-hook of his nose!

'We are sensible that there is much to obscure this inference in the actual circumstances of the world. More especially—it has been alleged, on the side of scepticism [*meaning the Westminster*

*Review**], that there is an exceeding diversity of moral judgments among men; that, out of the multifarious decisions of the human conscience, no consistent code of virtue can be framed; and that, therefore, no consistent character can be ascribed to Him, who planted this faculty in the bosom of our species, and bade it speak so uncertainly and so variously.'—I. *p.*84.

This is altogether a very unfair representation. In the first place, what is meant by scepticism? Manifestly, doubting the authority of the Edinburgh Professor. So it has always been. Man issues his fancies, and then slips into the notion that he is a revelation. But it is clearly intended to be very *dyslogistic.* The concluding part is a mere mis-statement of the argument; for the inference was not "that no consistent character can be ascribed to Him," with whom is no parallax nor shadow of turning,—but that it was a mistake and hurtful error to insist that He had gone out of His course to institute an extraordinary and peculiar faculty where there was no occasion for it, and no evidence for the fact but all against it. It is in vain to try to explain away the matter, as Dr. Chalmers does, by maintaining that God gives man the skeleton of a conscience, and leaves him to fill up the muscles and gristle himself; for this amounts to an abandonment of the question. No one has denied that man is presented with the ground-work or leading elements of conscience in the shape of natural faculties, round which he may accumulate with pains a just opinion of the nature of his actions. On the contrary, the very thing asserted and maintained, was that this is what he is to do.

Dr. Chalmers's explanation of the uncertain sound thus given by the trumpet of the conscience, is that it is "partly reducible into the blinding, or, at least, the distorting effect of passion and interest," and "that Conscience *needs but to be rightly informed*, that she may speak the same language, and give forth the same lessons in all the countries of the earth." This is like telling men that if they deduce different hours from the same watch, it is in the first place because they are in a passion, and secondly because the face turns round and nothing is needed "but to be rightly informed" which way to set it. The question is why people under no particular distortion

* The passage conceived to be alluded to, is as follows.

'If there is any such thing as a faculty established for the purpose of telling man what is right and wrong, it at all events varies very oddly in different latitudes. For there is scarcely any assignable thing that is in some places announced to be wrong, that has not in others been declared to be venial or right. In short the boasted monitor is so evidently reducible to Locke's definition, of being "our own opinion of the nature of our actions," that its existence at all must depend on proving, that men's opinions of the nature of their actions are never either contrary or wrong.'—*Westminster Review, No. XXXIV, for Oct.* 1832; *Article on* Wainewright's *Vindication of Paley. Fort Risban.*' (See page 311 of Vol. II of the present Work.)

of "passion and interest," and with at all events no precise tribunal capable of settling their relative degrees of information, have different consciences. A Scottish conscience considers music, and above all whistling, as highly criminal on Sundays; a Belgian *religieuse* pushes under Punch in all his glory on the Sabbath afternoon, and never thinks of viewing him as a scandal or a stumbling-block. Take the picture the day before, and the Belgian would think her soul endangered by a rasher on the coals, while the Scotchman would think he fell into a sinful compliance, if he did not bellow for something fleshly in addition to the fishy rations of his hotel. What is the explanation of all this, but that one *opines* one thing to be wrong, and the other the other? There may very probably be another explanation at Edinburgh; which is, that the Scotchman is all right, and the Belgian all perversity. But this is a solution only for the "gude town;" there wants one that can cross salt water and answer in all longitudes.

'When theft was publicly honoured and rewarded in Sparta, it was not because theft in itself was reckoned a good thing; but because patriotism, and dexterity, and those services by which the interests of patriotism might be supported, were reckoned to be good things. When the natives of Hindostan assemble with delight around the agonies of a human sacrifice, it is not because they hold it good to rejoice in a spectacle of pain; but because they hold it good to rejoice in a spectacle of heroic devotion to the memory of the dead. When parents are exposed or children are destroyed, it is not because it is deemed to be right that there should be the infliction of misery for its own sake; but because it is deemed to be right that the wretchedness of old age should be curtailed, or that the world should be saved from the miseries of an over-crowded species. In a word, in the very worst of these anomalies, some form of good may be detected, which has led to their establishment; and still, some universal and undoubted principle of morality, however perverted or misapplied, can be alleged in vindication of them. A people may be deluded by their ignorance; or misguided by their superstition; or, not only hurried into wrong deeds, but even fostered into wrong sentiments, under the influences of that cupidity or revenge, which are so perpetually operating in the warfare of savage or demi-savage nations. Yet, in spite of all the topical moralities to which these have given birth, there is an unquestioned and universal morality notwithstanding.'—I. *p.* 90.

This is exactly what the opposite side had said*; only the

* '—the substance of what they have endeavoured to maintain, when presented with more attention to order than a controversy would admit, is as follows.'

'First, That Morality, as applied to the conduct of individuals, is reducible to being the rule, the general observation of which would produce the greatest sum or aggregate of happiness among those who are to be affected by the consequences. That though moral precepts may have been uttered without any reference made to this principle, and many of them may have been right,—it is a reference to this principle which in disputed cases distinguishes the true from

inference they drew from it was, that a monitor which contents itself with telling men "It is good to be good," and leaves them to find out all the rest themselves,—is as good as no monitor. The dispute is merely about the inference.

Again, that men should be disturbed in mind when they know they have designedly done wrong,—especially when the misdoing is of a nature to bring upon them the enmity of mankind,—is nothing wonderful, nor anything that need be puffed off in gossamery phrase as "a voice issuing from the deep recesses of a moral nature." This is all "hay, straw, stubble;"—the stuff which it is the first object of an able instructor, to make over to hireling preachers and fashionable parsonets. It is rigmarole of this kind that brings the professors of religion and morality into low esteem, and sinks them beneath the general level of scientific men. And this is not to be redeemed by a tinkling eloquence, or by the faculty of pouring out tropes and figures with an occasional flash of something like brilliant display. Men suspect it all, hate it; what they want is something plain, distinct, nervous, practical. They want to know why men should not steal, nor covet their neighbour's wife nor anything that is his, and what appliances and motives they may address to other men to diminish the prospect of these evils falling upon themselves; and not to be told of "monitors," and "mistresses," and "mechanisms," and "harmonies," and "tablets," and "prior tablets," and "categories," and "psychology," and "the abstract," and "the concrete," and "the supremacy of her own unalterable obligations." Man was sick

> 'Of reveries so airy; of the toil
> Of dropping buckets into empty wells
> And growing old in drawing nothing up.'

And least of all did he expect to have been carried back to

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the pseudo-morality;—which establishes, for example, that it is not a meritorious action for a man to eat his father, as in some countries has been inculcated as a duty, and that it is not criminal *per se* to drink wine, which in others has been accounted an offence. If they are asked how they know that morality is reducible to this rule, they reply, Because on comparison with any of the systems of morality which have attained to extensive acceptance among mankind, it is palpable that in by far the largest portion of their extent the rules coincide; and that in respect of that portion in which they do not, the contest, with one solitary species of exception, has always been rested upon the effects in some shape of suffering or the contrary, on the sentient creatures that were concerned. If, for example, it was ever contended that it was a moral act for a man to kill and eat his father, it was supported on the ground that it was for the happiness of society and of themselves, that men on arriving at a certain stage of decrepitude should be put out of pain, and that it was a mark of respect for their sons to eat them. There may be doubt whether the reasoning was good; but there is none that this was the reasoning. And the same in other cases.'—*Westminster Rev. No. XXIII, for Jan.* 1830. Article '*Greatest Happiness Principle.*' (See page 230 of Vol. I of the present Work.)

the beggarly elements of the heathen master of talk, quoted in page 95 as "the noble testimony" of "equal eloquence and truth*."

If the author had said that the fact that man was enabled by the use of his natural faculties (without excluding revelation, if this be established to the satisfaction of the same faculties,) to inform himself concerning the course of conduct to be pursued by him on earth, was in itself an exemplification of the intelligence, power, and benevolence of the Divine Being; he would have kept within the bounds of reason and demonstration, and would have done a substantial service in his generation. But he manifestly wants an uncreated light of Mount Tabor, or something like it. He wants to load the truth as it is in Locke, with some unknown quantity of tinsel after the manner of the middle ages, and then to claim to have enhanced the splendours of the sanctuary. God's goodness is not good enough for him; but he must have a little supernatural gimcrack of his own, by way of doing honour to the Maker of the Universe.

These observations would have been much more completely supported, if there had been a possibility of quoting the whole

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* 'Est quidem vera lex, recta ratio, naturæ congruens, diffusa in omnes, constans, sempiterna, quæ vocet ad officium jubendo, vetando à fraude deterreat; quæ tamen neque probos frustrà jubet aut vetat, nec improbos jubendo aut vetando movet. Huic legi nec obrogari fas est, neque derogari ex hac aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari potest. Nec vero, aut per senatum aut per populum solvi hac lege possumus. Neque est quærendus explanator aut interpres ejus alius. Nec erit alia lex Romæ, alia Athenis, alia nunc, alia posthac; sed et omnes gentes, et omni tempore, una lex et sempiterna et immortalis continebit; unusque erit communis quasi magister, et imperator omnium Deus ille, legis hujus inventor, disceptator, lator; cui qui non parebit, ipse se fugiet, ac naturam hominis aspernabitur, atque hoc ipso luet maximas pœnas, etiam si cætera supplicia quæ putantur effugerit.'

'This is indeed the true law, the right reason, consonant to nature, common to all men, invariable, everlasting, which calls to duty by its directions, and deters from wrong by its prohibitions; which moreover neither utters its directions and prohibitions to the virtuous, nor acts upon the wicked with the same, without effect. This law can neither be superseded, nor repealed either in portions or the whole; nor can parliament or people absolve us from its power. It neither wants expounder nor interpreter except itself. There is no difference in it at Rome or at Athens, this day or any other day; but it will be one everlasting and immortal law including all nations and all times; and the one common governor and as it were master of all, will be the Deity that was its author, arranger, mover. Wherefore any man that disobeys it, forswears his human nature, and may be said to run away from himself; the very fact of which is the highest punishment, even though he should escape any other punishments of which there may be question afterwards.'—*Fragment of Cicero's Third Book De Republicâ from Lactantius.*

A good specimen how like an ancient flourish of words is to a modern one. Some phrases perhaps, may be suspected to savour of the preserver.

The extract as a whole, appears to have been transferred from Sir James Mackintosh's Discourse on the Study of the Law of Nature and Nations.

of the Chapter "On the Supremacy of Conscience," or if it had been reducible to a moderate number of distinct heads. But it is diffuse and incompressible; and the fairest resource is to advise the reader to read it for himself.

The next Chapter is "On the inherent Pleasure of the Virtuous, and Misery of the Vicious Affections;" and if, as was said before, it had contained a simple illustration of the wise arrangement of Providence in making certain modes of action pleasing to the actor and the contrary,—instead of speculations on "the rectitude of what is virtuous," and the "pleasure attendant on the sense of the rectitude of virtue," and its being "the office of conscience to tell us of its rectitude,"—it would have discharged an office of undeniable good citizenship. That it has not done this, needs not prevent extracting what is valuable. One forcible expression is found in it. The author says of such passions as rage, envy, and hatred, that "of themselves they are unsavoury." It is the first good thing in the book.

The "important discrimination" taken from "Bishop Butler in his sermons," is a fallacy.—

'He distinguishes between the final object of any of our desires, and the pleasure attendant on or rather inseparable from its gratification. The object is not the pleasure, though the pleasure be an unfailing and essential accompaniment on the attainment of the object. This is well illustrated by the appetite of hunger, of which it were more proper to say that it seeks for food, than that it seeks for the pleasure which there is in eating the food. The food is the object; the pleasure is the accompaniment. We do not here speak of the distinct and secondary pleasure which there is in the taste of food, but of that other pleasure which strictly and properly attaches to the gratification of the appetite of hunger. This is the pleasure, or relief, which accompanies the act of eating; while the ultimate object, the object in which the appetite rests and terminates, is the food itself. The same is true of all our special affections. Each has a proper and peculiar object of its own, and the mere pleasure attendant on the prosecution or the indulgence of the affection is not, as has been clearly established by Butler and fully reasserted by Dr. Thomas Brown, is not that object.'—*p.* 108.

The artifice is in taking the word "pleasure" to mean only a *part* of the good consequences attendant on attaining an object of desire, and then stating triumphantly that the part is not the whole. In the case of food, the end desired includes the relief or cessation of the pain of hunger, and the pleasure of tasting besides. If a man incapable of swallowing through local injury, was fed through the pipe of a stomach-pump, he would feel relief from the pangs of hunger; and his object of

desire would clearly be this relief, and not the naked dignity of having a pint of gruel within his stomach. The distinction urged in the extract, is neither a "subtle" nor a "substantial" one. It is a piece of hasty-pudding in a microscope; an obscure object magnified, and to no purpose. But it is enough if it can be brought to tell against what the author stoops to call after Stewart or somebody else, "the selfish system of morals," —meaning thereby the opinion of the Utilitarians, that things are good when they tend to the general happiness.

And here is the place to hold out to the admiration, not of the learned, but of men of common understanding in the crowded walks of life, the profound unfairness, the absence of straight-forwardness and sincerity, with which the very small persons calling themselves "metaphysicians" have undertaken to treat the principles of Bentham and his followers. The metaphysical philosophers beat about the bush for ages, in search of virtue, rectitude, and the fitness of things; and with no profit to any man, for the simple reason that they could never tell other people what it was they were talking of. Bentham stood up, and upon the strength of his own reflections and many hints imperfectly followed out in gone-by times, said straight forward, "Virtue is such conduct as increases general happiness." There is no use in debating where he might have seen anything like it; but whether he saw it or not, he took up the principle, and by unwearied diligence brought it into the first ranks of controversy, as its enemies can testify. The opponents said, "But there is no *motive*." The respondents produced a motive, for they said "It is capable of demonstration, that in all cases within the common track of life, the prospect of happiness to an individual is vastly greater from following the course that increases the general happiness, than from any other. *Motives* are for something of which the exit is unknown; for even if it were asked what was a man's motive for any action past, his motive must have preceded the action. Strange questions of casuistry, may be settled afterwards; but here is at once a motive for all common uses, which make 999 thousandths of the whole." Upon this, the people who had asked for a motive, said "This is a motive that acts upon a man's *self*; and what acts upon a man's self is *selfish*. We must have a motive for a man, that does not act upon himself: we cannot hear of a motive, that shall act upon a man's self." And upon this extreme folly, this wretched and discreditable pun, did Stewart (unless somebody can be found to relieve him of the undignified paternity) build the objection since bandied about by men of the same calibre, with apparently no suspicion whatever of its profound infirmity. Will Dr. Chalmers point

out a motive, which by any the remotest possibility can act upon a man without acting upon him*self?* Will he discover and give the slightest intimation, of one that shall act upon a man by dint of acting upon somebody else? If not, let him by all means fall down in penitence before the public, and vow that he will never make or copy a pun again during his philosophical existence*.

Nevertheless it is done and cannot be undone. It stands here and *will* stand, that the Utilitarian system is rejected of the metaphysicians, because its motives act upon a man's *self* and not upon somebody else. There was not the slightest plea, pretence, or excuse, for saying the Utilitarians had narrowed the circle of motives, or confined them within the limits of what in English without a pun is denominated "selfish." Take the most romantic and far-fetched motive that imagination can devise; and all they said of it was, that it must act upon the man's self and not upon somebody else. Instead of trying to narrow men's motives, they applied themselves with all their might to bring forward, elucidate, and strengthen, that particular class of motives which is connected with the feelings of other people, under the title of "sympathy." They said "Cultivate by all means, cherish and extend to the utmost of your power, the habit of rejoicing with other people's joy, and sorrowing with their sorrow; for God has given you this feeling, for the express purpose of binding you all together in one common league of mutual good." They did it to such an extent, that the disingenuous enemy who with one side of his mouth said the Utilitarians were "selfish," with the other side and in the same breath was accusing them of discarding the homelier claims on human feeling,—*Cosmopolitism* is the word,—and encouraging themselves to care for all manner of Jews and Greeks, Cretes and Arabians, dwellers in Egypt and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, as the apostles did. They were the people of all others, who said "Self by himself is a pig. As you would not be a pig in a sty, exercise yourself daily and hourly in doing all the good you can to others; and you will find how marvellously God by the constitution of natural things has wrought this up with your own happiness, so that if it were necessary for the good of your fellow-creatures that you should give your body to be burned, you shall be at no loss to conceive how it should be at least possible for a man to chuse the sacrifice." And they made no exclusion of ulte-

* For the benefit of foreigners, *self* in English (from the German *selb*) has the sense of *même* in conjunction with a personal pronoun; as in lui-*même*. *Selfish* happens to be *égoïste*.

rior motives. If it was proved that penance and flagellation would effect a greater weight of happiness in another world, they were ready to acknowledge penance and flagellation to be moral duties; all they stood upon, was to require the proof. The sincere believer in a future state of rewards and punishments, had no more necessary quarrel with Utilitarianism than with the First Book of Euclid; on the contrary, it was a system ready made to his hands, which he was at full liberty to apply in any direction his belief and charity should suggest. If Christianity laid its sanctions on any new duties,—as for instance of the class called duties towards the Creator,—these, by the very definition, became part and portion of Christian Utilitarianism. There might be sceptics who were Utilitarians, but there was not the smallest reason why Utilitarians should be sceptics. The cry of scepticism therefore, was a mere vulgar bugbear, an ill name, a term of abuse, got up to try to put down something that was going further into the truth of things than was agreeable to the users. There have been individual exceptions; but there appears to be something in the existence of a *caste* of go-betweens for man and his creator, that is utterly opposed to an aggregate community of interest with the remainder of their species. Good men cannot resist it; talented men cannot keep clear of it; or the subject of the present article would not have been found fighting against human knowledge under the banner of a misnomer.

Think only if instead of taking this unhappy course, he had applied his peculiar powers, to what an extensive party whom it is neither here nor anywhere intended to speak of with disrespect, would call *evangelizing* Utilitarianism. Suppose he had said, "God wills your happiness, and *here* is the surpassing evidence and proof. Your happiness is all; show me what is for your happiness in this world and the next, and I will show you what is pure religion and undefiled, morality, virtue, praise. We follow no obscure shadows; preach to you no vain janglings; use no words of which we cannot render a reason. We call on you to labour to make one another happy here, and to look forward to enter together into the joy that is unspeakable." Look on this portrait and on the other; and judge which would have most exalted a Christian divine.

Compare next the value of the Utilitarian's results, with those of the feeble and wordy tribe who under the fantastic title of modern "metaphysicians" are puffed off for the world's applause. Not that these last have done nothing; for the mere attempt and pursuit of knowledge is to be held in honour. But whom have they converted, whom have they turned from the error of his ways, what bad man have they alarmed with

the prospect of consequences, what good man comforted by showing him that the road he took, though unsuccessful, was the road he must in common policy take again if the circumstances were repeated? What government have they checked by demonstrating that nothing is politically wise that is morally wrong,—or raising up a standard against oppression, by referring national law to the happiness of nations? Where have they strengthened the hands of the feeble, or blunted the talons of the strong? Where have they made a single man love peace, or cherish war only as the means of resisting the despot and the barbarian? Let the world see some trophies of this kind; and then think of weighing Bentham against the whole staff and army of the modern metaphysics.

Nevertheless, it is difficult for a man to keep down the goodness that is in him. Such a passage as the following might atone for much that is servile, and much that a very slight inquiry might have demonstrated to be untrue.

'But besides the pleasures and pains of conscience, there is, in the very taste and feeling of moral qualities, a pleasure or a pain. This formed our second general argument in favour of God's righteous administration; and our mental constitution, even when viewed singly, furnishes sufficient materials on which to build it. But the argument is greatly strengthened and enhanced by the adaptation to that constitution of external nature, more especially as exemplified in the reciprocal influences which take place between mind and mind in society: for the effect of this adaptation is to multiply both the pleasures of virtue and the sufferings of vice. The first, the original pleasure, is that which is felt by the virtuous man himself; as, for example, by the benevolent, in the very sense and feeling of that kindness whereby his heart is actuated. The second is felt by him who is the object of this kindness—for merely in the conscious possession of another's good will, there is a great and distinct enjoyment. And then the manifested kindness of the former awakens gratitude in the bosom of the latter; and this, too, is a highly pleasurable emotion. And lastly, gratitude sends back a delicious incense to the benefactor who awakened it. By the purely mental interchange of these affections there is generated a prodigious amount of happiness; and that, altogether independent of the gratifications which are yielded by the material gifts of liberality on the one hand, or by the material services of gratitude on the other. Insomuch, that we have only to imagine a reign of perfect virtue; and then, in spite of the physical ills which essentially and inevitably attach to our condition, we should feel as if we had approximated very nearly to a state of perfect enjoyment among men—or, in other words, that the bliss of paradise would be almost fully realized upon earth, were but the moral graces and charities of paradise firmly established there, and in full operation. Let there be honest and universal good-will in every bosom, and this be responded to from all who are the

objects of it by an honest gratitude back again; let kindness, in all its various effects and manifestations, pass and repass from one heart and countenance to another; let there be a universal courteousness in our streets, and let fidelity and affection and all the domestic virtues take up their secure and lasting abode in every family; let the succour and sympathy of a willing neighbourhood be ever in readiness to meet and to overpass all the want and wretchedness to which humanity is liable; let truth, and honour, and inviolable friendship between man and man, banish all treachery and injustice from the world; in the walks of merchandise, let an unfailing integrity on the one side, have the homage done to it of unbounded confidence on the other, insomuch, that each man reposing with conscious safety on the uprightness and attachment of his fellow, and withal rejoicing as much in the prosperity of an acquaintance, as he should in his own, there would come to be no place for the harassments and the heartburnings of mutual suspicion or resentment or envy: who does not see, in the state of a society thus constituted and thus harmonized, the palpable evidence of a nature so framed, that the happiness of the world and the righteousness of the world kept pace the one with the other?'—I. *p.* 171.

This might have been in Bentham. Can any man doubt that the writer of it had in his heart to say, "Almost I am persuaded to be a Utilitarian."

To conclude, as a treatise, the treatise is not done in a workman-like manner. Dead men are not always the best served; but they ought to be served better than this. There is scarcely a single thing of mark in the work that is not said three or four times over: it is no injustice to say, that if the legacy had been reduced in proportion, it would have been cut down to something under three hundred pounds. This is hardly fair between man and man. Some old nest eggs have been whipped into an omelette, and *soufflée* till it attained the magnitude required. Is it so easy a thing to make a reputation, that it should be treated thus inconsiderately?

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, 1 January, 1834.

ART. V.—1. *A Sketch of the Life of C. Eulenstein, the celebrated Performer on the Jew's Harps.*—London; Welsh. Small 8vo. pp. 69. With a Portrait. 1833.

2. *The Giulianiad, or Guitarist's Magazine.* Nos. IV, V, and VI.—London; Sherwood. 1833.

LET no man despise the day of small things. There may be more mystery in a Jew's Harp than a hand-organ, notwithstanding their relative dimensions. Think of a man's

playing concertos on the engine which "Skinner in his *Etymologicon Linguæ Anglicæ* calls 'Cythara Judæorum,' and says that neither the creaking of hinges, nor the mewing of cats, can be more dissonant and harsh;"—on the instrument which "the Germans call *Maul-trommel*," but of which the vernacular name is *Brummeisen*—"buzzing iron." Nevertheless

'The performance of Mr. Eulenstein on the Jew's Harp is not only a great curiosity in the musical world, but is, in itself, eminently beautiful. By means of a series of instruments, properly tuned and adjusted, he commands a scale of four octaves and two or three notes,—has a perfect mastery over all the diatonic and chromatic intervals, and modulates with the most graceful facility and the nicest accuracy into every variety of key. By dint of incessant practice, he has overcome a difficulty which at first seemed insuperable: he has acquired a power of stopping the vibration the instant the spring is struck, and yet leaving it free for the next note, so that he can perform the most rapid staccato passages with astonishing brilliancy and precision. But his greatest triumph is the tone which he elicits from his humble and hitherto contemptible instrument. We have all heard its dissonant twang when touched by the rude finger of the school-boy, and even ears unmusical have turned away in aversion from its monotonous grumbling; but in Eulenstein's hands, the tongue of iron speaks with most soft and silvery voice, and pours forth its sweet and tender notes with such delicacy and taste, that at the close of some pathetic melody, the ear drinks in the dying sound with breathless attention, and continues to listen after the enchanter has ceased. A great variety of effect is also produced; a firm, though gentle, note reminds us of the violin,—in that clear harmonic sound a tiny bell is heard—and, when a dead silence is preserved, (which ought always to be the case,) and all is quiet without and within, fairy strains creep about the room in undulating harmony, now nearer, now more distant, as if a moving chorus of airy little beings, in their tenderest mood, were delighting themselves in song.'

'The scene changes, and the trumpet sounds—the reader smiles incredulously—the trumpet! a Jew's Harp! nevertheless, gentle reader, the tone, though a miniature likeness, *does* resemble that of the trumpet, and at the head of Lilliputians would lead them most inspiringly to the onslaught.—These various results are effected by the performer playing sometimes only on one, but generally on two, and, occasionally, on four instruments at a time: sixteen lie before him, and he takes them up, and puts them down in turn with the greatest ease and without the slightest interruption to the melody.'

'There is nothing peculiar in their construction; some attention may perhaps be paid to the elasticity of the spring, and they are brought into accurate tune by loading the extremity of the tongue with a little sealing-wax; but in other respects they are precisely the "Cytharæ Judæorum" of which Skinner speaks with such unmixed abhorrence.'

'The reader who has any curiosity in such matters, may now be disposed to enquire how Mr. Eulenstein came to make choice of so unpromising an instrument; and as the circumstances, under which he was driven to this, are somewhat singular, as no little energy and decision of character are displayed, it is believed, that a brief memoir of his life will prove acceptable to all those who take an interest in the cultivation and developement of talent under opposing difficulties and occasional deep distress.'—*p.* 1.

Charles Eulenstein was born in the year 1802, at Heilbroun, in the kingdom of Würtemberg. His history is the ancient round, of genius, poverty, struggle, pertinacity, and success. His first musical energies were displayed in insisting on having his father's violin to play on, when he was between four and five years old; and because his father refused, he made a fiddle for himself. His father soon afterwards died, and the coveted violin became his own. His mother, who was poor, disliked supplying him with strings; and so the boy contrived, by pretending he had no appetite till the middle of the day, to get his penny loaf transmuted into a penny before he went to school, and then turned six breakfasts into a fiddle-string. And after all he did not succeed at that time in teaching himself to play; in consequence, as is suggested, of his hand being too small. A well-timed grandfather got him leave to be taught the flute; and he arrived at the dignity of being a chorus-singer in the church. The violin also was continued; and at the age of twelve, having far surpassed all his companions, he was considered a very good performer.

His mother however, insisted that he should be put to business; and believing that music was in books, and that to bind books would be to have them, to a book-binder he went. His master soon complained that he was busy with the inside of books and not the out; and he was translated to a shop of hardware. Here he might have been happy; but his mistress hated music. Besides his violin, too, somebody had given him a French Horn; a perilous piece of hardware for the youthful dealer. The horn was speedily forbidden; and the violin, a guitar, and a tiny flageolet were all successively discovered and put under the ban. But his destinies were not accomplished; the Jew's Harp had not yet appeared upon the scene. As a hardware-man he sold Jew's Harps; it was his limited service to sell them for a penny each, to the school-boys of the town. Like the starving man that first tried oysters, he seized upon the chance, and commenced his experiments.

'In a very few weeks, to use his own words, he discovered that there were sounds residing in the Jew's harp, which he had never

heard before. He was encouraged to proceed; and one day having heard a gentleman, who came into the shop, perform in a superior manner on two harps at once, he was so delighted, that he resolved to devote his whole attention to this humble little instrument. For four years he practised incessantly at all opportunities. The greater part of every night was consumed in this occupation; and so fearful was he of being detected by his duenna in such an enormous sin, that he actually hid himself under the bed-clothes, lest the soft and liquid note should reach and offend her ear. One night he fell asleep, with the Jew's harp in his mouth; and was awakened by a scratch in the face from the point of the spring. To remedy the inconvenience in future, he covered it with a little sealing-wax. This, he found, altered the pitch; and, with a quickness of apprehension not a little wonderful in a mere boy, he instantly saw the great advantage which might be taken of this circumstance. By means of loading the end of the tongue, more or less heavily, he tuned a series of harps with the greatest nicety; and was thus enabled, as before mentioned, not only to command a very extensive scale, but to modulate, with surprising truth and accuracy, into every variety of key. He now laboured with redoubled diligence. At the end of two years, his clear and delicious tone was brought to perfection. He had acquired the remarkable power of executing staccato passages with extreme rapidity:—his shake was close, distinct, and beautifully in tune; and all the turns, slides, arpeggios, and various other ornaments and graces, (of which he was the first to discover that the instrument was capable,) were under his command. In short, he played nearly as well as he does now. But his talent was not to be hidden for ever under a counterpane. He now began to indulge in dreams of advancement, by displaying to the world his entirely new accomplishment. He collected a few musical friends into a dark room, gave them a specimen of his skill, and required them to name the instrument. They were in perfect raptures; talked about fairies and angels, and manifested the greatest impatience to see the cause of all this novel harmony. Lights were brought; and sixteen penny Jew's harps lay on the table.'—*p.* 17.

One year was expended in curing himself of making faces. He then ran away from the rest of the hardware, with his Jew's Harps in his pocket; and his mother having withdrawn her fruitless opposition, he set off with her blessing and twenty shillings. He arrived at Heidelberg, but could not muster courage to commence operations, and so walked on to the next town. Here no inn-keeper would let him have a room. In the next town, a room might have been procured; but a magistrate who had no notion of "buzzing-irons," refused him permission to perform. It seems there are fools on the bench in Germany. With similar success he toiled through Frankfort, Hesse Cassel, and Hanover; and walked six hundred miles without effecting in any degree the object of his tour. He sat

under a tree for rest, and practised; and spent many a night in the open air. How the pound held out, is a marvel unexplained; there must be humanities in Germany, a pilgrim may remember but does not talk of. At last he arrived at Luneburg, where he had an uncle of many callings,—"having a large business in the way of letting public rooms," and being moreover "the proprietor of a small theatre," a dealer in "confectionery," and in "wine." His uncle received him kindly, and made him useful in his manifold employments. It was not till the end of three years, that he obtained permission to give a concert in his uncle's theatre. It was attended with tolerable success; and having saved a little money during his sojurn, he once more set forth, and with precisely the same ill luck as before, walked all the way back to Heilbroun. Once more in his native town, he bought new pantaloons,—for so the florid language of his biographer seems interpretable,—and advertised a concert. But his "friends" set themselves to raise an outcry, declared he was mad and a vagabond to boot, and tried to force him to return to hardware. To add to his misfortunes, he stitched his last four pounds into a girdle, and left it on a tree when he went into the water to bathe; but whether water-king or kelpie coveted it, was never known, for it was never heard of more. He concealed his loss from his mother, and set out again with a few shillings in his pocket. His success was small; he was driven from the more considerable towns, and with great difficulty obtained enough to support life, by performing occasionally before a few persons in less frequented places. He persevered for some months, and gradually fell into deep distress. His clothes, small and great, as usual wore out; and many a mile he walked without shoes, that he might have wherein to appear before his audiences. His rents (the *hole* he had, as Mr. Hood would say,) grew every day more perplexing and unmanageable; and with the fear of nakedness before his eyes, he was compelled to turn his steps towards Stuttgard. He found a master,—in what employment is not said, but he had been used to many,—who advanced him a little money with which to sacrifice to the graces. He was engaged to attend private parties; his fame began to spread; and one day,—the change seems too brilliant for even a German story,—he received an order to attend the Queen of Würtemberg. His presentation of himself was characteristic of a man who had just been living in sheep-skins and goat-skins, or garments of less excellent endurance.

'When I received the summons, instead of delighting me, it made me tremble very much, for I had never been in the presence of a

queen before; and I was afraid that my extreme awkwardness and timidity would prevent me from playing well. When I entered a long room, in which the queen was, her Majesty was sitting quite at the other end: but, instead of walking on till I came sufficiently near, I instantly began to bow; and, all the way I went, I kept making a great many bows towards her Majesty, none of which she saw. The queen spoke to me repeatedly; but I do not know what was said, I was so frightened. All I remember is, that she was kind in her manner, pleased with my performance; and that a letter of recommendation was offered to me, in case I should go to London. I was never happier in my life, than when I returned home at night to my own room.'—*p.* 33.

After this visit, his circumstances, as may be supposed, improved. He started again in February 1825, with money and letters of recommendation in his pockets, and irreproachable garments on his outward man. At Tubingen he played to three hundred people; played at Friburg, Basle, and Zurich. At the last place he gave a concert, cleared ten pounds, and sent it to his mother. Thence he set off for Lausanne, with nearly thirty pounds; and thence to Lyons, and to Paris. At the two last places, he did no good; the French are not a people to hold their tongues and listen to Jew's Harps. So after spinning out his last napoleon through all the permutations of which starving is susceptible, and holding out two days more after his magazines were exhausted, he applied to Mr. Stockhaussen, the husband of the celebrated singer, who assisted him, procured him employment as a copier of music, "*talked him about*" as he says, and finally set him afloat again. He became known to Paer, the composer; was introduced by him to the then royal family of France; and after settling with the inseparable spectre of the tailor, found he had forty pounds. Upon this he came to London, with a letter of introduction from the Queen of Würtemberg to her sister; performed at the Marchioness of Salisbury's rout, and was not heard; and was on the point of returning to the continent, when the Duke of Gordon sent for him, and became the founder of his fortune. Through the intervention of the Duke, he was introduced to perform before George the Fourth. The Duke also arranged parties for him of suitable dimensions, and "bound over" the noisy fashionables "to keep the peace;" being apparently of opinion that in music, *de non auditis et non existentibus eadem est ratio*, and that a thing may be worth trying to hear though it does not bray as loud as Punch's trumpet.

'Mr. Eulenstein now became an object of curiosity and interest. He commanded attention even at routs. Good musicians awarded him the just meed of praise. Scientific men investigated the theory

of his instrument, the effects of which were quite new to them; and the character of his music was much raised in public estimation, by his performing before a large assemblage, which included all the *savans* of London, at a Lecture given in the Royal Institution, in illustration of Mr. Wheatstone's Doctrine of Acoustics*.'—*p.* 47.

But even then, the current of the artist's existence did not invariably run clear. He went home and took to practising the guitar, with a view to settle in London as a teacher, and so make up for the deficiency of pupils on his other instrument. He came back, found himself and his harps forgotten, and had the hill to climb again. He lived for some months on one engagement and two guitar pupils; but grew very weak and ill, from the small quantity he had to eat. But the crowning misfortune was yet in store. The iron of the Jew's Harp had entered into his teeth, and produced a general decay. One day, severe pain came on, and continued for some time; and he found, on repeated trials, that he could not touch his instrument without excruciating torment. He says on this occasion,

'Had I not been possessed of religion, and entertained the strongest devotion and trust in Providence, I should have been in danger of putting an end to my miserable existence: but I owe it to my mother, that such an idea could never master me.'—*p.* 53.

Some people may smile; but examine the cases of suicide from loss of worldly goods, and see how many of them present deeper personal misfortune, than a man's teeth breaking down after he had employed his whole life in learning to get reputation and a living by their use. In a few days, however, he recovered his energies; and displayed them by dining twice, and occasionally once, a week, and redoubling his study of the theory of music and the practice of his guitar. He went to Cheltenham and Bath, displaying his Jew's Harps occasionally, but at the expense of great suffering; and at the last place became established as a guitar teacher, and remained there four years. At last a dentist contrived something like a cover for his teeth; which restored him to himself. He was treated with much kindness by the Duke and Duchess of Gordon; and received with great attention in "the Modern Athens†." From Edinburgh he returned to Bath, and then to London; where he purposes instructing pupils in the Theory of Music, and the practice of the guitar, violin, and pianoforte, on all which instruments he thinks his knowledge of harmony and modulation may enable him to improve their taste and style of execution.

If there were a musical forlorn-hope to go upon, here lives

* 'See No. 59, Chambers's Edinburgh Journal.'
† Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, No. 59.

apparently the man would execute it. All you that desire to arrive at some particular point or pinnacle in this puzzling world, remember how hard it was, to get to play upon Jew's harps.

"Ah! little think the gay licentious proud,"

what energies, distresses, toils, are expended by their betters in the poorer ranks of life. Compare, for instance, the man who has arrived at drawing soft music from Jews's harps where nobody ever thought of looking for it before, with a corn-law peer and foxhunter. If there should be truth after all, in the scripture intimation, of a world where the first shall be last and the last first—!

The Guitarists seem at length to be breaking out into a knowledge of the capabilities of their instrument, and to be in a fair way of establishing that as it was the first upon which musical theory was exercised, so it will end by being the schoolmaster to perhaps all the others, in leading them to the practice of the long-sought correct harmony. The Giulianiad (formerly referred to*,) in one of its later numbers, on the subject of the theory of Correct Harmony treated of at some length in a former Article† of the Westminster Review as illustrated on an instrument entitled the Enharmonic Guitar, gives its testmony,—

'that the harmony procured on this instrument in the key in which it is made mathematically perfect, is so charming to the ear, that, as one of the oldest and best judges of the guitar we know, said on hearing it—"It reminds me of the perfect harmony produced by four good players in a quartett on two violins, tenor, and bass."—*Giulianiad. No.* 6.

Here is the authority of practical musicians, certainly unbought and unasked, for the fact that correct harmony has been made in one key, and that, in this one key at least, it is the thing mankind have been hunting after. All musicians knew, that by practising together and as it were mutually rubbing down each other's asperities and defects, a quartett of performers on instruments of the viol kind arrived at a perfection of execution in point of harmony or what is popularly called "being in tune," which nothing could excel, and no known thing (except a quartett of singers) equal. In short there was no doubt, that by following the directions of the ear as to what was most harmonious, and each labouring to accommo-

* Westminster Review, No. XXXVI. Art. *Musical Periodicals.* (p. 414 of Vol. II of the present Work.)

† Westminster Review, No. XXXII. Art. *Enharmonic of the Ancients.* (p. 99 of Vol. II of the present Work.)

date the other with this common object in view, they did practically break in upon the thing so much sought for under the title of correct harmony. No man on hearing them pretended to deny, that there exists a *summum bonum* in point of harmony,—a something which is best because it possesses the mathematical property on which harmony depends, and anything else does not, just as a circle is the best form for a coach-wheel and anything else is not;—and that the players on the viols were the happy men who had practically made their way to this elysium.

But *nobody could tell what it was they did.* The monochordists from Euclid downwards, cracked their brains and never could find out. They tried as many ways, as might have enabled a steam-engine to compose an epic poem; but they never could show that they had attained the mark. The utmost they did, was to discover something they entitled the "imperfection of the musical scale;" which they agreed to charge on the Creator as a blunder and defect in his performance. If there be truth in the Giulianiad's "judge," this opprobrium to physico-theology is done away by the discovery of the *duplicity of the Dissonances.* The *Dissonances*, as everybody knows or may know, are the notes in the scale which are too near to the Key-note or to its Octave to produce harmonious or agreeable effects when sounded with them. They are to produce harmonious effects when sounded with *other* notes of the scale; but cannot with the Key-note or Octave, by reason of too great proximity.

The Dissonances therefore are the *Major* and *Minor* Seventh, and the *Major* and (by analogy, though not much used) *Minor* Second. Each of these four notes is *double;* or has two *forms* as they may be called, differing from one another by a Comma. And when the Dissonance is used in connexion with, or sequence to, the Third or Fifth (odd numbers), it is the *sharper* form that is required to make correct harmony; and when with the Fourth or Sixth (even numbers), the *flatter. Voilà tout.* In this small fact has nature compressed all the difficulty which has been prosed about under the title of Imperfection of the Musical Scale; so that the imperfection turns out to be no imperfection after all. The singing men and singing women, were the people that led to this discovery; for they observed, that in running *down* the notes of the scale, they had a tendency or instinct to make the Second flatter by a Comma than musical writers had assigned it; the truth being, that they were directed by the ear to make their Second form a just Concord (to wit, a correct Minor Third) with the last note capable of a Concord which had preceded it, the Fourth. The only wonder is,

why they did not find out that it was equally desirable to flatten the Second when the Fourth was to come *after* it;—however, everything must be found out when heaven pleases.

If all this may be considered as established, it is plain that the singers and violists,—the happy artists who are fettered by no physical limitations in the formation of their sounds,—have got the whole game before them. They have nothing to do but acquire the faculty of justly forming all the sounds in the octave, and applying the *un*usual or Grave forms of the Dissonances in the small number of places where they may be marked as required to make harmony,—and to do this equally from whatever given sound the scale may be commenced,—when they will at once be able to execute with accuracy every change of key *which anybody can define or describe*; and for executing such as can neither be defined nor described, there will probably be not much difficulty in designating such performances as jargon and patchery, and classing them with what a child makes on the keys of a pianoforte and asks "if it is not pretty." What all this points to, is manifestly a return to the ancient system of Sol-faing, or what the French call *solfier par transposition*. Let the utilitarians and philosophers say what they please, things *do* sometimes retrograde; and no more flagrant instance of it can be given, than that the musical syllables *sol, fa*, &c. which were so plainly invented by our wise ancestors to express the relation of sounds *to their places in the octave* whatever might be the pitch, should have been sunk and degraded, in compliance with those "knights of the extinguisher" the temperers, into mere substitutes for the letters A, B, C &c. which express *certain sounds on fixed instruments*. It was manifestly a great and successful temptation of the evil one; from which the world must be recovered*.

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* It would be easy to make a cheap and simple instrument, which might be of great use to both singers and violists for acquiring a just intonation in all keys, and setting the temperers at defiance. Make a kind of guitar of the cheapest construction, with a body so small as to allow of conveniently marking off two octaves on the neck. Give it three strings, of the pitch probably of the three smallest on the guitar; and divide the neck by frets representing the just division of the octave, the Seconds and Sevenths (as described above) being each double. If the frets in general are of iron, make those of the *grave* forms of the Dissonances of brass; and further add a brass fret between the Fourth and Fifth, at the distance of $\frac{32}{45}$ of the string from the head, to keep up the usual number and make the Tritone (or Major Seventh after a change of key to one additional Sharp). Slightly file down the sharpest of each pair of double frets, to secure the other's sounding without impediment. The strings should be of steel wire,—the object being not *power* but *correctness* of tone. The bridge would probably require to be set in a very small degree awry, so as to make a compensation for pressure on the thicker strings; which must be determined by experiment. This instrument would afford a singer or

But the Guitarists having acknowledged that they have an instrument capable of making correct harmony in one key, the next thing is to point out to them the importance of proceeding gradually and perseveringly to see how far this may be extended to playing in a variety of keys in succession on the same instrument. There are everywhere two sets of individuals,—one that jump at a difficulty and put down everything as impracticable, and another that seize on the means by which difficulties may be obviated. Fancy a boy placed with a violin for the first time in his hands, and told "Now you are to run up and down each of the strings in stopped harmonics, as fast as any ear can follow you, as Paganini does,"—and there will be an example of the absurdity of voting a thing impossible because it is not to be done at the commencement. It is clear that any hard-headed teacher of the guitar, who to his practical knowledge adds enough of the theory of music to know why an Octave is an Octave and a Fifth is a Fifth, has the chance open before him, of raising himself to considerable notoriety in an age not at all deficient in attention to novelty of all kinds. But he must go *bride en main*, and not be afraid of exercising about the hundred-thousandth part of the energy and perseverance which enabled Mr. Eulenstein to play on the Jew's Harp. His first step should be, to attain to a competent manual performance in one key, major and minor; on an instrument which presents some slight difficulties from the frets being not all in straight lines and in the usual places. His next should be, to add the power of going with correctness into either of the two most closely related and useful modulations, the major of the key of the Fourth, and minor of the key of the Major Sixth; and he should provide himself with a solo calculated to set off these his attainments to the best advantage. He might then be said to be fit to make an appearance

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violist the means of hearing the true divisions of the scale in any imaginable key; and by tuning another string to one of the divisions of the string in use, the correct change may be heard into any other key. Such an instrument for the guide of the beginner, would at once answer the stupid question, "*How is anybody to sing or play compound intervals?*" It would perhaps be best sounded with a *plectrum* or quill, to save fingers; and should be called a "Modulator."

It would be practicable, in singing, to distinguish the four sounds of the Seconds by the syllables *ra, re, ri, ro*, and of the Sevenths by *sa, se, si, so*; while the sounds of *mi* and *la* Minor, might be expressed by the Italian sounds of *mu* and *lu*. Intonation would thus reduce itself to learning to execute the intervals of the octave, from any pitch to begin with; and if singing alone were concerned, it might not be a bad idea to write all music for singers in the same places, as for instance to write the key-note always in the place of C below the line, prefixing a mark indicative of its pitch, in something like the way practised with what are called *cliffs*.

before the public in the *instrumental* way*. But of much greater importance would probably in the end be his performance as an *accompanier*. And for this purpose he should select a singer,—with a voice calculated for being accompanied on the guitar, which seems to imply a female's,—and possessed by nature of an acute ear;—and should practise accompanying in some simple music, but which will exhibit the change from the major to the minor of the same key and *vice versâ*, and at the same time give some instances of the different forms of the Dissonances, by introducing them in connexion with Consonances which shall respectively demand them. After this, he should proceed to something which includes some of the more simple changes of key, and particularly which will give a good example of what is termed the *diesis*,—(not of any outlandish interval between two sounds immediately following one another, as some musical *gobemouches* have expected, but of the difference between for instance C ♮ and B ♯ in different parts of the performance in consequence of an intervening change of key †). He would then be prepared to

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* At the same time it might be politic, previously to performing in public, to cause an instrument to be made in the intended key, with the frets *fixed*. The instrument-makers can smooth or plane down a series of fixed frets, with a nicety that can never be attained with a moveable series; to say nothing of occasional jinglings which it is very difficult to prevent. A clarionet-player carries three clarionets, and an organist has from six to sixty organs before him; there would therefore be nothing so inordinate in a professional performer having three guitars, and it is not clear that the three might not be had for nearly the same cost as *one* with the neck pierced for the moveable frets. The moveable apparatus would always be an interesting possession to the man of science, but the others would be most adapted for performance in public. At a venture the three keys may be stated as A, E, and C; the two first because they are the most brilliant on the instrument in consequence of the number of open strings in the chord, and the third because for some reason or other (probably connected with the arrangement of the notes which can be struck at the same time,) it appears to include some peculiar effects. Each instrument can also without much detriment be lowered in pitch by any quantity not greatly exceeding a Tone, and by selecting a thin first string the E may be raised to F; so that the three instruments will give the faculty of accompanying in every possible key. Each should possess the frets necessary for playing in the major of the key of the Fourth, and minor of the key of the Major Sixth; with two or three other frets which experience would point out, and which might be either fixed or removeable at discretion.

† As good an instance as is known, is in the 9th and 11th bars of Rossini's *Deh! calma*; where the C ♮ and B ♯ (supposing the original key to be A) are found within two bars of each other. Some very incredulous individuals have been convinced by hearing this passage. Fancy the situation of a singer, whose ear has been tutored to nicety by the practice of a whole life, and who is told that these two sounds within two bars of each other, and differing by about two Commas or six times the quantity which makes untuneableness to ordinary ears, (about two-thirds of the difference between a note and its flat or sharp), are to be tortured into some common sound between the two, *to suit the convenience of the makers of keyed instruments*. The opinion of professional singers is especially invited upon this example, to say candidly whether executing it in company with an instrument which gives the two notes in their just propor-

come out as an accompanier of the voice. He might next aspire to inducing one or more violists to practise with him, and see if he could not demonstrate to them that he had solved the mystery of the quartett. In the mean time he should be consuming what "bards call their midnight taper," in obtaining the general power of solving and marking on his instrument, all and all manner of changes of key that any man will have the goodness to define by intimating that he can tell what key he is in at all. In this way, he will raise himself into a great solver of musical difficulties. If the composers can tell what sounds they mean, *he* can let somebody hear these sounds, by at all events a portion at a time *. How far he may go in the end towards giving a very great succession and continuity of changes of key, is what he cannot tell till he tries. It is plain

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tions to their respective key-notes, is not as great a satisfaction, comfort, luxury, as wearing gloves where each finger is made to fit, compared with others where each shall be shorter than the longest finger of the hand and longer than the shortest, by half the difference of the extremes.

* Many curious cases occur, which it would be interesting to hear expressed upon a perfect instrument, provided always the object of desire can be defined.

'Palestrina begins his *Stabat Mater*, which is still used in the Pope's Chapel, and printed in the music performed there during the Passion week, by *three successive common chords, with sharp thirds*, to this base, A, G, F, *descending diatonically*; and yet this modulation is so qualified by the disposition of the parts, and tempered by the perfect manner in which it is sung, that though it looks unscientific and licentious upon paper, its effects, of which no idea can be had from *keyed instruments*, are admirable.'—*Burney's Hist. of Music. I. p.* 65. *Note.*

What is here meant by descending *diatonically?* Diatonically, means by a tone at once; but is it by the great Tone, or the small Tone? Probably first one and then the other; for between A and F there may be assumed to be a Minor Third, which is equal to a great Tone and a small Tone. What is meant by the modulation being "so tempered"? Does it mean that the composer made it one thing, and the singers make it another? If anybody can settle what Palestrina meant or the singers make of it, it would be curious to hear the beginning of this *Stabat Mater*.

'In Bird's well known canon of *Non nobis Domine*, the first treble sings in the key of G major, the second in D the Fourth below, and the third or base in the double Octave or 15th below the first treble; but always in the same intervals.'—*Rees's Encyclop.* Art. *Counterpoint.*

In the "Instructions for playing on the Enharmonic Guitar," (§ 285, and Note to § 78 in the Additional Chapter) *Non nobis Domine* is given in the key of D, in a way that makes every chord perfect; which it is apprehended could not be effected by playing the different parts in different keys as stated above, though the phænomenon intended to be described is probably the same. *This* would make a curious experiment upon a perfect instrument, in conjunction with three voices practised to the accompaniment.

'In Corelli's 12th solo, called *La Follia*, better known by the first line of a song written to the melody "All joy to great Cæsar," bar the 4th, the modulation is from D minor to C major; and the effect, which at first surprises from being so uncommon, is pleasing. In the second bar of Pergolesi's "Stabat Mater," [*Do this and the account of Palestrina's "Stabat Mater" from Burney above, intend the same thing, with the mistake of a name?*] the fundamental base moves diatonically, from F to E ♭.'—*Rees's Encyclop.* Art. *Fondamentale.*

If great composers knew what they meant in these musical curiosities, it would be charity to let somebody hear it on a perfect instrument. It certainly must make some difference, whether we hear *that* or something else.

that the unlimited faculty of successive modulation into various keys, must for ever be reserved for those who have unlimited power over the formation of their sounds, the singers and the violists. But the great use and glory of an Enharmonic Instrument, will be to be the schoolmaster to bring them to this. It is comparatively of little importance, how far the instrument itself shall actually go with them; the aeronauts may fly by themselves, after the instrument has been the gas-machinery that set them on their motion. The great caution for such an Enharmonic performer would be, not to be alarmed with hearing it dinned into his ears, "You will never be able to modulate into an unlimited number of keys in succession." Suppose it true,—Can *you?* or can anybody else, except a violist if he knows how? The objection is an amusing instance of arguing beside the mark. The objectors say, "You will never be able to modulate perfectly into an unlimited number of keys in succession; look at us, how we modulate into them all—*imperfectly*." If anybody likes the imperfect modulation they are welcome to it; but let that be no reason why other people should not try how far they can carry the perfect. The weakness is in attributing an outrageous degree of importance to modulation into an unlimited number of keys in succession. Who cares for modulation into an unlimited number of keys in succession? If anybody wants it, let him try it on the common guitar where the errors are divided equally among the whole,—or try it on any other instrument, where they are divided differently,—or else, as a *tertium quid*, content himself with as much successive modulation as anybody can make correctly, and wait till they can make more. But after all, what is the comparative importance of the thing at all? Does it make all music? does it make half of it? does it make a fraction of almost any assignable magnitude? does it at all events amount to such a fraction, that because it is not at once attained to, all progress in other directions must be stayed?

The world will not stand still for the next hundred years, despite the Majesty of all the Russias; and in small things or great, the spirit is the same. There is here wherewithal to revolutionize the fiddlers, if among the myriads of men whose lives are given to catgut, one can be found of energy enough to be the *propagandiste*.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, 1 January, 1834.

ART. IX.—1. *Essai historique et politique sur la Révolution Belge.* Par M. Nothomb.—Bruxelles; Meline. 1833.

2. *La Hollande et la Conférence.* Par G. Gobau de Rospoul.—London; Fellowes. 1833.

WHAT happens, and does *not* happen, in relation to a country with which the communications are so open as with Belgium,—the dawdling of conferences, and the alternate hopes and fears of the friends of civilization on the one side and its enemies on the other,—are matters of too much notoriety to need the trouble of recounting. But the general principle involved, is a point on which it may not be altogether useless to freshen the recollection of the public.

When the *revolution* (as it then was) of 1830 broke out, the friends of popular rights in England were exceedingly anxious to see the French take Belgium. They knew that the separation of Belgium from France, was the great trophy of an unjust war, in which the *British people* were the really trampled on; and that it was valued simply as giving to the barbarian powers the back-door to France, to enter it whenever it should be for the interest of themselves and their allies the plunderers of the British people at home. All sensible Englishmen not personally engaged in the grand fraud, were aware from the moment that the fumes of a brutish John-Bullism had had time to settle, that *they* were the beaten at Waterloo, and that their enemies considered it as the seal and sacrament of their everlasting subjection. If any were dull enough enough not to find it out, a Cabinet minister explained it to them in express words, when be asked whether "in the existing state of the continent" there was any chance of resistance by the English people to their governors at home. The interest of the English people in seeing the French recover Belgium, was therefore as veritable and profound in principle, and only second in practical degree, to seeing the Cossacks driven out of Devonshire and Cornwall, if by any accident they had got possession of that peninsula. It mattered not that a Tory government might be their ally; the Tory government would only be the home enemy, and the Cossacks the foreign. By the grace of God upon good counsels, both one and the other are at present pretty well removed from being objects of apprehension.

In pursuance of this conviction, the bolder part of the friends of civil and religious liberty, who saw what might be made of the crisis, and kept their wits about them in the gale, left no effort untried to demonstrate the perfect facility of recovering the important out-work of Belgium, from the moment it was

manifest that the English Tories were staggered at the display of feeling with which the Three days of July were received in England, and hesitated to advance. The defeat of the people's enemies was then decided; and all the people wanted, was to see their foreign allies re-occupy the *tête du pont*.

But a new phænomenon intervened. The French, directed partly by weakness and partly by treachery, could not be persuaded to take what lay before them; and in the mean time the Belgians made a revolution of their own. This was quite another statement of the problem. When a gentleman has been asked to take a lady and declined, he assuredly has no cause of complaint if she makes her own arrangements afterwards. France had been asked to take Belgium, and would not; the English Liberals did the honest thing, and nobody can fall out with them now, if they desire to make the best of circumstances as they are, both for themselves and for the world's community. And the fact is, that as things have turned out, the establishment of Belgium as an independent power is an event of infinitely more promise than the other, both to England and to the rest of the great partnership of civilized communities. But nobody could be expected to say in July, "Wait a little and the Belgians will make a revolution in October."

In the first place, it has operated most beneficially as removing the remnants of national jealousy, which would always have acted upon a well-meaning portion of the British public, and prevented their cordial acquiescence in the deliverance of Belgium; and so far has added to the cementing of the common union of free states. The change effected, is like what takes place when rival houses agree to end their feuds by setting up a common interest in the shape of a new family by marriage. Belgium is the common daughter of the two great quarrelling communities. On all the members too of the *under-ground* alliance which is carrying on among nations, and particularly on those who will be "first turn" whenever the European league begins to move forward against the barbarian,—the effect could not be otherwise than good. The reflecting portion of the French nation may be the first appealed to, whether the conduct of the government which has succeeded to the days of July has been in all respects such towards friends and enemies, that nothing could possibly be added to the confidence of foreign nations. It is at the same time undeniable that the military transactions of the French in Belgium, have greatly increased the confidence of mankind; and there is the very lesson to be learned. Would the apparition of the

two great tricolours in the Mediterranean, be less effectual than in the Scheldt? When the time comes for the delivery of Italy and Poland, will Italy and Poland be less able to grasp at the assistance, because England and Belgium are there as guarantees? In the present condition of civilized Europe, the desirableness of accumulating military power in vast states, is a fallacy. There is much more to be hoped, from a moderate extension among many. And the reason is, that the contest to be carried on, is one that depends on the exaltation of a common feeling which within certain limits is increased by subdivision, much more than on the mechanical organization of the energies of a few great powers. There is but one military idea in Europe at present; which is the driving back the barbarian "to his frightful deserts," and the total destruction of the insolent interference he has exercised, through a league with the traitors of all countries, with civilized communities. Men are born for it; some die before they see it; and the rest live on in hope. It may come through military means, as the evil did; or it may, in a greater or less degree, be effected by the action of gentler agents. But in one way or other, it is the thing to be done; and the man who does not prepare for it, is a simpleton that cannot construe the signs of the times. In this view it may be fearlessly stated to the honest and the thinking among the French people, that any diminution of national importance or dignity arising to France from the independence of Belgium, is compensated over and over by the benefits accruing to that great cause, in which France has always been and always will continue to be the leading actor.

To the Belgians it can scarcely be necessary to point out that independence is a good; so long as it is accompanied by reasonable security for its reality, in reference to the existing circumstances of other powers. If the leading idea in Europe at present is the repulse of the barbarian, the first accessory is the raising up and gradually strengthening and extending a minor class of independent powers, whose union shall be available for the public good and not for public evil. To oppress, there must be a small number of great powers; for a great number of small ones can never be kept together for the purpose, though for a strong and overwhelming interest, their common independence, they may be united as one man. The same phænomenon has been seen before on another scale. When society in a given country,—as in France or Great Britain,—was collected into masses under the feudal chieftains, these comparatively "great powers" could keep up the union to oppress. But as they were diminished in size and increased

in number, just so fast did the power of combining to oppress decrease, and the power of useful action in the common interest gain strength. The example cannot be pressed without a limit; but it *is* an example in point, of the manner in which it is possible for useful power to be augmented by such a process. No doubt the outcry among the feudal possessors, against such proceedings, would have been great. What! strengthen the community by weakening the strong-holds of the lords who make its power? Just so; when these are the very men suspected of combining against the public good. It is not difficult to see, how different would be the state of Europe, if there were an independent Belgium, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Poland, with half a dozen independent sovereignties in Germany besides, checking each other in all objects except those where the common interest is manifest and unmistakeable,—compared with its state under the insolent direction of a few "great powers" united in vast military governments, where three or four unholy hands may hold the chains of all. England has committed herself and is become one, in the system which must either liberate Europe or carry England with it in its fall. There is no sneaking out, for gentlemen who might wish to follow that course;—unless for the small remnant who, like her of Jericho, have been art and part with the enemy all along. It does not follow that the thing must be done in the same way as in the days of Marlborough; but in such manner as the circumstances of the world point out, England must apply her shoulder to the common concern, and see that in some way or other the thing is done, as she did in the days of Marlborough, or stand the consequences. Revolutions are not made with rose-water; nor adhered to either. It is true enough, as the Tory gazettes are fond of declaring, that the Reform Bill made England one of the *revolutionary powers;* and she must abide the chances with those with whom she has cast in her lot. If the people of England think they are to enjoy the luxury of freedom and other people be no better for it, they will find themselves mistaken; there never was, nor will be, a contest between two antagonist principles like those which now divide the earth, that ended but by the complete discomfiture of one party or the other. Englishmen must be ready to show their old tri-coloured rag, or at all events its influence, wherever national oppression is to be put down and national independence vindicated,—or they had better cry "Peccavi" to the Tories before they are in worse humour, and beg them to take the rotten boroughs back again. England therefore, till a Tory re-conquest, is necessarily the friend of small independent

states, to the reasonable extent to which the interests of general freedom point to it. And the comparative harmlessness of her position with respect to them, is a circumstance which she has a rightful title to take advantage of, for her own honour and the general service. She can have no views of territorial aggrandisement;—not the smallest danger to an Italian republic from the personal or family ambition of any tenant of the British throne. She was made to be a centre of alliance and guarantee, because she was made to be without the limits of temptation.

To the British people, this position by itself would be an important good; for it is hard to say wherein the keen sense of pleasure which the constitution of man has connected with the honour of his country, should find more inviting nourishment, than in a prospect so full of just splendour and veritable dignity. But the openings of other kinds are also vast. As soon as the feudal oppressor is cast down at home, no country can offer a more profitable interchange of the good things of life than Belgium. Whenever commerce shall be permitted by Act of Parliament, an older England than our own, stands ready to be the customer for everything the hither England wants to sell. The Flemings are the great-grandfathers of us English; a native of the northern counties has only to go there, and find the language, people, manners, scarcely differing from his own. There is no reason, in these days of steam-boats, why England and Belgium should not be connected in as close a bond of intimacy as Westminster and Southwark. One thing only is wanting,—to get rid of the oppressor at home. The Belgians too, have their oppressors, in the shape, apparently, of a *manufacturing* interest. These are the *Dutch* faction; and their object is to prevent the introduction of British goods, and keep up the remnant of the old "Continental system." When honest men can agree, their enemies on both sides sometimes come by their deserts.

The people of Belgium are full of alarms. They know they have but a handful of physical force, in comparison of the "great powers" of Europe; and therefore they dare not call their souls their own. It is the policy of those "powers" to oblige them to keep up that worst of second-rate curses, a disproportioned military force; by way of maintaining a source of irritation, and holding out a rallying point of complaint to their supporters. Of course the British embassy there, is employed in doing everything which can impress upon the Belgians the esteem felt for their nation and their independence, by the government which despatched a fleet to the

Scheldt in the hour of need,—and so co-operating with the efforts which the British people has made and may hereafter make in their behalf. The happy union of diplomacy and arms, is the point on which civilized nations justly pride themselves as their first distinction from barbarians. But as the best instruments sometimes fail, it would be for the high advantage of both countries, if England would declare through the unmistakeable trumpet of her debates in parliament, that the British people would as soon give up the Isle of Wight, as permit themselves to be deprived of the advantages which God and nature have held out to them in the independence of their Belgian neighbours.

The great fear of Belgian individuals at the present moment, —the bugbear in their streets,—is Russia. The barbarous powers, as in the days of Marathon, threaten the civilized, and every free man is met by them in his common walk of life. "It is not for our interest," say the lords of the barbarian and the slave, "that you and other men should be free. It is of evil example, and therefore you and other men shall not." This is the policy that presses upon the western European, from Warsaw to Gibraltar. It is clear the Marathon must come; and one part of the machinery by which Providence has arranged for the improvement of the less civilized portions of human kind, is the stimulus which it has put upon them to be always bringing themselves under the action of the more improved. Barbarians might be let alone, if they would not run their heads against their better informed brethren; but they never will,—it is portion of nature's provision in their behalf. And it is at this precise moment, that the Russians bethink themselves of threatening England in India. The English ministry must be "with opium drugg'd" or baser matter, if Mr. Thomas Babington Macaulay for his 10,000*l.* a-year is not taking in his pocket the rudiments of a *levée en masse* there against Russia, in the shape of improvements in the government of India. And the government there is *not so bad*, to begin with. A huge empire like India, not bound to its rulers by national prejudices, must have a salt somewhere that keeps it from falling to decay; and that salt, without injury to great capabilities for amendment, is simply the notion of justice and integrity which, despite of disadvantages, the civil governors of India contrive to carry with them through all the passages to the Himalaya mountains. The theory of preserving India from Russia is brief; give the Indians all that England *can* give them and Russia *will not*, and multiply Englishmen to be the distributors. The Russians take India!—they had better think

of defending Petersburg. The Russian Empire will be split into six republics one and indivisible, before a Russian gives or receives the knout at Calcutta*.

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* Of course, no man can have looked at Belgium, without seeing Waterloo. To a spectator who can view both sides, and has appliances for considering the whole at leisure, it is probably the most intelligible field of a great battle in the world;—an aspiring lieutenant of Volunteers, would have brought the whole away in recollection. The first striking peculiarity about it, is the prodigious difference between the two sides of the position. Let a man stand on the point of the road near the monuments, between La Haye Sainte and the village of Waterloo, which is understood to have been the point occupied by the Allied commander during much of the battle, and the whole position to be defended is as a book before him. In a quarter of an hour he may know every part of it, as a farmer knows the corners in his own stack-garth. But let him move a short distance to the front, to the place where Napoleon is said to have quitted the field, where the road to Genappe is cut through a hill on the other side of La Haye Sainte, and try to reconnoitre the position with a view to attack it,—and all is darkness. He has only to fancy himself an officer of dragoons sent to ascertain the enemy's whereabout, and he will feel how impossible it is for him to know or discover anything, except by taking his life in his hand and riding forward till somebody drives him back. This position must be curiously *défilée* by nature. Assuredly the "Lord" knows a good position when he sees it.

But what was the other side doing? It is next to inexplicable. How, why, from what combination of mental or physical circumstances, did the first strategist of that or any other age,—the Copernicus of modern war, who had upset all current theories by making the centre and circumference change places,—the man who had proved and re-proved, that victory was not in the hardest heads, but in guiding the action of masses on particular points,—the military artist who had entirely blown up and demolished the old system of the *cordon* and of defensive positions in general,—by what immeasurable fatality came he to allow an able adversary to chuse his positions to the smallest niceties of locality and obstacle, and then attack him on those identical strong points one after another, as might have been done by an Austrian of the old school labouring to give posterity an example of the *décousu*? Was there a reduction of personal talent by misfortunes? Was it paralysed by mistrust of subaltern agents? Or was it through thinking too lightly of the enemy, part of whom had been already beaten, and whom he seems to have considered on the whole as a prey left in his hand?

The Allied commander, intending for the present at least to take the defensive, had of necessity made the best arrangements for defending the strong points of his position. As a mere elevation, the *plateau* of Mont St. Jean that has been talked of, is nothing,—it is not comparable to the *plateau* of Holborn Hill. But there were advantages of other kinds, as stated before; and there were two defensible houses and grounds, one, Hougomont, at the salient angle of the defensive line, and another, La Haye Sainte, on the high road to Brussells, further on the left. To these, as was to be expected, the defensive commander sent some of his best battalions. The Guards were at Hougomont, and the cool phlegmatic Germans, the schoolmasters of the British army in everything that related to precaution and precision of obedience, were in the other. The Rifle corps too, a *corps d'élite* in consideration of its weapons, was posted where it would be actually most useful, *provided always the enemy would be charitable enough* to come there to be operated upon. Now who would, or who could, have dreamed, that the great strategist would do nothing but take all these bulls by the horns, one after another? *All* defensive positions would be successful, if the adversary would attack them on the points where there are most advantages for receiving him. *Few* defensive positions *are* successful, because the ad-

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, 1 January, 1834.

ART. XVII.—1. *On National Economy. No. IX.* Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country, No. 47, for Nov. 1833.

2. *The Reason for protecting Home Trade; or, The Principle of Free Trade Refuted.* By William Atkinson.—London; Printed by James Holmes, 4, Took's Court, Chancery Lane. 1833.

3. *The City Magazine, No. II. for December* 1833.—London; Steill.

THERE is nothing like keeping up a running fight, in all matters of Political Economy; and making a tilt at the opponent wherever he may appear. For though the results may at first be scrambling and diffuse, they will make excellent matter some time, for either the originator or somebody else to

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versary is generally cruel enough to attack them in a quite different place. There needs no extraordinary combination of ideas or of experience, to know that in attacking a defensive position, the first object is to upset what is likely to have been the theory of the defendant for his defence. At all events be sure, that as *you* the assailant must act upon view of circumstances in a great degree previously unknown, you will make *the other* do the same. Do not take the cat out of the mouth of her bee-hive, if there is any possibility of coming at her another way. The necessity of going in at the mouth of the bee-hive, is in fact what makes the difficulty of carrying a breach by storm; there would be small policy in taking the defendants by the breach where they are in waiting, if there was a possibility of coming at them any other way. The system is as palpable in politics as in war; *always to drive the pick-axe where it will go*, and not where it will not.

What then did the French commander do? He comes down in the afternoon, and lies all night in sight of the other army loop-holing its farm-houses and acquainting itself with its position. The next morning he is there still, and at eleven in the forenoon he attacks the point which every peasant in the country probably knew to be the strongest in the line, Hougomont. "Fifteen hundred dead," said M. Jacques Pirson, "we burned on that ground in front of the house, with the wood that grew there then." After throwing away here the hopes of fifteen hundred villages *pour encourager les autres*, artillery was brought down to do what might have been done before, and the buildings were made untenable; though still there remained the English army to fight behind them. There is something in the idea of chusing to fight a man in the place where he has a house-side to cover him, which is only to be matched by the operation of the olden general who halted to let his enemy's two armies join, that he might beat them both at once. After this useless slaughter by way of whet, about two in the afternoon commenced a series of attacks on the left centre of the Allied line, on the other side of La Haye Sainte; where, as was to be expected with staunch troops on both sides, the troops that advanced to the attack were mowed down by the fire of the troops who had occupied the advantage of the position beforehand. The Wavre road, described as then furnished with hedges on each side, may be considered as in great measure defining the Allied position; and every man has it in his power to judge, supposing both sides to stand equally well to their work, whether the holders or the attackers of a road with a double hedge, are placed by their commander in the most likely situation to be physically annihilated. It was then that General Picton was killed.

Towards seven in the evening commenced the last series of attacks, at La Haye Sainte; the farm-house there having been previously carried by the destruction of the defenders. And here is to be noted the most extraordinary fact of all. The French right under Lobau had disputed the ground with the Prussians all the way from Frischemont to Planchenoit; the Prussians had

form into compacter masses. And the mere excitation and interest of this kind of keeping up the ball, has a certain tendency to attract attention to what might otherwise be dull and neglected questions.

In short, in matters of political economy, your enemy is your only friend. If he would only keep his own counsel, his weakness would never be thoroughly found out. But he is always

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taken part of Planchenoit at half-past six, and were afterwards driven out by the Young Guard; and the French were fighting at the same time at La Haye Sainte on the Brussells road and at Planchenoit, *a line drawn from La Haye Sainte to Planchenoit making with the Brussells road an angle of only thirty degrees.* The vulgar idea among Englishmen is, that as soon as the French discovered the Prussians on their right, they voted their position a bad one and moved off. There were stories of Napoleon's saying, that the English did not know when they were beaten; but the English, who in general know little about the matter but what their Tory governors were pleased to point out to them, have no idea to what an extent the French that day carried the principle of refusing to acknowledge themselves in danger. Their opponents never were in any systematic danger, except that of being forced by a bold enemy in front; they were not turned, they had nobody upon their flanks or rear, they had simply to hold out and repulse the enemy if they could, in a position where all the physical advantages were on their side. There perhaps never was an occasion where men fought, hoping against hope, so desperately for victory. Of necessity, when that hope was lost, there was but one chance of escape,—the possibility of retiring from the angle, faster than the enemy could move along the opposite side of the triangle. It was then decided that there must be a rout, and all the knowledge and courage in the world could not make it anything else. The courage and the military miracle, was in men's waiting to such a moment, in hopes of carrying off the victory in the interval. Indeed when the whole history of the French army is considered, its physical sufferings in Russia, and the way in which it had been overborne by regular armies and a whole hostile population in Spain;—the energy it finally displayed under indifferent leading at Waterloo, is something to which there is neither *simile* or *secundum* in the military history of mankind. Europe may pride herself in it now, as evidence of what an inexhaustible mine exists in French courage, when the time shall come for directing it against the general foe.

There can be no rational doubt, that if the contest had been carried on as it took place, by beings on both sides free from human feelings or sufferings, and capable only of certain physical agencies by which they put one another *hors de combat*, the result must have been as it was. The lesson to be gathered is, that the defensive power of the infantry weapon had been under-rated; a point upon which the French commander might have obtained some light in the Peninsula. The French had been accustomed to force inferior troops in their positions; it was in fact the technical belief of the French military that there was no position they could not carry, just as it is of the English marine that there is no line they cannot break; and when it came to be tried against men as able for the business as themselves, the intrinsic power of the weapon *told*.

To say that one theory was bad, implies that another would have been better. And what is it that a scholar of Napoleon would have expected from the man of his idolatry? It is easy to say, that armies are not moved in the field as they are on paper; but there is a medium between that, and sitting down in the afternoon before a position, to attack it at eleven the next day. Suppose that a *younger* Napoleon had moved off an hour after midnight, leaving a division of light cavalry (not such a division as there are four of in a troop of yeomanry, but five or six thousand men) to keep up the fires and stop stragglers, and had been found at day-break with his army massed as at Jena, in the neighbourhood of Frischemont where the French right actually was, and with the hundred pieces of cannon of Bautzen in his rear. What a different reading would that

there when wanted; ready to poke forward any weak point on his own side that has been overlooked, or give notice of any direction in which the other party has an opportunity to further his advances.

The first of the opponents cited in the title, thus states his case.—

'Our readers will probably remember that the points to which we directed their attention were these:—We sketched a view of the

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have given of the whole affair. It is most probable that in some way or other the movement would have been known to the commander of the Allied forces before morning; but he must either have kept his old positions, or have changed them at hazard and under circumstances the most unfavourable. If they had been found as they were next day, the attack would have fallen in with great masses of cavalry and artillery. The cavalry must either have retired, or there would have been a gigantic fight between the plebeian and aristocratic arms, backed by their artillery on each side, and by their cavalry on the French; in which the aristocratic force would probably have been left upon the ground, as has been the fate of all cavalry attacking unbroken and resolute infantry since the days of the Centaurs. What might have happened afterwards, is only known to those who can tell (as the poor ill-used man said who was beaten at Buenos Ayres) what would have come to pass "if your aunt had been your uncle." But it is quite clear that the battle must have been fought on both sides by the eye. There would have been an end of loop-holed houses and studied positions, and the whole of the premeditated theory of fight would have been overturned. How ready the commander concerned would have been with a new one, is not in question; the one thing certain is, that there must have been a new one. Meanwhile if the Prussians had appeared, they could as well have been kept in check there as anywhere else; and the mere fact of the Prussians being in that direction, advised the operating on the point which tended to keep them separate rather than to let them join. The detaching Grouchy at all, implied the theory of the *deux masses interieures;* which is the legitimate application of what is known under the title of "breaking the centre." But then they *ought* to have been "*interieures*;" the essential step to which was, that they should be both on the same side of the enemy. There has been infinite debate whether messages reached Grouchy, or were obeyed; but the question to be answered is, why Grouchy was sent in that direction at all, if it was not intended to follow and keep in communication with him. And this was not the first time Napoleon had got into a similar scrape. At Marengo, the state of the battle was much the same as that of Waterloo at seven o'clock; and if Desaix had arrived an hour later,—still more, if the enemy had arrived instead,—the battle must have been lost. An inference from all of which would seem to be, that though by demonstrating the superiority of the *eccentric* over the *concentric*, Napoleon has established the ultimate independence of the liberal portion of Europe, he had not completely understood and digested his own legacy.

Few commanders would lose battles, if they had leave to fight them twice over. It is easy to find fault with what has been unsuccessful; but still the student and posterity can only judge upon the facts. Individuals may recollect occasions of their own, where without the slightest want of interest or zeal, it seems upon reflection as if there only wanted the doing of any one thing that was not done, to have turned aside the heaviest misfortunes. Such is the lot of poor humanity everywhere.

The Dutch (the curse of Andrew Marvell be upon them) have actually carried away the field of battle, to make a pyramid after their fashion, on the place, so important to Europe, where in the turmoil a Dutch prince was wounded; and the monuments of the British and German officers who fell, are in consequence left tottering upon their foundations, like remainder pig-styes after a clearing, waiting to be washed away by the next autumn's rains. It is a thousand pities that Maréchal Gérard did not allow his miners to go on. He ought not to have

operation of the free-trade system on our silk manufacture, and shewed that, as far as the interests engaged in that branch were concerned, the modern nostrum had worked results the most calamitous and deplorable, both as regarded the masters and the workmen. We then inquired what countervailing benefits could be adduced; and we found none, saving the cheapening of silk-gowns and ribands to our cooks and nurserymaids.'—*Fraser's Mag. for Nov.* 1833. p. 604.

Now this, even if there was no more, would be quite enough for answering the opponent out of his own mouth. Suppose a

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left the Dutch beast grinning over the field where the first military blood in Europe had been poured out like water.

It will be seen that the purport and bearing of the military part of these remarks, is to show that nothing in the recollections of the great day when the enemies of the people lapped blood, ought to prevent the hearty union of the two foremost nations of the world, whenever it may be called for in the common cause. The people of England paid dear enough for their share by eighteen years' subjection to their landed aristocracy, the loss of the opportunity of establishing themselves as manufacturers for all the world, and not less than three hundred and sixty millions sterling (nine *milliards* of francs) given to put about the fifth part of it into the pockets of their feudal lords and masters; besides the eight hundred and sixty millions (twenty-one *milliards*) of debt, and incalculable sums paid to support monopolists of other kinds in dishonest gains. Waterloo was the great Armageddon of all who lived upon the British people; and as well they knew it. The Three days of July will finish them at last.

From the SPECTATOR London weekly paper, of 17 Aug. 1839.

A notable exemplification of the truth of Horace's maxim on the superiority of eyesight over hearing, continues to be presented by the model of the Battle of Waterloo, exhibited at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly. Young ladies are understood to complain that the figures are "so small;" the fact being that they expected a battle-piece of Borgognone's. It may be consolation to them, however, to know, that it is a most exact representation of what they would see, if they could realize the romantic wish of finding themselves at the side of their "heavy dragoon," in a position favourable for a general view of a great battle.

To the military student and the popular politician, the model presents an object of surpassing interest; and the writer of this is not ashamed to say, that after nearly a quarter of a century's painful attraction to the subject, it has thrown a burst of light upon his views, which he feels wounded to think he should not sooner have arrived at from the means within his reach.

As there can be no suspicion of unfair leaning towards the French in the author of the model and explanatory pamphlet, his numbers may be taken as correct, at least in one direction. It appears then, that at the commencement of the battle, (of the period, in fact, between eleven o'clock and half-past four,) the French under Napoleon were inferior in infantry and artillery to the troops before them by about 2,200 men, and superior in cavalry by about 2,700, leaving a balance of about 500 to set off against the advantages of the opponent from his position; an effect to which it was entirely inadequate, if it be true, as M. Jacques Pirson vouches, that there were 1,500 dead, with of course treble the number of wounded, before the post of Hougomont alone. The Allies had the disadvantage common to all alliances, of being composed of troops of different nations; while the French again had the disadvantage of being an army which only a hundred days before had been officered by the other side, and in which general officers were actually deserting to the enemy on the day of battle with arms and accoutrements. On the whole, therefore, it is scarcely a fair representation to the French to say, that in round numbers, the

writer had been found saying, "We sketched a view of the operation of the system of putting down robberies on Hounslow, and showed that as far as the interests engaged in that branch were concerned, the modern nostrum had worked results the most calamitous and deplorable both as regarded the masters and the workmen. We then inquired what countervailing benefits could be adduced; and we found none, saving the cheapening of the passage over Hounslow to certain shabby individuals who were in the habit of being robbed there." Suppose a man to have made precisely this answer; and what more could be

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battle from eleven o'clock to half-past four was a contest of 70,000 against 70,000 upon equal terms.

One point, however, of the modelist's statement must be closely taken to task. After giving the number of artillerymen on both sides, he gives the French a gun for something less than every 26 men, and the English a gun for something more than 52; a proportion which, unless it be true that two English artillerymen cannot do the work of one Frenchman, is manifestly out of the limits of possibility. Everybody knows that 26 men to a gun is a most copious allowance, and leaves at least 10 for occupations not visible upon the field of battle; and that 52 is out of all reason. In confirmation of this, the modelist gives the Prussians a gun for 19 artillerymen; which is probably the nearest to correct of any. The inference from all which is, that the statements about the number of guns are contradictory, and consequently of no authority in any direction. The probability is, that all the artilleries present, had guns in nearly the same proportion to the men that were to man them; the best, if anything, the most.

Saving this, the account appears to be precise. At half-past four the Prussians are stated to have made their appearance, to the amount of in round numbers 16,500 men; and by half-past six to have been increased to 44,000, and at seven to 50,000. The total account therefore stands thus. Seventy thousand men engage seventy thousand, for five hours and a half. At that period reinforcements to one side begin to arrive; and by the time each of the original forces may be considered as reduced by the loss of four or five thousand killed, with three times as many wounded, and the effects of mutual disorganization and exhaustion besides, to an effective force of fifty thousand or less, fifty thousand new men come up, and by dint of double numbers drive the others from the field.

Here then is the military fact established for the benefit of Europe and posterity by the battle of Waterloo; which is, that after one of the hardest struggles within the range of history, and many chances of winning as their opponents are obliged to allow, by dint of double numbers a French army fighting for national independence *can* be beaten. To the English aristocracy and its retainers, the battle of Waterloo might be useful, but not glorious: for there is no glory, in the military acceptation of the term, in overpowering brave men by double numbers. If that be glory, what would they have called it if they had been beaten? and the very soldiers employed to show the exhibition declare, that if the arrival of the Prussians had been delayed two hours, they should have been driven in. These observations might be uncalled for, if it was certain the people of England had got to the end of being asked to give up the produce of their toil, to rear monuments to what the irrepressible outburst of their feelings on the recovery of France's independence in 1830, demonstrates them to have learned to consider a success as anti-national in object as it was unjust in principle.

But, for a view of the whole case, there are some elements not within the plan. Grouchy's force of 40,000 French, and Thielmann's corps of 15,000 Prussians, are not alluded to. Before the battle then, the total forces stood

wished of him? The very charge against the silk manufacturers was, that when they proceeded to lay restrictions on buying better goods for the same money or the same for less, they formed themselves into a committee for plundering "cooks and nurserymaids," and that the good sense of the community will no more allow this to go on, than it would allow the other process to be continued on a similar pretence.

But it happened, *that there was a great deal more.* For it was stated, that the silk-manufacturer not only robbed the "cook or nurserymaid" (that is to say all and everybody who dealt with him) of the difference of price; but that he also robbed of an equal amount the dealer or dealers with whom the "cook or nurserymaid" would under an honest state of things have laid out such difference, and the dealer or dealers besides who would have furnished the goods required to buy the silks in the cheaper foreign market; and that the consequence of all this was, that while the thief on Hounslow only takes a certain sum once, and in the aggregate there may be said to be a

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thus,—French 110,000, Allies 135,000. The proportions may be represented by two fleets, one of 11 sail of the line, and the other of 13 and a forty-gun ship to represent the fraction. This is precisely the disparity at Trafalgar (27 to 33); with the further coincidence that the larger force was an allied one, but with the difference that the winners were reversed. At Trafalgar the smaller number beat the greater; at Waterloo the greater beat the smaller. Suppose then a British admiral with eleven sail of the line against the odds mentioned. On a previous day he attacks the opposing fleet or portions of it, and succeeds in separating it. He despatches four ships with a view to keep six and the forty-gun ship at bay; and then attacks the remainder with seven against seven. He brings them to close action for five hours and a half, by which time the strength of each fleet of seven ships is reduced to that of five or less; when from some cause or other, there come successively into action five fresh ships, which have evaded the vessels sent to detain them, leaving one ship and the forty-gun to keep them in play; and the end is, that in two hours and a half more, the fleet of seven ships is destroyed. It is astonishing how things come down in the grasp of the computist. This is an exact representation of the case; and suppose now, that the French "United Service Gazettes" if such there be, were found boasting nearly a quarter of a century after the fact, of the "imperishable halo left around the French navy," by "the greatest triumph achieved by modern arms"—(the modern arms have an odd notion of a triumph)—and that the French people was interminably called upon to pay for some new memorial of its astonishment at the imperishable wonder. To say the least, we should consider the French small sailors and great bragadoccios.

The truth is, that at the battle of Waterloo a disposing Providence seemed determined to make a division of results. The English aristocracy had all the benefit of success, and their enemies all the glory of demonstrating that against fearful odds in numbers they could fight the battle over again. A battle gained by dint of two to one, is a small stock in trade for Absolutism to set up with.

If the French are wise, they will get the model to Paris; and add (as might easily be done by the help of an accessory apartment) some intimation of the positions of Grouchy and the Prussians during the day.

balance between one man's loss and another's gain,—the plundering manufacturer causes the difference of prices to be lost twice over, by two distinct people or sets of people. So that, inasmuch as he himself only enjoys it once, he ingeniously causes *one* pure loss to the community in the aggregate, (arising out of the circumstance that he purposely throws away the money on a bad and fruitless process, when it might have been applied to a fruitful one), and so effects an evil in the aggregate, with which the practitioner on Hounslow is actually not chargeable.

All this was said, and not replied to *then;* and it is not replied to *now*. It was "adduced" over and over, that the loss to the dealers with whom the "cooks and nurserymaids" would lay out the difference if let alone, was a new and additional loss, that doubled the whole amount, and of course the cessation of it, with the other, would make a double benefit; yet the opponent says he "inquired what countervailing benefits could be adduced; and found none, saving the &c. to our cooks and nurserymaids." After this, is there any use in his being ill humoured at the assertion that

'The man who assumes to himself the title of "practical," declares he has a theory, that it is proper to look only at one side.

This is looking only at one side. First, the most palpable and easiest-seen part of the loss, is represented as nothing because it falls on "cooks and nurserymaids." And next, the way in which it had been urged over and over, with all the distinctness of which the arguers were capable, that there was another and additional loss to the same amount, is totally withdrawn and withheld. And this is done in the same breath in which the writer is charging other people with falsehood. Look at his words next following the last quoted; and see how well, if there was either sense or decency in bandying charges of falsehood upon a difference respecting the accuracy of an account, they would fit himself.

'Probably he would be offended if we styled this a simple and deliberate falsehood; but what are we to think of such an accusation, on the part of one who had read our argument? For, having made completeness of view our especial aim, and having first searched, as far as we were able, for facts adducible in defence of the late destruction of our silk manufacture, we turned, in order to omit nothing, to the writings of the free traders themselves, there to discover and set down in the account every item which they could name as of weight on that side of the question.'—*Ib.*

Why, when we were making this search for items, did we leave out *half?*

The " main argument" relied on by the free-traders, is declared to have been, that " if imports are prevented by prohibitory duties, exports are prevented to the same extent." Now, if this were closed with, it conveyed no assertion that if imports are prevented *from one country*, exports *to that same country* must be prevented to the same extent. Nobody on the free-trade side was so simple as to suppose the words meant this. And lest anybody else should be weak enough to think so, it was stated under all manner of forms, that the returns might be made in all sorts of circuitous ways, a trade in gold included; but that the argument rested on the impossibility of the goods continuing to be got without being paid for in *some* way, and on the certainty existing that the trade whatever it was by which they were paid for, would be voluntarily carried on no longer than it was found better than letting it alone. It was therefore a baby's answer, to produce a list of import and export dealings *with France*, for the purpose of showing that the exports thither were greater in the year when the imports were less; for it was plain to everybody to begin with, that counting the daisies in the fields would be just as likely a way of settling anything that was in question. And it was totally contrary to fact, that the producing this childish answer disproved any position of the opponents; for they had never been such changelings as to put themselves into anything half so absurd as the position supposed for them.

The free-traders all along said, that one way of paying for foreign goods was to pay in gold; and that a transit trade in gold for this purpose, was just as good as a transit trade in Turkey coffee or anything else.

' To this we remarked,' says the opponent, ' that it was clear that the French *did* reject our manufactures and take our gold. But that the rest of the supposition, namely, that this would cause our manufactures to be exported in order " to fetch the gold," was altogether chimerical; inasmuch as every market on the globe was already glutted with our goods; so that the idea of sending abroad a further quantity, merely because it was necessary to " fetch some gold" was perfectly absurd. The conclusion, finally, to which we were conducted, was this, that the silks of France were in fact mainly paid for in gold, and that this trade was thus operating a continual drain upon our circulating medium, to the obvious injury of every interest in the country, excepting that of the fixed annuitant.'—*p.* 605.

Now,—passing by all that was said in answer to this in the way of showing it to be impossible that, glut or no glut, an increased demand and consequently increased price for gold at home should not bring in more gold, and with benefit even to the glutters;—suppose this reasoner taken at his word. Sup-

pose it held to be utterly irrefragable. that more gold *cannot* be got. It is plain, and had been said in a hundred ways before, that nobody will exchange a gold piece for goods abroad, longer than the goods he gets for it are worth more to him than the goods he could get for the same piece at home. The evil therefore would reduce itself to the pretended injury from diminishing the quantity of " our circulating medium." And here the opponent should have been aware, that instead of the fallacy of the Tory times touching the benefits arising from increasing the circulating medium and the evils from the contrary, great advances have been made in demonstrating to *one* important body of the concerned, the operatives, that instead of *their* interest being concerned in increasing the circulating medium, it is when it is increased they lose, and when the contrary they gain;—in short, that the increase of the circulating medium called for by their enemies, is a trick to make the shilling worth sixpence, and instead of the shilling give the operatives eighteen-pence that shall be worth but nine-pence. Not that the operatives or their friends ever thought of entering into any plot or plan for altering the quantity of circulating medium on their own side;—that was a baseness they left to their adversaries, who in the time of Pitt swept off eighty millions by such a process. All they ever demanded was, that things should be left to their natural value; in short, that *nobody* should be robbed on one side or another.

The opponent next is not pleased, because when he " spoke of the circulating medium being reduced by a million or two a year," it was understood as meaning that if it was reduced two millions in one year it would be reduced four in two years, ten in five years, and forty in twenty. If it did not mean this, what *did* it mean? Are words to be understood by what they say, or by what they do not? The truth is, that it was intended to notice the continual running out, and to say nothing of the continual running in, or of the only existing alternative, that the running out must stop, like other shifting trades that are occurring every day, the moment it began to do any perceptible harm. If the gold runs in as fast as it runs out, as in serious truth it must do like any other goods that form a transit trade, all that is to be regretted is, that instead of one or two millions a-year, it will not run at the rate of ten or twenty. But if it is denied that it will run in, then the immediate consequence is, that the running out must stop, and this as soon as any man concerned can discover himself a loser.

Upon the repeated statement " that this continual drain upon our circulation is in itself an evil; that is, an evil to the industrious classes;" all that can be done is to request the in-

dustrious classes to look into the arguments which have been laid before them, to show that instead of a diminution being an evil to them, it is exactly the opposite which has been the screw,—*one* screw,—with which the men that lived upon them have ground them to the dust.

At the same time there must be no giving into the absurdity of admitting, that gold *will not* come in, as fast as there is anything to make it run out. There is a certain trade in gold at the present moment,—it is coming in at a certain rate, like water into a pond to keep a level; and if anything should happen to make gold worth more by two per cent, there is no man so ignorant of the common principles of trade as not to know, that this would incontinently quicken the trade and bring in a great deal more. There is nothing about the facts, but what happens in the case of every article in which man ever traded since the creation of the world. If there was a new demand for Turkey coffee from England, as for instance for Russia, this would raise the value of the Turkey coffee at this moment in England, and consequently cause more to be annually brought from Turkey. But nobody ever thought of raising an outcry of national ruin, and destruction to English coffee-drinkers. It is plain that if coffee goes out, it can only permanently continue to do so upon condition that more shall come in; and if the English coffee-drinkers should attempt a hubbub, on the ground that the price of coffee was finally somewhat raised to them, they would be told that the existence of the trade was evidence that somebody gained more than *they* lost, and that if every man's trade was to be stopped in order that somebody else might gain half what *he* lost, the best way would be to declare all trade a capital offence at once.

'This is one of the evils upon which we are insisting. First, you take your orders from Spitalfields and Macclesfield, and send them to Lyons; thereby plunging some tens of thousands of workmen into pauperism and starvation: And, secondly, you have, in paying for these foreign silks, to abstract a million or two yearly from your circulating medium; thereby making money-prices fall throughout the kingdom.'—*p.* 106.

It may be repetition; but what else can be done? What was stated by the free-traders was, that if you oblige people to pay more to Spitalfields or Macclesfield than they can get the same things for at Lyons, you first rob the user of the difference of price; secondly, rob over again of the same amount the dealers with whom that difference of price would have been spent; and thirdly, rob the dealers who in a state of freedom furnish the goods which, whether in a direct way or a roundabout, pay for the goods in France; and that all this useless robbery, is what

no man either in Spitalfields or Macclesfield has any right to expect other men to submit to. That if things had been left to their natural course, the change from the losing trade to the gainful one would have been made gradually, in the same way as a change has taken place in the substitution of printing for manuscript, or in the case of leaving off periwigs; and that if this has been prevented from taking place by dishonest laws, it is a reason why the change should now be effected with some degree of graduality, but not why it should not be effected at all. And the plea of "abstracting a million or two yearly from your circulating medium," has been answered already; as far as it is possible to answer to an allegation in all points so rotten, that like Mrs. Quickly no man knows where to have it. Does "abstracting a million or two yearly," mean abstracting a new million or two every year, or does it mean something else? When it was assumed to mean what it says, the author was not glad, and said it was a misconstruction. And yet after all there is evidence, that it is intended to mean what it says. What is apparently desired is, that it should mean it, but that it should be said not.

'But a market which is constantly slipping down, lower and lower, with each successive half million of gold remitted to Lyons, is to the industrious classes—to those who are always occupied in making goods at an expected price, and who are ever finding, while this state of things lasts, that the price thus calculated upon is not to be obtained, and ever thus returning home, after every sale, with disappointed hopes and blighted prospects,—the most disheartening and ruinous thing that can be conceived.'—*p.* 606.

The quiet tradesmen, who understand "what is what" in their own way as well as anybody else can tell them, are merely invited to sit down and see whether there is any manner of reality in the words or things above uttered. Suppose now it was entirely true, that the market *was* continually slipping down in the way described (though good reasons have been shown why it cannot),—and that a man makes cloth expecting to get for it ten shillings a yard, and by the time he sells it he only gets five shillings, *the reason at the same time being, that the five shillings are everywhere worth the ten.* Is there any individual from John O'Groat's to the Land's End, will hold up his hand and say that man is a loser? Is there any truth in the story of "disappointed hopes and blighted prospects" at all; or is it a mere tub for the whale, to keep those in play whom it may distract from other objects? If the opponent had said something else, he might have said what was true. If he had said, for instance, that a tradesman who has bought goods for a stipulated sum of money to be paid in six months, and finds

that in the course of those six months the value of money has doubled upon him, is a loser of 100 per cent,—he would have said true. But this is what he has *not* said. And if he *had* said it, it is clear that there must be set off against it the fact on the other side, that the trader who had his debts in this way doubled upon him, would at the same time have his credits doubled also; of which not a word would probably be said.

In answer to the attempt made in this part by the opponent to intermix a charge of personal interest, it is sufficient to refer to the constant efforts that have proceeded from the quarter pointed at, to promote the establishment of any fair practical standard which shall cause alterations in the value of money to correct themselves. Issue an honest paper currency, increasable only on proof that the pound note will buy in the market more than a certain standard quantity of gold or of any other substance that can be proved preferable; and then there is an end of the charge of wanting to cheat as the Pittites did, by altering the quantity of the circulating medium.

But it seems the payment is not to be made with gold after all; so that all the past argument is thrown away. But not a bit more satisfied is the opponent, under the agency of cotton twist.

'If the silks of Lyons were really paid for by the cotton twist of Blackburn, that circumstance, which is alluded to with so much complacency by the writer, ought rather to fill him with compunction and shame, for the share he may have had in producing such a state of things.'

'No one, economist or not, has ever doubted that the great object to be aimed at, with reference to the welfare of our vast manufacturing population, is the increase of the *imports* of *raw material*, and the increase of the *exports of manufactured goods*. Mr. Booth himself, when picturing forth the future triumphs of the free-trade system, says: "And who shall set limits to a commercial interchange, of which the constituent elements are the capital and skill and enterprise of Englishmen on the one hand, and on the other the *raw produce* of the whole habitable globe.'—*p.* 606.

The writer of this manifestly did not know, that instead of this being what "no one, economist or not, has ever doubted," it is what with the greatest difficulty two old women in breeches could be found together in any part of the country to vouch for. He has evidently not the slightest notion, that this is our grandfathers' crotchet concerning the benefits of importing raw materials, which nobody has believed in these fifty years. Our forefathers took into their heads, that importing, for instance, a thousand pounds worth of iron, and exporting a thousand pounds worth of steel watch-chains, was something vastly better

for the country than importing a thousand pounds worth of steel watch-chains (supposing they were wanted) and exporting a thousand pounds worth of iron;—nothing dreaming, that what makes the iron worth a thousand pounds, lumpish as it looks, is simply the fact that there has in one way or other been expended on it exactly the same quantity of industry that makes the watch-chains worth the same sum. If the question was, whether employment and gain should be given to working iron-founders or to working watch-chain makers, there would be some sense in it; but when the question is of making an advantage to the country one way or the other in the aggregate, it is manifestly an old-wifery, a noodleism, and all the world for fifty years has held it so. It might be pardonable enough in men who like our forefathers were just beginning to feel about them on commercial and economical subjects; but it will not be pardoned in anybody now, and will be found quite sufficient to sink any vessel of modern times that is foolish enough to give it freight. Mr. Booth may truly say, that it would be well for Englishmen if they *could* have the transmuting of the raw produce of the habitable globe into manufactured goods; and they *might* have had it, if the tyrants of the soil had not stepped in and said "You sha'n't." But that is no proof that a trade in raw material is not as good as a trade in manufactured goods and *vice versâ*, when it happens in a state of freedom *to be profitable to the conductors*. If Englishmen had the universal manufacture spoken of, it would be because there was a great demand for manufactured goods from them, and not for the raw produce of their island. But this result cannot in any degree be forwarded or approached to, by saying "We will not export raw produce when foreigners would be glad to pay us for it." It is the foolery of believing, that the way to make the trade that nobody wants with us, is to give up the trade they do.

All the plans of the opponents of free trade end in trying to demonstrate an injury to the manufacturers of some kind; and this from the men who have condemned the manufacturers and their families to misery by wholesale, by prohibiting the sale of the produce of their labour. And the effort generally consists in telling one set of manufacturers another ought to be robbed to serve them, or in concealing the fact that they are so robbed. Now what possible truth is there in the assertion, that out of two millions worth of silks one million would go directly to the maintenance of the industrious classes, "while, out of two millions worth of cotton twist, our manufacturing labourers would not have the benefit of above *one or two hundred thousand pounds*"? Is it likely, or conceivable, that out of 2,000,000*l.*

which is the value of the cotton twist, 1,800,000*l.* are given to people who give nothing in return? There is some quirk; it is not given to people who wear a particular cap, or sit on a particular kind of stool;—but that nine pounds out of every ten in the creation of cotton twist are given to people who give nothing for it, is what a parish idiot could not be persuaded of. The whole mystery is, that in the case of silks the two millions were divided among people the greatest part of whom were silk-weavers and their employers of different kinds and degrees, and in the case of cotton twist they are divided among men of a considerable variety of callings, sailors, ship-owners, and the manufacturers of the innumerable kinds of goods which go to pay the labour of the American cotton-planter or wherever else he may be; and the object is to keep all this back, and to tell the silk-weaver that it is the hardest thing in the world he is not allowed to rob the others.

But the opponent still is not content. He says it is *not* paid for in cotton twist; and he appeals to custom-house entries. But it had been intimated that it was smuggled; and he says, but how does not appear, that he knows it was not *that*. He therefore falls back upon the absurdity, that it is paid for in nothing at all. This is what the opponents all along are in their hearts desirous to establish. They think that if they could persuade people they got French goods for nothing,—this would be an inducement to them to forswear the practice. Or if there is any escape from this conclusion, it must reside in the speculation replied to before, that the things are paid for by a continual export of gold, the said export never increasing the quantity of gold that shall come in.

Having thus far laboured on the subject of free trade, the same writer undertakes a similar operation on the subject of Absenteeism. He first quarrels with the putting of "eight supposititious cases;" almost the whole of which he says are marked with the greatest improbability. If so, so much the less trouble for him. If they *do not* happen, it shall be taken for granted he has no dispute upon them: the only case desired to be provided for, was the case in which they *do*. His great joke appears to be, with the idea of an *absentee Sheffield razor-manufacturer*. It might certainly have been prudent to have said, that by a manufacturer that drinks claret and employs French valets, was meant a *master*-manufacturer, and to have distinctly recognized the fact, that under the administration of the landowners, the *operative* manufacturers at Sheffield are not in the habit of doing either; because facts show there were those who might mistake on that point. A razor-manufacturer was assumed at all, merely from razors having been previously

instanced as the goods exchanged abroad; but if the opponent prefers an absentee beef and butter manufacturer, he is perfectly welcome to the substitution.

The case of "A. B. an Englishman residing at Paris," with his income of 2000*l.* a-year from the 4 per cents, and the widow lady whose house has stood empty since his father died, and the butcher, baker, grocer, in the next street who lose his custom, has been solved over and over in what has been urged before. Suppose A. B. to come over yearly and carry off to Paris 1995 hard sovereigns in his pocket, expending the other five on coach-hire by the way. It has been stated over and over that the effect of this and similar exports, when sharply looked after, is first, to raise the value of the circulating medium in the pockets of all the holders, by the amount that makes the diminished total of the same value as the previous one,—in which it is clear that the gains and losses to old debtors and creditors balance each other, and there is no loss in the aggregate. Secondly, that as soon as this rise in the value of the circulating medium is enough to make a Jew's profit (which does not mean what he would get if he could, but what he will work for if he can), there will be an increased demand for gold to coin, unless the government is too stupid to do its business. And thirdly, that this increased demand for gold, must be an increase, assistance, or relief as the case may be, to the trade of whatever kind that is carried on with the countries where gold is procured, to exactly the same aggregate amount as if the 1995 sovereigns had remained to be spent at home. It may not benefit the widow woman in Regent Street, any more than she would have been benefited if her lodger had gone to take another lodging in Pall Mall; but it will benefit the widow woman if such she be, that deals in the goods that are bought for South America, or that are bought in consequence of the relief given to the merchant who has overtraded there in times past, and who now can keep his Christmas in the country instead of the King's Bench as he expected.

A way in which this answer will be sneered at, will be by holding out the 1995*l.* as something incompetent to produce any sensible effect; forgetting that the real assertion is, that there are taken away in this manner two millions yearly, which is certainly competent to produce sensible effects. It is as if a man objecting to take a bucket of water out of the West India Docks at tide time, was invited to take comfort because all he took would run in again out of the river and the sea; and should reply "Will you tell me, that such a little matter as a bucket-full, will ever be restored by affecting the equilibrium with the sea?"

This is the most naked case. But if A. B. conveys his wealth in any kind of bills, then it is plain that he is at the mercy of English goods being sold abroad to answer them, and that English goods of some kind must be brought to market, directly or circuitously, for that purpose. A reply made to this will perhaps be, that by directing an additional quantity of English goods to the foreign market, he must in a certain degree raise the price of foreign goods of some kind at home. To which the rebutter is, that if he had staid to consume for instance ale at home, he must equally have contributed to raise the price of ale.

Disliking to have "the currency juggle" mixed up with a question, means disliking the theory of currency being mixed up falsely, but not disliking its being mixed up truly. It might have seemed disrespectful to mention this, if the necessity had not been demonstrated by the opponent. The answer to the attempted argument, touching the obligation on men to consider their country in the disposal of what may happen to be their own,—is, that the whole assertion that a man can injure his country by one of the supposed courses or the other, is a delusion or a fraud, put forward with the manifest tendency or object, to make men submit to a personal robbery and injustice. The whole assertion that the man injures his country by doing as his inclinations lead him, is the thing denied; it is maintained, and will be maintained, without the slightest flinching or reservation, that the entire charge of damage is a nonentity, a vision, or a trick. The whole plan resolves itself into robbing those who have a just right, in favour of those who have none; and the outcry raised is of the same nature, as if the inhabitants of Field Lane or wherever else may be the London "thief-bazaar," should commence an uproar against the base destroyers of their industry. The complainant has his hand in other men's pockets; he lives by the breach of the eighth commandment to begin with, and then is vociferous against those who would stop his trade. In all cases of this kind, the question is who is the first taker. It is this that makes all the difference between the struggling parties.

The question is asked, whether the Spitalfields operative is not taxed in his beer and tobacco to pay an officer's half-pay. And is not the robbed man of Blackburn or wherever he may be, equally taxed to pay the half-pay? Suppose the people of Field Lane were to say, "We pay taxes on our beer and tobacco;"—is that a reason why you should be allowed to steal pocket-handkerchiefs?

Mr. Booth is in like manner brought forward, as wanting to purchase half a county, by putting down the robbery of those

amiable persons the landholders. In all cases of this kind, the leading question is "Which is the thief?" Here is one man bawling out that another has got his handkerchief, and the other is conservative and refuses to disgorge. Which is the original taker? On which side has the power been exercised which deprived a man of his natural right? If Mr. Booth has made a law against the landlords which prevents their selling their corn for what men would willingly give for it, let the landlords hang him up like a dog whenever they can catch him. If the landlords have made a a similar law against Mr. Booth, let Mr. Booth preach to them from the text "Unless ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish."

The *Weekly True Sun* (Oct. 13, 1833) returns to the attack; and begins by saying that the Westminster Review "abandoned the controversy." The writer of that does not seem aware, that it is sufficient to answer once, and that nobody is bound to repeat. One of the bishops, or his examiner, used to give a candidate for orders a quarter of a sheet of paper, and tell him to "refute Calvin." If the writer in the True Sun will state in any such compass, the "certain arguments" which he conceives were not answered, the best endeavours shall be made to satisfy him. As it was, the controversy was growing longer than anybody was likely to read; and as before said, it was conceived that all had been answered once. But the writer in the Weekly True Sun knows there was another thing that clinched the cessation; which was, that he expressed a desire to write on general subjects in the Westminster Review; after which, it was not likely that a worn-out controversy would be continued. But he ought not to have said thereupon, that the Westminster Review abandoned the controversy.

The opponent thinks he answers the assertion that* all which France gains in the existence of her St. Domingo (under described circumstances), she gives up in the non-existence of an equal quantity of wealth that might have been raised at home;—by asking if the same answer is not applicable to foreign trade. Certainly it is; who ever thought it was not? The case put was where there were equal advantages and perfect freedom on both sides; where a man had an equal chance of gain by applying his industry at home, or in St. Domingo or any other foreign trade. Does anybody doubt, that in such circumstances, two men of given equal capitals, may establish two home trades, or two foreign trades, or one home and one foreign, at discretion? The objector has not read the data.

The Review had said, that under a state of *non-interference*,

* See Westminster Review for Oct. 1833; Art. *A Free Trader's Defence of the "Mercantile System."* (page 472 of Vol. II of the present Work.)

the utility or harmfulness of a distant establishment for raising produce, in preference to raising something at home to procure it from foreigners by exchange, will be settled by the fact of its being profitable to the conductors or the contrary. To which the True Sun replies, that under a state of *interference* the profits to the conductors of one trade might be increased. This is going to Edinburgh, to answer a bill due at Exeter.

'Under the influence of free trade the value of labour sinks, while the value of money rises.'

This is the fallacy by which the working classes have been condemned to half-a-dozen years more starving under the Corn Laws. The effect of free trade is only to sink the value of the labour of the *dishonest* labourer,—of him who wants to raise his wages by robbing some other working-man of what ought to be his; and it *raises* the wages of the honest labourer, by preventing the dishonest from making a law to hinder him from employment. And if the operatives are told, that this will at all events be good for somebody, and they will not lose upon the whole; then the point concealed from them is, that even if it could be proved that all other men besides operatives were ciphers and not entitled to have a word in the matter, the operatives would in the upshot be cutting their own throats, to the extent of the loss arising by the artificial dearness of the quantity of the commodities concerned which themselves consume. If, as they have been told, it may be indifferent to the operatives who are not silk-weavers, whether a duchess pays 10*l.* for a bonnet or 15*l.* and a duchess has no right to complain;—it is *not* indifferent to them whether their own wives pay 10*s.* or 15*s.* for the same kind of silk, when they have the impudence to think of wearing a little themselves; and the same with corn or any other foreign produce. In this way it is that the operatives allow themselves to be gulled in a circle.

The great injury practised upon the working classes by their counsellors, is in concealing from them the fact, that all that is to be gained for one working-man by their plans, is to be got by taking it from some other;—that there is no general increase made in the value of labour, but the mere trick of increasing one man's wages by preventing some other man from having wages at all;—and that telling them they are not *equally* interested in an increasing cheapness of commodities with a duchess, is only telling them that because the duchess loses five pounds in silk, it is the interest of the working clothier, hatter, cutler, to lose five shillings. The fraud is in giving them to understand, that all the duchess loses, *they* of necessity gain; whereas the 5*l.* the duchess loses, was all first taken out of the

wages of a clothier, hatter, cutler, or some such person, to be given to the silk-weaver; and the loss of the 5*s.* is pure gratuitous loss to him besides. It is because they have not the sense to see the folly of this, that they run after the people who invite them to combine to keep up the common loss.

The way to get through the difficulties about "harpers and harp-strings," is to keep close to the simplest case. Suppose I were to go to a cutler and say, "I want a quantity of cutlery from *you*, and what is more, I can tell you that I expect to want a thousand pounds worth every year. And now I will tell you what I want it for. I am the great Twamley, the first dealer in fiddle-strings in London. The best fiddle-strings in the world are made at Rome; I have made an agreement there for a thousand pounds worth annually, and your knives and forks are to be sent to Italy to make the payment." Now would or would not the cutler be right, in shaking hands with his customer, and asking him to take a glass of wine in his back parlour, as a man who had done new and essential service to the trade? And suppose on the other hand, that the great Twamley, instead of doing this, should encourage somebody to set up a manufactory of bad fiddle-strings in Spitalfields, and there should bestow his thousand pounds a-year in causing lambs' bowels to be twisted into an inferior article. Is it not plain that all that was given to the spinners of catgut and their dependents, would be taken from the cutlers and their dependents? And would not the laying out of the money afterwards by either of these two parties, be perfectly the same thing to the community? Here then is the Weekly True Sun's mistake. The cutler may build a house in Regent Street with his profits, or the catgut-maker may build a house in Regent Street with his profits; but there cannot by any invention be two houses built in Regent Street out of the matter.

The writer proceeds to the case of the foreign manufacturer of silks; and says—

'Our contemporary forgets, all the while, that before English workmen can be employed in producing goods to be exchanged for French silks, English workmen *must be thrown out of employment*, in order to admit the produce of French workmen. It is difficult to understand how the "living" of the English labourer is to be "improved" by such a process. Let us take the case of the English silk weaver. In his destitution he will, of course, have the pleasure of being told that he may buy the commodity which he previously produced, more cheaply than he could while he was himself the sole or the chief producer; but still we are at a loss to perceive how, with diminished wages, or in absolute idleness, he is to "improve" his "living" on the bare strength of such an intimation.'

Now this is all leading off the operatives from understanding that what was said was, not that the roguish workman who wants to have other men kept out of employ by law that he may gain by it, would be the better for the removal of the law, —but that *the honest men whom he is starving and keeping from wages and employment*, would be the better for it. Nobody ever said the roguish silk-weaver would improve his living by having silk brought from France; they said the honest men of other trades, who would immediately be brought into wages and employment in consequence, would improve their living.

Again,—

'But the Reviewer has observed that the great body of the consumers of silk save something by buying the cheaper silks of France; and the sum which they save is, he declares, expended in creating a new demand for labour. To what very odd conclusions will not the Reviewer's reasoning lead! The Reviewer would supersede that demand for labour which the home market for silk would supply, and he then expatiates upon the advantages of a *new* demand for labour, to be created and sustained by a fractional portion of those revenues which created and sustained the previous demand! The Reviewer would give our silk market to the French producer, and he would out of the parings from the price of English labour, create a new market for the English labourer! He would, moreover, contend that the English labourer gains the means of "improved living" by the change!'

See what mere throwing of dust into the eyes of the operatives this is;—in the manner of people who have an account they do not want to be understood. What was told the operatives was, that when a silk-weaver procures a tyrannical law to prevent other men from obtaining silks from France for 2*s*., in order that the silk-weaver may charge them 3*s*., what he did to the other operatives was this;—first, that he hindered some other operatives from being employed to the amount of the 2*s*. which is required to obtain the goods from France; secondly, that he hindered some additional set of operatives from being employed to the amount of the one shilling which would be saved to the consumer of silk, and which such consumer would infallibly spend on something else; and thirdly, that the final result to the operatives was, that these two last sets of operatives were robbed and kept out of employment to the exact amount of all that was given to the other, and with this further consequence, that (putting all other people entirely out of the question, and taking for granted to the fullest extent that there is not the slightest objection to robbing any man or woman that is not an operative) the operatives in

the mass were finally the losers, by all (be it little or much) they might be induced to expend on silk; and the same for corn or any other foreign produce. And all this the operatives are to be hoodwinked and prevented from seeing, by being told of "parings," and old markets being as good as new, and confounding the honest English labourer who is to be brought into wages and employment, with the dishonest one who is engaged in keeping them from him.

The same writer (*Weekly True Sun*, Oct. 20, 1833) proceeds to the question of Absenteeism. He does not present much that is new; and therefore the answers may be brief. The great point on which the question of Absenteeism turns, is the demonstrating that the beef and butter sent abroad in exchange for claret whether swallowed by the owner in Paris or Kilkenny, makes a new claim to the same amount in favour of the working people that make beef and butter in Ireland. The reason why Irish labourers starve, is not that there is not beef and butter in Ireland, but that *they* have not an efficient claim upon as much beef and butter as they could desire. And what is to amend their situation, is not what may make either more or less beef and butter in Ireland, for of that there may be enough to fatten them all ten times over; but it is what may give *them* personally a new effectual demand, for more beef and butter than they would have had without; and this is brought about by the transporting of any quantity of beef and butter not dishonestly come by, into a foreign market instead of bringing it into the market at home. For every pound of beef so sent abroad, there must be a pound more that can be sold with a profit at home, and a pound more that an Irishman of some kind can be paid for helping to bring to market. And this, it is maintained, is just as good for the labouring Irishmen at large, as if the old beef was kept at home and sold to them in the market to the prevention of the new. The owners of the beef removed, have left no debts for it behind; nor if it staid, would the hungry Irishmen get any of it for nothing. And any detriment to anybody from its not appearing in the market, will be compensated by the good to those who receive wages and employment for creating new.

On one point the writer goes wonderfully before his reckoning. He says—

'These teachers are all of them Malthusians—stern upholders of the necessity of the *preventive check*—men who proclaim, on all occasions, the advantages of lowering the proportion which population bears to the demand for labour—who are clamorous in praise of every commercial movement which tends to increase capital, and to multiply the channels of profitable employment.

Now the fact is that the individuals spoken of,—though not so stupid as to doubt that men cannot multiply unless they can be fed,—were the very foremost to tell the operatives, that they were the greatest fools on earth to allow themselves to be diddled with the preventive check, while all the difficulty was the artificial creation of the landlords. Nevertheless it appears that the operatives are quite ready to go on preventive-checking, and vote for Mr. Sadler and the Corn Laws; which is of course their own business. On the last point too, be it remembered, that what was asserted was, that the sending the beef into a foreign market in the service of the absentees *does* create new "channels of profitable employment," of exactly the same benefit as any consequences of sending the same beef into the market at home.

This opponent like the other, falls into the mistake of supposing, that the matter in debate is whether the owner may do as he will with his own; whereas the point asserted all along, is that it is just the same thing to the rest of the public, whether the owner employs it in the way he likes, or in the way a stupid tyranny would dictate to him.

The argument from supposing the landlords to withdraw a tenth part of the produce of the soil, is built on confounding the consequences in a state of wrong with a state of right. The consequence, if there were no Corn Laws, would be that the people, instead of buying so many thousand quarters as may be in the tenth, from the landlords, would buy them from foreigners; and it is not impossible that the landlords' own corn might come back, the landlords paying freight, if they could find no way of disposing of it better. And if the foreign corn was not bought under existing circumstances, it would be the Corn Laws, and not the Absenteeism, that would be the reason.

The refuter of the principle of free trade in the person of William Atkinson, says as follows.—

'I will now suppose, that there is an Island which is inhabited only by two families: that the members of one family having been able to cultivate the land successfully, procure sufficient food for both. The other family being thus released from the necessity of following this occupation, direct their labour to making articles of clothing, which they do in sufficient quantity for both families. It is obvious, that an exchange of commodities taking place, the one giving to the other food, the other giving clothes in exchange, both are benefited. At this juncture I will suppose that a third party arrives on the island, bringing with him articles of clothing of a more useful or beautiful kind than those made by the island family. The possessor of these is willing to exchange his articles of clothing for food. He meets the producers of food and tempts them to barter. They, allured by the better quality of the clothes, part with all their surplus produce of food,

(with which the stranger departs,) and receive in exchange the articles of clothing. Now, it is obvious that by this transaction, that family of the island whose surplus stock or capital consisted of clothes, must be starved, because their means of procuring subsistence are of no avail. As the means must, in the natural order of things, *precede*, or, as they constitute the only power by which existence can be preserved, so the means being rendered of no avail, that is, destroyed, the existence also must be destroyed.'—*The Reason &c.* p. 5.

The error here, is in putting a purposely contrived case where the change must take place all at once, and applying the results to the case where it is to take place by degrees. Suppose a frigate were to come into port with all her water spoilt, and the people of the port were to say, "We cannot take the water out and put in fresh, in less than three weeks; in which time you would all inevitably perish." Would not the people of the frigate say, "Suppose you were to try changing a little at a time?" This seems to be the same dilemma as Mr. Atkinson's.

He next, like the others, proceeds to the question of Absenteeism; and thinks he has found what doctors call a beautiful case.

'Ancient history affords an instance, which, in its effect on the wealth of a nation, is similar to that of absentee expenditure. When the Romans had subdued Egypt, they imposed upon the people a large annual tribute of corn. Had the author of the paragraph about the non-injuriousness of absentee expenditure been living at that time, and could he have been favoured with a sight of the magnificent port of Alexandria, filled with vessels and animated by Egyptian industry, he must have exclaimed, Happy and prosperous Egypt! What an incentive to the industry of your people do I here see! How fortunate in the possession of such a foreign commerce!'—*Ib.* p. 14.

This is confounding the loss of the corn to the people who have it in ownership, with a loss to be felt by the people who do not own it at all. When the Romans carried off the Egyptian corn, they doubtless wrought great grief to the people from whom they took it, or who if the Romans had been out of the way would have been the owners of it. But they did not work grief to these people and to somebody else besides; they did not take the corn twice over. If a fit had come upon all these people, of wanting to see Rome, and the Romans had consented to their enjoying their corn in full possession as soon they all arrived there: the owners would have been contented, like the modern absentees, and there would not have been another race of grievers left behind. The "author of the paragraph" might lawfully have sorrowed over the Egyptian taxees;

but there would have been no occasion for him to sorrow again over those who had no connexion with the corn but having been paid for growing it,—who would never have had a fragment of it without paying for it,—and who will be as well paid for growing more, as they were for growing the first.

The idea on the American Tarif is a most remarkable one; and wrapped up as it is in the brevity of a Table, many thanks are due to a writer in "Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*" for having dragged it into light. The statement, as there correctly described, is, that if the Southern States of America were to transfer their trade to England, America would lose the amount of this trade, *minus* the gain which the Southern States might make by being supplied more cheaply from England.

This is nearly the same kind of fallacy as the "Island" one; consisting in putting out of sight all tendencies to gradual compensation. Suppose a rich old American farmer had two sons, to whom he means to give his wealth, and it is believed that in that part of the country there is little or no perceptible difference between employing money in farming or in manufacturing pursuits. And suppose one of the sons, contrary to his father's predilections, but supported by the urgency of his mother who says he is a weakly boy, determines that nothing will do for him but looking after a manufactory. And the mother moreover urges, that it will be a family convenience that Thomas should manufacture the things John wants, and take John's farming produce for himself and people in return; whereupon the old man yields, and sets up each son with 20,000 dollars. And some time afterwards, the mother comes and says, that Thomas is going on but badly, and in fact does not make both ends meet; and the remedy she proposes for it, is that Thomas shall charge an extra price, and John be forced to pay it, and so the thing go on quite snugly in the family. Think how the old man of the woods would break out, at such a proposal for letting the family capital fizzle away under his nose. "What, when Thomas might as well have been going on upon land like his brother, and both of them have bought jackets and warming-pans from the man on the other side of the herring-pond; shall I put John to expense and loss, for the sake of the other's inability to supply him out of a bad trade? No; let Thomas come back and settle himself on the land as I wanted him; or else, as Canning sang in the old country,—

'*I* give him sixpence? I'll see him damn'd first.'

Now this exactly represents the way in which things would

* No. CXIX. for Oct. 1833, *p.* 70.

have gone on with the Americans, if there had been any old man there wise enough to make them leave things to their natural course. As long as cultivation was more profitable than manufacturing, men would have applied themselves in either the Northern or Southern States to land in preference, and have got their manufactures abroad. Just so fast as land got scarcer and dearer, or in other words began to block up, it would have become worth while for men that had money, to apply it to manufacturing certain articles instead. Those articles for which there were the greatest natural facilities in America;—of which, for instance, the materials were near at hand, and which required no great skill or machinery;—would first have been found able to compete with foreign-made; and others in succession. There would have been always a fair game going on between land and manufactures. Just such a quantity of American capital as could not be applied with more advantage to the one, would have been applied to the other; and there would have been saved to the American family, all that has now been thrown away by the dog-headed-Indian policy, of making John pay for Thomas's inability to serve him cheap. There might possibly have been more people and capital in the Southern States than there are now, and fewer in the other; but no American durst have proposed an Act of Congress to say, "Whereas it is desirable that people should be multiplied in the Northern States,—Ordered, that the Southern States do provide them maintenance for the same." And if this stupid state of things has already been given into to a certain extent, that forms no reason why Thomas should go on sinking the family capital for ever; but only why some moderate latitude should be allowed him, for gradually transferring his capital to occupations where he can make a living without plundering it from his wholesome brother.

A friendly power that has arisen in the City, concludes that—

'In a country, then, which does not export raw produce, and which, consequently, can only obtain the produce of another country by the intervention of its own manufactured goods, it is a matter of no import to the wealth of the country whether the landlords are addicted to foreign luxuries or not. And if this be true, it is a matter of indifference where the landlord performs the operation of consuming the said luxuries; whether he eats them, drinks them, or clothes himself with them in St. James's square, or the Faux-bourg St. Germain,—he can only get them in exchange for manufactured goods, which he gets from his countrymen in exchange for his rents. Absenteeism, therefore, in the case of a country which does not export raw produce does (in the aggregate) no harm.'—*City Magazine. No. II. for Dec.* 1833. p. 63.

Now is not this overlooking the fact, that if both the raw produce and the manufactured goods have been honestly come by, there can be no more harm to the public from not sending one of them into the market, than the other? What force would there be in saying, "There is that wicked man, going to carry away corn of his own, instead of sending it to market that people may eat it;"—and not saying the same of the man who should be carrying away pocket-handkerchiefs, instead of sending them to market for people to blow their noses with? The oversight seems to be, that in both cases, if no charge can be brought of the goods having been dishonestly come by, the consequences of taking them out of the market are just as good for *some* of the home-stayers, as the consequences of their not been sent there can be bad for any of the others. The goods being not sent into the market, seems to be in some way or other looked upon as a privation of the same order, as not giving them away there for nothing.

At the same time there may be more in the suggestion, (which the City Magazine points out as Professor Senior's), than that it should be passed over thus. Raw produce, probably means raw produce the result of rent. If the Irish absentees were prevented from exporting their beef and pork and themselves along with it, there is no doubt of its making notable addition to the splendour of Dame-Street. But would not this be accompanied by a corresponding damage to the piggery and bullock interests, by having all this beef and pork thrown upon their market? The subject is dark, and far from being worked out. Only let the other side refrain from inferring, that they of necessity know everything about it; and above all things let nothing be heard of legislating upon the conclusion that the moon is made of green cheese, because nobody has yet arrived at the extreme of evidence that it is not.

PROGRAMME to the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for 1 April, 1834.

THE opposition in England to the Corn Laws, has been supported by a corresponding demand for free trade with England among the people of the continent. It now remains only for the first nation that can get over the dull fraud of "reciprocity," to put down the general absurdity, and obtain the whole it can desire, by first obtaining half.

The French government is pushing rapidly towards the point of unbearableness. There is a mark upon all *justes milieus*. The warning desirable for the English people, is that they should not be afraid with any amazement, when the change

comes in France which the government and dynasty are inexorably bringing on. There will probably be this time what Cromwell would have called a "root-and-branch" revolution; and the chances are that it will tend essentially to promote the common interests of the two countries.

Six unfortunate men have been condemned to transportation for association and administering oaths, under the unknown and unknowable law which the aristocracy keep as a sharp bitt to bring the poor upon their haunches on occasion. Not a word about the gentlemen who admitted nobody into parliament that did not take an oath to an interest in a monopoly, and then prohibited the people's bread. A Dean of the Church of England, who ought to have been a bishop, was celebrated for his manner of administering the sacrament in the chapel of the college of which he was Master; but he one time considerably marred the effect as follows. On casting his eye along the line of communicants, he discovered that he had a piece of bread too few. The rubric in such case directed the consecration to begin again, but this the Dean did not like; so he was observed to be nibbling a little bit from each piece before he parted with it, and while he was repeating the Office with "the adagio and andante it demands," his fingers were busy kneading the collected crumbs (and he was a fat, unctuous man,) into a morsel to go into the mouth of some happy individual towards the end. In some such way as this the law is understood to have been compounded, by which the six men are to be transported. This must needs be what Jeremy Bentham called "judge-made law."

Commissioners have been directed to report on the state of the administration of the Poor-Laws; and they have reported accordingly. The Commissioners have done their duty, and like all men in the execution of an official charge, have confined themselves to the subjects imposed upon them. But it would be contemptible in other persons not under the same obligation, to blink the fact that the whole question of the reduction of the Poor-Rates, is a mere tub for the amusement of the popular whale and the profit of the squirearchy who are standing by to harpoon him, if the subject be allowed to stick at this half-way house without carrying it back to earlier principles. The Poor-Rates are God and nature's judgment on the dishonesty of the landed interest in shutting up the industry of the country by Act of Parliament; "*the eighteen-penny children are eating them up.*" Every poor man, agricultural or other, that is brought upon the poor-rates for relief, is brought there by the immediate act of the men who lord it over him at quarter sessions and parish vestries, as much as if they had made an Act of

Parliament saying "Be it enacted, that Hob Carter and Giles Ploughman, shall never have a shilling in their pockets without the squire of the parish taking sixpence of it to keep his coach-horses." The rural population will be long before they see this; but all things are found out in time. The object of the squirearchy now, is to preserve the wrong and get rid of the penalty. The whole system of Poor-Rate economizing, *if not combined with taking off the restrictions that create the poor*, is only improving the machinery for making the poor die quietly, and with the least disturbance to those who live sumptuously by grinding them down.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, 1 April, 1834.

ART. I.—1. *The Edinburgh Review, for Jan.* 1834. *Article "Changes required in the Corn Laws."*

2. *The Bread-Fruit Tree. A Tale of the Sandwich Isles.*—Times Newspaper, 9 Dec. 1833.

3. *The Pioneer; or, Trades' Union Magazine.*—"*The day of our redemption draweth nigh.*"—Cousins, 18, Duke Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

4. *The Penny Press. New Monthly Magazine, for Feb.* 1834.

5. *Progress of Social Disorganization. No. II. The Trades' Unions. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, for March* 1834.

LITTLE did the innocent *Republicans*, or whatever else may be the name their adversaries chuse to saddle on them, surmise that when they were doing their endeavour to persuade the fierce democracy there was no necessity for a "hurra" upon mother Church on account of tithes as being paid for out of the bowels of the working-people, the Whig was preparing to stand up and say the public should pay for them after all, out of their materials for digestion. But the Whig will always be a Whig; and his ways will be past finding out, except by calculating that wherever men are gathered together to let an abuse down gently, there will he be in the midst of them. He was as nimble as a thief at a fire, in whipping twenty millions into the hands of his confederates the slave-holders; and was perfectly congratulatory in his assurances to the English people, that he had already taken the money out of their pockets to pay the interest. "Dear Sir, do not be afraid for your pocket-handkerchief; it is gone already,"—would be an odd consolation in a crowd; but it bears considerable resemblance to what has been presented to the most paying people of Eng-

land, by the Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer. A corresponding attempt has been made by the Whig organ, to introduce in the pillular form of a short paragraph, the basis for a similar manœuvre on the subject of the Corn Laws. It is a strong sign that an abuse is departing in the main, when the *juste milieu* come out to offer their valedictory bit of rottenness. But in the present instance they greatly diminish the value of the omen, by stopping short at the most effectual service that can be done to a defeated enemy,—contriving that he shall hold his ground like the Jebusite in the land, and calculating for him the scientific maximum at which the diminution of the visible outrage may bring his means of resistance into equilibrium with the public animosity.

'The total amount of the sums levied in England and Wales on account of the poor, and of other public rates, exclusive of tithes, may be taken at about *ten* millions a-year; of which above two millions are levied from houses, mills, &c., leaving not quite eight millions to be defrayed by the land. It is not possible to form any precise estimate of the value of tithes; but, taking them in England at three millions, we shall have a sum of eleven millions, which may be regarded as forming, for the most part, a peculiar burden on the land of England; to which about a million more may be added for Scotland. No estimate, having the smallest pretensions to accuracy, has been formed of the total annual value of the agricultural produce of the empire; but if such an estimate were formed, the countervailing duty on the importation of foreign corn, butter, cheese, beef, seeds, &c., should be an *ad valorem* one; bearing the same relation to the articles on which it is laid, that the twelve millions of extra charge laid on the agriculturists bears to the entire value of their products. But in a case of this sort, minute accuracy is not to be affected; and we should rather err on the side of too much protection than of too little. There does not seem to be any reason whatever for supposing that the agriculturists are fairly entitled to a countervailing duty of above 4*s.* or 4*s.* 6*d.* a-quarter on wheat, and other grain in proportion; but, to obviate all cavilling, and to take away all pretence for affirming that they had been harshly treated, we should not object to allowing them a duty of 6*s.* or 7*s.* a-quarter. The quantity of the different sorts of grain annually produced in Great Britain is not certainly less than 42,000,000 of quarters; and, taking the average duty at 5*s.*, it would amount upon this quantity to no less than 10½ millions sterling; being nearly equal to all the peculiar taxes falling on the agriculturists,—even supposing (for which, however, there is not the shadow of a ground) that they fall exclusively on corn. But wherever the public have to deal with a particular class, it is always best to lean in its favour; and the advantages that would be derived from opening the ports at all times to importation at a fixed duty of 6*s.* or 7*s.* would be so very great,

that an adjustment of the question on this footing would satisfy all reasonable persons.'—*Edinburgh Review, No.* 118 *for January* 1834. *p.* 275.

What playing into the hands of the enemy is this; and above all, what filthy political economy. It can only have proceeded from the school that said eight pounds tithe of an acre of carrots could not be taken from the rent, because there were only forty shillings left for the landlord afterwards. The public has been assured over and over, that tithes are at least as ancient as Melchizedek; and in England it is certain they have belonged to the true church since the Saxon heptarchy. Every man knows, as he knows that at a *restaurateur*'s the less he eats the less he has to pay for, that the farmer whose land pays tithes, pays less rent to the landlord; *ergo* the tithe is, and always was, a portion of the rent in possession of the church. The invitation of the Whig organ therefore to the not-knowing-what-to-do-with-their-money inhabitants of England, is that they should set about paying the landlords for that compact of their ancestors, by which for the salvation of their souls they agreed to give tithe of their produce to the church in the days of Ethelwulf. It is well they are not asked to pay the Jews, for what their forefather gave Melchizedek. The fairest thing in the world would be, that if the plan succeeds, the souls of the ancestors should be turned into purgatory by inversion of the bargain; and till it is ascertained they are, John Bull will be much departing from his proverbial tenacity of fair play, if he consents to the new arrangement. No man has a right to eat his cake and have his cake; and if the lords of the bloody hand chose to wash off the recollections of homicide and the *droit de seigneur* by a bonus to the priesthood, for the chance of pushing past St. Peter as virgins pure and white,—it seems to form the weakest of all reasons why a Manchester operative of the present day should pay the expense by a tax on his children's bread. Either the feudal ancestors had a right to alienate to the priesthood, or they had not. If they had, why talk of taking it from the people now? If they had not, take it from the priests who have it, not from the people who never had it. This is sound popular justice; and all the whiggery in the world will never make it otherwise. If the people of England have a grain of sense or spirit, the Whigs will have moved a hornets' nest by this attempt to saddle them with compensation to the landlords for the tithes their ancestors gave away. But the tithes are not all; there are the poor-rates too. The people of England are to pay for having been made paupers of; and the measure of their pay-

ment, is to be the extent to which this consummation has been effected. In this plot too, the Whig is a party. There have been things of evil odour, from the Roman's tax on chamber-lye downwards; but nothing so totally the antipodes of perfumery as this. It is what a gas-pipe might have been to an Emperor, who instead of a new luxury had advertised for a new ill smell.

And then the mode, the fashion, the artist-like selection of the way in which the tribute of gratitude shall be paid, supposing the people to agree to take no exception to the claim. That the people shall pay the charge of the agriculturist by means of a tax upon their bread,—how ingenious, how profound, how statesmanlike. What pretty words are "countervailing duty;" and how sweetly must vibrate on an agricultural ear, the *douce humanité* which will not object to pay "six or seven shillings" for "four-and-sixpence" worth of tyranny. Love your enemies, said the scripture; but it never said, pay them at this rate for starving you to death. The ancient beauty in the blue and yellow however, opines in the milk-and-wateriness of her benevolence, that "an adjustment of the question on this footing would satisfy all reasonable persons."

But view the thing in another light. The landlords have been their own "law-givers." They have kept everybody from being on the jury with them, that did not swear to an interest in the question in debate. And yet they say they have so arranged matters, that they have laid the public burthens desperately hard upon themselves, and must needs have the Corn Laws to do themselves common justice.

It certainly is not an ordinary thing, for men who like Sancho flog themselves, to lay on too hard; and there is something fearfully suspicious in a claim for having done it. Suppose the brewers in a parish were found to have contrived to enact, that no man should be of the vestry who did not swear to an interest in breweries and malt-kilns. And fancy they were found asserting, that in the exercise of their self-appointed office, they had found it imperative to lay the rates particularly hard on brewers; as a consequence of which they saw an insuperable necessity, for laying twopence on every pot of beer consumed within the parish, and drawing a cordon about the boundaries to keep out other drink. Is there a population in any parish in the kingdom, that would be the dupes of such a barefaced iniquity,—or a breed of brewers that durst face the chances of such a plot? And why is the universal British people to be more stupid than the fragment; or the experiment any safer for the large mass of dishonesty than for the small?

Suppose again the brewers had enacted, that there should be a tax on every man's widow and children, *except a brewer's;* and had given as a reason, that if every time the rent of a brewhouse was transmitted in consequence of death a tax was taken on it, the sum would in the course of time amount to the whole saleable value of the brewhouse. See what manifest fraud, worthy of the hulks, would be contained in such a representation on the part of a brewing interest. In the first place, is not whatever may be true of the brewhouse, equally true of what is not a brewhouse; as for instance of property in the funds? If the saleable value of the brewhouse is 1,000*l.*, and the yearly rent 30*l.*; and some other man bequeaths property in the funds, of the value of 1000*l.*, and of which the yearly dividend is 30*l.*; is not the effect of a legacy duty upon the one, exactly the same as upon the other? But further, is not the representation that a legacy duty on the brewhouse would end in eating up the value altogether, a total and absolute falsehood, put forward as an artificial fly is to trouts, with a cool-blooded intention to take in such as may not see into the fraud? If a funded property worth 1000*l.*, should descend, for instance, every ten years, and 5 per cent be levied every time, —it is true that if the legatee insisted on always spending the full interest of what was left, the property after fourteen descents would be reduced one half, and would afterwards go on dwindling, though no period can be assigned at which it would become absolutely nothing. But then this is exactly what the legatee would *not* do. On the contrary, he would,—according to the rule of prudence impressed on every portion of the public which has not a monopoly of law-making like the landlords,—distribute the amount of the tax over different periods of his expenditure, in such a manner as on the whole to make it equivalent to something like a tax of a half per cent upon his yearly income. And ought not the legatee of a brewhouse to do the same;—unless he means to set up a claim not to pay taxes like other men? *Here is the mystery.* The owners of land have made up their minds, not to allow their incomes to be diminished by taxation; in other words, to pay no taxes, or none that they do not recover from other people. Men do not get a monopoly of the House of Commons for nothing; and as well they have made use of it. They state boldly and openly, "We do not mean to pay taxes; because we cannot pay taxes and spend the same incomes as before. We allow nobody to come into the House of Commons but ourselves; and we *will not* pay taxes. An industrious man can pay taxes and keep up his expenditure too, by exerting more industry. But *we* are not industrious, and never mean to be; and therefore shall

not diminish our expenditure. Let the industrious pay; *we* were born to do without it."

This is the real language held by the land-owners; and a terrible instance it is, of the insolence to which permitted injustice has always a tendency to grow. It almost ceases in fact to be matter of personal responsibility, and takes to a considerable extent the form of mental delusion;—a reason why the straight waistcoat applied by the public should be as gentle as possible, but not why it should be wanting in practical efficiency. The slave-owner, sees all the laws of logic violated, in the insinuation that his title may be unjust; and scarcely less is the astonishment of the inheritor of acred ignorance, when he finds a revolution advancing with slow but steady steps, to send him to the limbo to which all tyrannies go in time. The first thing he thinks of, is his cavalry horse. But there are other men can ride cavalry horses. He will find himself woefully mistaken, if he calculates on military glory, in defence of laws that take fourpence a day from the poor soldier's pay, and a third of a bottle from the ensign's mess. He had better make an honest composition while he can;—his household will scream most horribly, if he puts it off an hour too long, and finds the hard-handed operatives that live by bread, insinuating themselves some morning in column of companies into his sanctuaries of the graces. Those very men have seen their wives and children perish with artificial hunger. It is hard to keep down the devil that lurks in such recollections; and a prudent man will not wait for it if he can help it. Can he give any good reason, why those wives and children should have been destroyed to keep *him* coach-horses? Let him not trust to his clodhoppers. Will *they* fight hard for the poor-house, and the privilege of "coming not at their wives"? Do not they singe him a little now and then, as it is; and is it not as much as he can do to keep them under? All injustice, by God's good pleasure, is a bad bargain; and awful will be the condition of the squirearchy, if they come to a contest with a population in precisely that state, where hunger has sharpened the courage without enfeebling the sinews.

Every man who chuses to run in the teeth of common justice and make himself the enemy of the multitudinous classes, must make up his mind to take the chance not only of what they may do right, but of what they may do wrong. There is no use in banditti being pathetic on the way in which they are sometimes treated when overpowered by the country-side, and getting up a tragedy upon the sufferings of felons tied on their backs in carts, and considerably over-twitched about the wrists by the premature application of a halter. A humane *brigadier*

will hinder it when he can; but he will not see in the possibility that he may not always be able to hinder it, the smallest reason why the country should be given up to the heroes with high crowns and cross-garters. It is by no means certain that the oppressed classes in England *will* be moderate, if the concession of justice be put off till the hour when it can no longer be withheld. But their friends and leaders are not therefore the frank asses that should exhort them to sit down in sufferance for fear their enemies should be hurt. Let all sides take care of themselves; *our* business is to put you down, at all events till you show something like a flag of truce. That the operatives are at present not going right;—that they are going the way which threatens more evil than is necessary to their enemies, without accomplishing the good they desire to themselves:—may be what any man has a right to hold, who is enough of an engineer to know that to try to scramble over the walls is not always the nearest way to take the town. But because the Lord's host is going wrong, is not a reason why a man should abandon the Lord's host; still less why it should be agreed and settled, that the good cause is a thing to be delivered up into the hands of its enemies. If any moss-trooping old woman calculates upon the better sort of the people's well-wishers being frightened out of their propriety, by the danger there may be of her having "light to set her hood" if her kin and clan should carry on the war an hour too long against the interests of the community,—she reckons without her host. They would not willingly harm her beldameship; and they have a great commiseration for old-womanhood in general. But the argument is not broad and long enough, to cover the sufferings of the community. For one distressed antiquity on the opponents' side, there are fifty of all ages suffering on ours. If the thick-witted burghers run their heads needlessly into the fire, depend upon it it was not we that told them. If they come to a disposition to have more of "the disciplines of the wars," depend upon it they shall have the best advice that we can give them. You will make nothing by trying to talk off the natural leaders of the people in its wits. They will lie by, from this time till the people has exhausted the last grain of unwisdom in its composition; and then they will come forward as if nothing had ever happened, and just show what might as well have been done at first. Is it to be believed that they are going to quarrel with poor men who have been busy providing for their daily bread, because they have not come suddenly to the same conclusions as others who were born to the power of scouring the country on horseback, and looking out through one of Dollond's best on the manœu-

vres of the enemy? Let it be understood then "and no mistake." If the people under the just sense of injury and according to their own conceptions of the strategy to be adopted to get rid of it, go wrong and the end is much needless misery both to them and to their enemies,—those who would have rejoiced to lead them artist-like upon the proper points, and mean to do it yet, are not responsible; but they chuse the moment, to protest against and abnegate the sneaking policy of being supposed for an instant to admit, that the possibility of the people's going wrong in their efforts to escape injustice, is a reason why the injustice should be not shown or not resisted. On the heads of the robbers be it; it is not impossible that within twelve months the people will be inside their preserves, and making much needless havock among unhatched wild-fowl. But let it be remembered, that it was simply because the most laborious, quiet, and enduring people upon earth, were plundered in their meal-chest and their bread-basket;—that it was not till the quartern loaf had circulated with the impression

$4\frac{3}{4}d.$ for Flour and Baking.
$3\frac{1}{4}d.$ for the Landlords.

nor till the misery that penetrated all districts of the country, had gone far beyond what the average of history would indicate as the boiling point, where further accumulation attempts to throw itself off by Revolution.

In this state of things, what did the Whig ministry? Acting as the mouth-piece of the sovereign, what was the oil and wine they poured into the wounds of him who had fallen among thieves? The operatives in the manufacturing districts were reported dying on twopence-halfpenny a-day. Of course for them, was commiseration inserted into the royal mouth. It might have been so in Utopia; but in Westminster it was a very different thing. The monarchal travail of soul, was for the "proprietors and occupiers of land,"—the men of four thousand and of four hundred a-year, who want to make it five by driving the operatives from twopence-halfpenny to two-pence.—

> "How little," said they, "the thoughtless poor
> Can know what the suffering rich endure,
> In bringing up dozens of small Grantees,—
> In paying off horrible mortgagees,—
> To say nothing of assignees, lessees,
> And an endless quantity more of these
> *Un*easy things that end in *ees*."

Official individuals do not often do the thing that is insane; knots of men do not frequently agree on what is inordinately

unwise; there is generally a nearer reason to be found. It might not be altogether commendable;—it was not perhaps what can be strictly termed loyal, nor what a man of the people would put into the mouth of anything he agreed to acknowledge as the depository of the public power;—but it is infinitely more consistent with the ordinary course of human action, to suppose the direction given to the Royal Speech was meant for a bitter taunt, a burning spur upon the supineness of the nation that could leave their government to plead the lack of decision in the public will, than that it was designed to be a dinner-table platitude, a corporation blunder, a quarter-sessions apophthegm, a parody upon a charge to a grand jury from an economist in ermine. It was a satire, an irony, the ministers are men of genius, they speak in parables; let no man be stupid enough to take the exoteric meaning of their words, but search for the inward sense that shall teach him to save his soul alive.

There is not the slightest doubt of what the operatives meditate; nor of the reality of the peril which the half-witted knavery of the landed interest has induced from that quarter. The Conservative old women may shudder; they have done the deed, and planted the resolution to change the whole existing order of property, in the heart belonging to every pair of laborious arms within the country; and now they may go out like Mrs. Bond and cry

'Dilly, dilly, dill! come here and be kill'd,'

and see how many of the operatives will hearken to them. It is intelligible enough; they have driven them back upon *first principles* with a vengeance. Did they think the poor would always struggle with them like maids for forfeits? Look at the well-born idiots; rejoice at the cleft stick they have put themselves into; let hell from beneath go out to meet them, and say "Are ye too come to your end like the rest of us." The poor are up, are they? they are tired of greasing your coach-wheels with the marrow of their children's bones? they have had enough of working sixteen hours that you might drive four horses instead of two? Help yourselves, baffled blockheads; brew as you have baked; sit down in fearful waiting for the judgment that shall come upon you, or open the campaign against the people and so make surety surer. Make up your minds to this; or else throw yourselves with the gracefulness of Old Bailey penitence, upon the mercies of a government which retains a chance of quieting the storm, by having still some hold upon the confidence of the people when they see it walking in the way of justice. But try no tricks; if you

are merciful. The people will no more bear a little Corn Laws, than they will bear a little Slave Trade. The public man that should try it, would only be walked over by the eagerness of the community. Like the Jewish lord, he would be trodden to death in the crowd that came for corn; and the only result to the party he meant to serve, would be the fierce call for retribution and example, which is now waived as part of the offer for an early capitulation. The public is past being deluded by being told it must make one wrong "countervail" another wrong; and the man that attempts it, will go down with burnt fingers to his fathers. In twelve months more, the people will be in full march, upon the right object and not upon the wrong. Let not the adversary think the worse of his opponent, for acknowledging that the forces are at this moment a little scattered, and may take that time to get them into *kelter*.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, 1 April, 1834.

ART. IX.—1. *Annual Address by the President to the Fellows of the Royal Society*. 1834.

2. *The Quarterly Journal of Education*. No. XIII for Jan. 1834. Article on "Geometry without Axioms."

3. *Geometry without Axioms. Or the First Book of Euclid's Elements; With Alterations and Familiar Notes; and an Intercalary Book in which the Straight Line and Plane are derived from properties of the Sphere*. By a Member of the University of Cambridge.—Fifth Edition. London; Heward, 5, Wellington Street, Strand. 1834.

4. *The First Six and the Eleventh and Twelfth Books of Euclid's Elements; with Notes and Illustrations, and an Appendix in Five Books*. By James Thomson, LL.D. Professor of Mathematics in the University of Glasgow.—London; Longman. 1834.

5. *Elements of Geometry, with Notes*. By J. R. Young, Professor of Mathematics in Belfast College.—London; Souter. 1834.

WHEN a literary society is addressed by a personage of royal rank, upon a subject which there is no reason for assuming to have occupied a greater portion of his previous attention than is common to well-educated individuals in general, his speech is so evidently that of his ministers, as to remove the possibility of invidious personal application. In fact it must be considered throughout Europe, as the efflorescence and elixir of the opinions of British men of science, poured out through an honoured vessel for the sake of directing greater attention to its contents.

A manifesto under these circumstances, should admit nothing that is done *incuriùs*, or will not bear a rigid torture of examination. In this view, there is one passage in the composition cited, on which temptation is held out to ask a question.

After recounting many of the other works of Adrien Marie Legendre, the Address proceeds as follows.—

'The work of M. Legendre on Geometry, has enjoyed a singular reputation, and has been most extensively used, particularly on the continent of Europe, in the business of education. It may be doubted, however, whether this work has altogether merited the high character which it has obtained: it has rather increased than cleared away the difficulties of the theory of parallels, which have so long embarrassed the admirers of ancient geometry and of the "Elements of Euclid;" and it has not succeeded, at least in any essential degree, in adding to the simplicity of the demonstrations, or to the clear and logical connexion and succession of the propositions of that unrivalled and unique elementary work, which has alone maintained its place among civilized nations for more than two thousand years. It is proper, however, to observe, that the notes appended to this work are full of valuable and original remarks, and are justly celebrated for the elegance of the demonstrations which they furnish of many important propositions.'

The question intended to be asked on this, is how it is possible for any man to "increase the difficulties of the theory of parallels." It is conceivable that he may demonstrate the difficulties to be greater than they had been supposed to be; but it is not to be assumed without evidence, that this is what was meant by increasing the difficulties. He may have made vigorous attempts at the solution, and those, like all human efforts, may have been successful or may not: but still there is nothing arrived at, like "increasing the difficulties of the theory of parallels." It is feared the conclusion must be, that this expression is either a slip-slop way of saying that the theory of parallels instead of being made more luxurious for schoolboys, was made more of what the poet meant who sang "Multiplication, is a vexation;"—or that there is some confusion of ideas, between the desirableness of a point being proved, and a certain sentiment of ill-will against the reformer who goes about to disturb the ancient and settled opinion that geometry is one of the exact sciences.

Another interrogation may be intimated, which is, whether the difficulties of the theory of parallels, instead of having long embarrassed the "admirers of ancient geometry and of the Elements of Euclid," have not embarrassed those who were *not* admirers, or at all events not admirers to the extent

of admiring their deficiencies. The statement put forward by the embarrassed always was, that the connexion and succession of the propositions they complained of, were *not* clear and logical. They did not beg anything to be added to these virtues: they complained of their absence altogether.

There can be no difficulty in coming to the conclusion, that the paragraph quoted above, is rather lack-a-daisical, and not creditable *per se* to British geometers. But there is no necessity for leaving either Euclid or Legendre under a groundless charge. It is worth something, in all cases, to know exactly what a man has done and what he has not. Living at a period when it was manifestly of great importance to collect the known elements of geometry with a view of arriving as rapidly as possible at the actual field of conflict on which new conquests for practical science were in the fact of being made, Euclid would have been much to blame if he had said,—"I could write fifteen Books on these subjects, but I am harassed with some difficulties on the subject of parallels. I have never been able either, to make out to my perfect satisfaction how a 'straight line' should be defined, and there is even some difficulty with the metaphysicians about 'a point.' It is therefore my intention to sit down for a score or so of centuries, and when we have gotten light upon these subjects, I shall begin." It would manifestly have been a great drawback to human knowledge, if Euclid had done this and everybody else had imitated him. Fortunately he set no such example; but sat down to write in order all he knew, and (with exception due of what he knew not) did it well. The things which puzzled him being for the most part at the commencement of his subject, he huddled them up into some twenty Axioms and Postulates, and that, to say the truth, clumsily and lazily enough; for with the exception of the Axiom on parallels, and those (whether given under the title of Axiom or concealed in Definitions) which relate to the nature of the straight line and plane, there is not one that with a moderate portion of trouble might not have been demonstrated as clearly as any of those which had the luck to undergo that process. The truth is, that he had no more notion of waiting for the demonstration of the theory of parallels, or any other of the difficulties that beset the threshold of his science, than the captain of an Indiaman ordered for Calcutta, has of demurring to weigh his anchor till he is possessed of the same solutions. And what he did, like the captain of the Indiaman he did well; bringing home a gorgeous cargo, while other men might be employed at home in looking for the missing portions of the theory. But all this has a tendency to throw ridicule on the philosophers, who never discovered that

Euclid had deliberately jumped first principles, and merely thrown a mass of assumptions into the form he thought convenient for beginning. If he had jumped half the First Book besides, there is little doubt they would have been equally contented, and geometry would just as much have been their "perfection of reason," the exact science *par excellence*. The permanence of Euclid's fame, like that of the man who discovered wheat (the ancients call him Triptolemus), depends much more on the difficulty of discovering the thing over again, than on the perfection at all points of the first results. Triptolemus will always be the father of them that handle the peel and kneading-trough, without inquiring whether he made "French Rolls and Fancy Bread."

All this holds of what may be called the "conservatism" of science. Because a man in the early ages of the world has done one thing well, it is a sort of crime to surmise that he has done another ill or not at all. The jealousy *læsæ antiquitatis* is as distinctly visible as in other cases; and there is the same disposition to thank heaven for ignorance, and bless the maker for being content with things as they contented preceding ages. In spite of this, there have been spirts of rebellion from time to time, and men have not been able to conceal their desire for the possession of the missing members. Few have laboured more strenuously, perseveringly, and candidly in this cause, than the illustrious Frenchman named in the Address. He inserted, added, withdrew, inserted, and added again; thus leaving a monument of the sincerity of his own desire for truth, and of the importance he attached to its attainment upon this particular question.

The fact is that all geometers are possessed with a lurking consciousness, that so long as the theory of parallels remains uncleared, their science is cut off from being what it ought to be, the salt wherewith the world is salted in the matter of sound reasoning. And if each were allowed to make exception of his own little contribution of sophistication, they would probably go further and agree, that instead of the *initia* of geometry having been made an arena for the nerving of reason and the invigorating of sound logic, they had been something much more like a school in which each particular professor tried how far he could dull his pupil's perception of the difference between the proved and unproved, and send him into the world with some ingrafted notion of the peril and unprofitableness of meddling with first principles. A discovery on the Theory of Parallels would clear away a mass of rubbish at the threshold of the dialectic art; and though it might not be immediately followed by liberal governments and the freedom of commerce

throughout Europe, it would have a tendency to it of the same nature as the discovery of Euclid in the Arabic had to the demolition of the feudal system.

The Quarterly Journal of Education subscribes to keep up the ball on this question, by a commentary on a work an earlier edition of which was the subject of an article in this Review *, and of which a later has just appeared bearing signs of alterations directed to meet the objections of the Journalist.

" Twenty-seven closely-printed pages," or the half, are enough to scare even a man of a good courage; but what is to be done, till the thing can be done in less? Under existing circumstances, it would be a point gained, if the object were effected in any compass below what the scriptural hyperbole intimates as being what the world itself could not contain; and this because there would evidently be the greatest probability, that if a clue to the truth were once laid hold of, the thing would *fine down*, and be reduced in the end to something of more satisfactory dimensions.

The Journalist will of course be glad to know, that what in the second Proposition on the disputed question of Parallels (Prop. xxviii *B.*) he reported as " breakers ahead," and thereupon, he says, " put about immediately,"—would if examined, have proved to be nothing but the omission of a proviso, of the same kind as if a surgical writer prescribing scarification, cauterization, extirpation, and amputation, had omitted to insert " Provided always the patient shows no signs of getting well in the interval." The point left unguarded, was not the danger but the cessation of the danger. If the lines (EG and DF, p. 109 of Quart. Journ.) ever meet, there is an end of difficulty; the cause of all the turmoil, being the absence of demonstration that they *will*. The omission is supplied in the new edition; and the objection taken to the want of generality, appears to be removed at the same time.

The Journalist (and any man may plunge into a mistake in writing rapidly for a periodical publication) has fallen into an extraordinary misprision, in supposing it was ever laid down that " no proposition is either to be admitted or denied without proof." This would indeed be a droll sort of scepticism. He appears to have been misled by the imperfection of the phrase " *negative* of a proposition," as used in the place referred to (Nomenclature 31 of Book I). Whether the innovation will be tolerated, which in the fifth edition coins the term " *connega-*

* Westminster Review for October 1830. Article " Geometry without Axioms." (Page 306 of Vol. I of the present Work).

tive" to express the case "when a negation is inserted both in the premises and the conclusion, and the proposition so arising is presented as a new proposition,"—is for logicians to determine; but this manifestly is something quite different from the simple negation of a proposition, with which the Journalist has confounded it. This mistake is all the ground there was, for attributing to the author of "Geometry without Axioms" the portentous doctrine, that nothing is to be *denied* without proof. All that holds of this, including the figure in p. 108 of the Quarterly Journal, may consequently be cut off.

The world would have been glad of more acquaintance with Apollonius of Perga. The fragments of him preserved by what may be suspected to have been inferior men, prove him to have been a resolute hunter after demonstration. If his attempt at demonstrating that "things equal to the same are equal to one another" is correctly given by Proclus*, it fails from not insisting on the coincidence of the two magnitudes with the third *at one and the same time.* As in the story of Columbus's egg, this is the little tap which sets the thing upon its end. The Journalist gives rather hard measure to the author of Geometry without Axioms, when he "admits" all the "impropriety" said author charges upon Euclid, and then "is at a loss to see what advantage is gained in the proof." The Journalist's proceedings on this part of the subject, are a specimen of geometrical conservatism, and how much may be done to save the credit of the fathers. Euclid no more meant his Axiom on coincidence to contain his definition of equality, than he meant the Proposition that the sides opposite to equal angles are equal, to contain his definition of an isosceles triangle. As one evidence of this, he uses the term "equal" and its derivatives, six-and-twenty times before he bethinks himself of his Axiom. The simple fact is that Euclid was thinking of something else. The last amended version of the proposed demonstration is here next given †; with a notification of the fact, that sixteen other verities usually administered in the form of Axioms, are derived from it with apparently as much regularity as any other set of sequences in the rubric of the orthodox.

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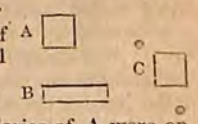
* *Procli Comment. Lib.* 3. In the same Book Proclus records his high disapprobation of Apollonius's attempt to demonstrate the Axioms "in a spirit of opposition to Euclid." From a passage in *Lib.* 2, Apollonius appears to have been further discontented with the Definition of an angle.

† Both the Theorems subsequently given, have received additional alterations in 1839.

'THEOREM.—*Magnitudes which are equal to the same, are equal to one another.*

Let A and B be magnitudes, each of which is equal to C. A and B shall be equal to one another.



* I. Nomenclature 14. Because A is equal * to C, if the boundaries of A were applied to the boundaries of C, A would coincide with C, or might be made to do so by a different arrangement of the parts of A. And because B is equal to C, in like manner might B be made to coincide with C. If then the boundaries of A and the boundaries of B were applied to the boundaries of C at one and the same time, A and B would then and there coincide with
† I. Nom. 14. one another; and because they coincide, they are † equal. And in the same manner if the magnitudes equal to C were more than two.'—*Geometry without Axioms*, *p.* 8.

If an accurate definition of an angle was given in the place of an inaccurate one, it does not seem to follow that the definition was "a dead letter" because the subsequent "treatment of the angle was the same as that of Euclid." The utility of defining an angle to be a plane surface, is that it makes reasonable the addition and subtraction of angles as afterwards practised; which is surely not being "a dead letter." And while on this subject,—why does the Journalist turn *radius vectus* into *radius vector?* The things are intrinsically different; the *radius vectus* carries nothing, but itself is carried; the *radius vector* is the travelling carriage of a point.

The demonstration of the Twelfth Axiom proposed by M. Bertrand is the subject of additional examination in the Appendix to the last edition. Professor Thomson in the Notes to his Euclid (p. 355) has directed attention to the similarity between the proposed method of M. Bertrand and that of Proclus. Both of them appear to be ingenious modes of substituting empirical inference for mathematical demonstration.

As the part entitled "Intercalary Book" was not in the edition of the "Geometry without Axioms" formerly noticed in this Review, it may not be superfluous to state, that its principal object is to derive the straight line and plane from properties of the sphere. The question on which the whole turns, is the demonstrating that two spheres touch only in a point. This being supposed successful, it is easily demonstrated that if two touching spheres are turned as one body about the two points which are their centres, the spheres (as long ago observed by Plato) are without change of place, and consequently their point of contact is so too. After which, it is only necessary to suppose a succession of different touching spheres about the

same centres, and the *locus* of the point of contact will be a line having the property of being turned about its two ends without change of place; which is a *straight* line. A lengthy proof, which anybody is at liberty to reduce in bulk that can, shows that if two equal spheres are brought into contact, and about their centres two greater spheres equal to one another are described, a straight line from the point of contact to any point in the intersection of the greater spheres, will on the whole being turned about the two centres, describe a surface having the property, that the straight line joining any two points in it will lie wholly in that surface; which is a *plane*. As the demonstration that spheres touch in a point, involves some novelty in the mode of proof, the principal case is here given entire. The references in the margin to matters previously established, will serve to show that there *were* such references. The objections made by the Quarterly Journal in p. 113, have manifestly been had in view.

'THEOREM.—*If two spheres touch one another externally, they touch only in a point.*

Let the two spheres whose centres are A and B touch one another externally. The one cannot touch the other in more than a single point at once.

For if this be disputed,

First Case; let it be assumed that they touch in the superficial figure CEGDHF in Fig. 1 below; and let this portion of surface be distinguished by colour on each of the spheres, so as to be recognized when the sphere is turned into any other situation. If then either or both of the spheres be turned in any manner whatsoever about its centre which remains at rest, the spheres must still always touch in the same figure in fixed space CEGDHF and not elsewhere. For if not, one or both must have suffered change of place; which cannot be, for each of them is* without change of place. Let then the sphere A be turned † about its centre, till the coloured portion of its surface which was originally in the situation CEGDHF, is brought into a situation IESF, such that one part, as CESF, continues to coincide with part of CEGDHF, and another part IECF does not; and because the spheres must still touch in the figure in fixed space CEGDHF and not elsewhere, the portion CESF of IESF must continue to coincide with part of the surface of the sphere B, and the portion IECF not. Let the portion CESF be now further distinguished by colour or otherwise, on the surface of the sphere A; and on the sphere being returned into its original situation by turning it back again about its centre, let the situation into which CESF on its surface is thereby brought be OGDH, and let the portion of the

* INTERCALARY BOOK, Prop. 4.
† INTERC. 4.

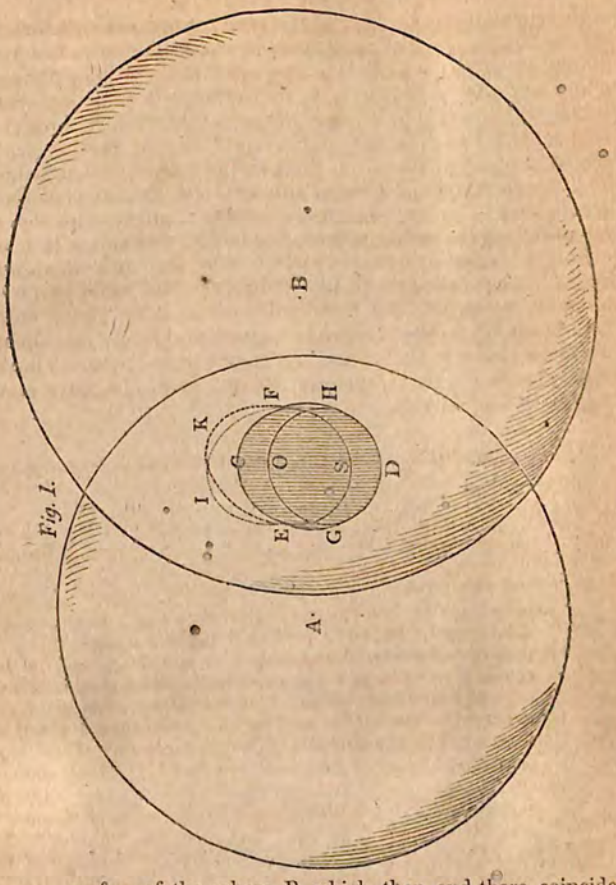


Fig. 1.

surface of the sphere B which then and there coincides with OGDH, be also distinguished by colour or otherwise. And after this, let the sphere A be turned about its centre again, till the portion of its surface OGDH is returned to the situation CESF in which it was before; and let the sphere B be turned about its centre till the portion of its surface which coincided with OGDH before, coincides with it again in its new situation CESF, the remainder of its coloured surface being thereby brought into the situation KECF. Wherefore the two coloured surfaces which at one time were in contact throughout as in CEGDHF, at another time are in contact in the same identical portions CESF in each as before, but in the remaining por-

tions IECF and KECF they are not. Which is impossible. For if the two surfaces at one time are in contact throughout, portions can in no way be made to cease being in contact and be separate while in the rest the surfaces continue to be in contact by application of the same identical parts to one another as before; unless by one or both of the surfaces undergoing alteration (that is to say, ceasing to be the same surface as at first, and becoming a different one). The assumption *, therefore, which involves this impossible consequence, cannot be true; or the spheres cannot touch in the superficial figure CEGDHF. And in like manner may be shown that they cannot touch in any other superficial figure.'—*Geometry without Axioms*, *p.* 18.

* I. Nom. 26.

Processes on a similar principle establish that the spheres cannot touch in a self-rejoining line, nor in any line which is not a self-rejoining line, nor in insulated points more than one at once; from all which it is concluded, that they can only touch in a single point.

The collection of methods at different times proposed for solving the difficulty contained in Euclid's Twelfth Axiom, has been carried to thirty. One of the most remarkable additions is the method proposed by Mr. Ivory, extracted from Young's "Elements of Geometry;" which, though praised by the commentator, curiously enough contains in itself the elements of its own dissolution.

The leading alteration in the part on Parallels, is the confining the process to establishing that the three angles of a triangle cannot be *less* than two right angles; which is all that is necessary to the object. Among minor alterations may be noted the change in the order of the Propositions with which Euclid commences the First Book. The part also which relates to the amount of the interior and exterior angles of rectilinear plane figures, has perhaps been for the first time what Blackwood calls *combed through*.

There can be little doubt of the Quarterly Journal being right, in its belief that Mascheroni's *Géométrie du Compas* was at the bottom of the story of Napoleon's pursuit of "circular geometry." But this does not affect the fact of the story having been the exciting cause of the investigation into the connexion between the straight line and sphere, and of its influence having depended on the interest attached to everything supposed to have originated with Napoleon.

As the Quarterly Journalist has evidently done much good to "Geometry without Axioms," he will perhaps do a little more.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, 1 April, 1834.

ART. XII.—*An Explanatory Treatise on the Subjunctive Mode, being the substance of Mr. Noah Webster's Fourth Dissertation on the English Language, with numerous additions, and introductory Remarks, &c.*—By H. J. H.—8vo. pp. 63. London; C. Hunter, Bell Yard, Chancery Lane.—1834.

THAT the use of the Subjunctive Mood in the English tongue should "long have been a subject of perplexity" to H. J. H., may at first appear to rank among the fanciful evils of humanity. But the utility of writing any given language correctly, is upon examination a matter of more extensive ramifications than might on the instant be surmised. In the first place, success or failure is strongly decisive of a man's habits of cultivated society; and in the next, which though connected is not identical, it is decisive of the degree of the individual's familiarity with the causes and influences which have induced the cultivated portion of the society to agree in certain uses or disuses.

The exact reasons why a certain form of speech once used has fallen into disuse,—the precise rules by which the transfer is regulated, and the precise time at which it may be announced to have taken place,—appear to be incapable of close definition, and if the question could be invested with political importance, it might form on that account as pretty a subject for the eloquence of a Joseph Surface of the House of Commons, as it is easy to imagine. Still the fact is, that things do change. Neither "the court, the camp, the grove," talks now as in the days of Elizabeth. A few quakerly or hypergrammatical individuals linger by the olden forms; as a well-aged gentleman is now and then to be discerned in the Strand with a hat of antique mould, his only possible reason for wearing which, must be the recollection of having won the love of ladies in it before the conclusion of the gone-by century. As in fashions so in words, the object of the *liberalis homo*, the free and fearless well-educated man who neither covets singularity nor dreads it, will be to hit the mark of the passing age, leaning towards reason if reason be introducible, yet not so much so as to cut off the skirts of his coat because some philosophers have maintained that no reason can be given why coats should have skirts. One explanation of many phænomena, is a halting between ancient ideas of necessity, and modern ideas of what may be done without. Thus the ancient idea of a coat was, that it was necessary it should have flaps which could upon occasion be wrapped about the lower limbs as far as the knees if not the ankles, and enable all the nerves therein included to set the weather at defiance. Some inventive genius superinduced the voluptuousness of having a button in the

middle of the skirt, whereby the two corners might be doubled outwards and fastened together, for the admission of fresh air and sunbeams when desirable; and the love of ornament innate in man as well as woman, added the idea of a lining of a different colour; both which inventions, though in a shrunk and diminished state like what naturalists sometimes discover of an organ in the transition classes of animals, are to be seen to this hour in the rear of his Majesty's regiments of foot guards, and other classes of public functionaries. Very similar has been the progress of language. Our forefather in the skirted coat, thought himself not safe in body without his flaps, nor in tongue without his subjunctive mood after all capable conjunctions. He had the sentiment of being taken unawares, a lively foresight of what might happen to him if he walked abroad without such provisions. But the more careless race that followed him, *pejor avis*, began to double up their skirts, and undouble their subjunctives. They kept the sentry-box of a coat, for occasions that might require it, and the subjunctive for the same; and as they grew bolder by impunity, they at last dashed along with little more than an apology for either, to give perhaps a *progeniem vitiosiorem*, who shall display their *glutæi* muscles like the men of Fuseli, and disclaim all reverence for conjunctions in their parts of speech.

But till the time comes, men must not paint their hides and walk naked though the Britons did. It is incumbent therefore on every one to fit himself with decent apparel suited to the age; and if he aspires moreover not to be loutish, he must take some pains to discover what the fashion is. The exact length of skirt now given to the subjunctive mood in English, appears to be, that it is confined to the expression of *conditionality with uncertainty*. Not of simple conditionality; but there must be uncertainty conjoined. There has evidently been a strong and general tendency to reduce its bounds and cut short its borders; and here seems to be the point where as a Frenchman would say, *nous sommes*. And used in this manner, it is not only not burthensome, but it is distinctive; an argument that very probably it may remain without further defalcation. In the *spoken* language, which may be assumed to include nine hundred and ninety-nine thousandths of the English used and expended, the perception of the different use is exceedingly delicate and unfailing; it is only the *writers*, who in their "affectations," cannot follow the guide bestowed upon them by their grandmothers. As in *stopping*,—that other bugbear of scribblers,—if people would only be content to make the written expression a copy of the spoken, they would scarcely ever be at a loss. The authorly rule on the contrary appears to be, to insert the possible *maximum* of

stops, taking particular care that nothing capable of being put into a parenthesis, especially if it be a solitary adverb, shall want its company of commas. In speaking to a child, there seldom occurs any difficulty about the subjunctive mood. We say to it without hesitation, "If it *rain* tomorrow, you cannot go." But we say, "If you *are* good, you may come out of the corner." What is the difference in these two cases, where both are conditional? That in one case there is uncertainty, and in the other not. The raining or not is uncertain, as are all things of the morrow. The child's being good or not, is a thing decided one way or the other at the present moment; and therefore the subjunctive is not used.

And this distinction is actively useful in common life, as contributing to the clearness of communication. Let a man in the street be heard saying "If the child be a boy,"—and it is known directly that he is speculating on the sex of a child unborn. But if he says "If the child is a boy."—the immediate inference is, that he has heard of a child being born into the world, but has not yet heard of what sex. Such a difference might lead a police-man to the discovery of a murder. Again, a gambler claps his hand upon a card and says "If it is an ace, you win." But if he makes a proposition *de futuro*, he says "Let us draw a card, and if it be an ace, you win." In one case the thing is decided, in the other it is yet to be determined.

The conclusion therefore seems to be, that the tense of the English subjunctive which may be described as coinciding in form with the infinitive mood of the verb, should properly be denominated the Future. The nearest to an exception, is probably when it is used in cases where the question, though the decision has actually taken place in one way or other, is represented as still doubtful to the speaker. "If there *be* any defect," says Blair, "it is in the words immediately following these I have quoted." Here the use of *be* forcibly intimates the uncertainty existing in the speaker's mind, although it may be undeniable that the doubtful fact is already decided one way or other in the existence of things. Distinct from all, is the use of *be* as the old English present; as in Hamlet's "O there be players."

The most flagrant misuse of the subjunctive, is in applying the hypothetic tense of *to be* (which is the only verb in which that tense ever possesses a distinctive form applicable to the case in question) to times past. Such expressions as "If the builder of the pyramid *were* Cheops," appear to be totally indefensible, whatever may be the degree of uncertainty attached to the question. But a nice point, and one accurately laid down by H. J. H., is that this subjunctive hypothetic *were*, is a pre-

sent as well as a future, though never a past. "If I *were* in a situation to defend myself now, I should disdain to flee," and "If I *were* ever to have a seat in parliament," appear to be both perfectly accurate. When *was* is used after the conjunction improperly, it is because it relates to an action not past. A man that is heard saying in the street "If I *was* the rogue you take me for,"—is not speaking good English, unless he happens to add "I have reformed since."

The difference between *will* and *shall*, with their tenses *would* and *should*, is of much more difficult determination; and it must strike foreigners as an extraordinary peculiarity of the English language, that not even the natives of Scotland and Ireland ever acquire the use of them in precisely the same way as the inhabitants of England. *Will* implies futurity with will or consent of the speaker. *Shall* implies futurity, often against the will of the person spoken to. "I will," or "I won't," in the mouth of an insolent girl, implies merely a determined volition; but "I shall," or "I shan't," implies a determination to act in defiance of the person spoken to. On the other hand a Staff officer writing to a subordinate and meaning to be civil, says "You *will* march at four o'clock, and on arriving at such a point, you *will* send forward &c."; in which there is an effort to disguise the exercise of authority, by representing the deed as flowing from the will of the subordinate. When a translator of Euclid says "If two triangles have two sides of the one &c.; they *shall* have their third sides equal;" he means to imply a forcible necessity that the consequence now for the first time declared shall follow upon the premises. But if he afterwards says "Because these two triangles have two sides of the one &c.:" he contents himself with the gentler phrase of "they *will* have their third sides equal," for it occurs as a thing on which there can be no dispute or violence, inasmuch as it has been satisfactorily established previously. At the same time the accidental uses of the two words are numerous, and perhaps come in some cases as near to the defiance of rule as it is easy to exemplify.

From observable touches about the book and preface, it is manifest the author is a utilitarian; and every individual of that class who can advance a new claim to knowledge or improvement in any direction, is to a certain extent "as though he brake a dog's neck,"—and has inflicted a blow of some assignable magnitude upon the great fabric of human evil.

It will be in the memory of many persons, that the author of the "Political Register" attempted this subject a year or two ago, and was beaten out-and-out by the cockney Hunt. To those who have not Hunt's "Tatler," the present book is

perhaps one of the most short and useful manuals upon the question.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, 1 April, 1834.

ART. XIV.—1. *Motion of James Silk Buckingham, Esq. M.P. on Impressment for the Navy.* March 4, 1834.

2. *Motion of Major Charles St. John Fancourt, M.P. on Flogging in the Army.* March 14, 1834.

THE lesson to be daily and hourly inculcated on the numerous classes of the community, is that what are called the higher classes, on all and every temptation, do them the least good that is possible and the greatest harm that they can. It is not that they often do them evil gratuitously, or to use a popular expression, for the mere fun of the thing; for the occasions on which the sufferers have taken their defence into their own hands, have sometimes had too serious conclusions, not to leave an impression that the bear is as well let alone when there is no absolute desire for his skin. But let anything be to be got for the ruling orders, their kin, clan, tail, or posterity,—let there be any ease, comfort, shirking, evasion of trouble, or procurement of satisfaction to any of these in the smallest degree concerned,—and the rights, happiness, *feelings*,—the word is put there to be mocked at,—of the numerous orders of mankind, are of precisely as much weight in the scale, as the tender passions of the negroes were to their owners in the West Indies. In fact this is what creates both the necessity for a free government, and the difference between it and any other. A free government is one where the working men and women are able to prevent their aristocracy from whipping them or their offspring; where a man can walk this way or that way at discretion, and follow his calling without having it announced to him that it is the pleasure of his betters that he should be taken away to do their work for less than it will be done for in the market; where the owner of strong limbs and tough sinews can not only be fat and sleek by grinding in other people's mill of slavery, but can also be fat and sleek without it if he pleases, or even be less fat and sleek, if he happens to have a maggot in his head that prefers the leaner liberty. The people of England cannot do this; and therefore it would be a mockery to call them free.

At this moment the ancient tyranny under which the people of England have suffered, is undeniably in a course of diminution. But it is simply because the power of the people has got

the upper hand; and not from the slightest savour of virtue in the generality of their rulers. They differ from the old ones, principally in being somewhat longer-headed. They calculate better the maximum of evil which it is possible to maintain; and of course they finally maintain a greater quantity of evil than their rivals would have succeeded in. Nevertheless it is true upon the whole, that evil is coming down; and at a less expense of suffering in return, than would have happened in the other way. But the point to be aimed at, is to prevent the people from resting in any confidence in the immediate organs of the change: to point out to them how certainly they must and will stand still at an enormous height of mischief, if they leave the matter to the unalloyed discretion of their actual rulers; and how absolutely and immoveably necessary it is, that they should forget everything that is behind, looking forward only to what is before, and so press onward to the mark of something like a decent influence of the numerous classes upon their government, which shall at least suffice to protect them from gross personal insult and injury. The French revolution took place, because a common Frenchman could not prevent his being trampled on by the *noblesse*. A revolution of the same kind will not take place in England, because the common people have strength enough and friends enough, to bring their betters to reason without it.

See now what the organ of the high church party says to you upon the subject of running you down like felons to save your governors from paying you fair wages. Remember these are the men of the pulpit; it is for this they tell you to pay tithes, and invite you to send your children to learn their catechism. If you would take their counsel for the path to heaven hereafter, buy a pious book from Messrs. Roake and Varty, highly respectable salesmen and efficient instruments in their way, which is in the middle of the Strand. If you would find your road to hell on earth, Messrs. Roake and Varty are equally furnished with tracts in favour of "Impressment and Corporal punishment." It is an odd mixture of the surplice and the cat-of-nine-tails, the priest and the press-gang, holy church and earthly tyranny, whipped backs and confirmation, man-stealing and the litany, tender mercies and the tender off the Tower stairs, hand-cuffs and "Good Lord deliver us."

' It is, of course, one of the popular "cants," because the custom is one of long usage, and essentially necessary to the safety of the kingdom, to talk of the barbarity of pressing. But, in fact, it is absolute nonsense—it is the name of the thing—like the rigmarole trash about slavery; a man is pressed—to do what? To put himself into

a position of positive comfort, with clothing and pay, plenty to eat and drink, and a snug bed to lie down in at night.'

'To be a desirable object for impressment the man must have been at sea before—nay, the present regulation is to compel every shipowner to keep a house of call for the press-gang. Surely, to a man used to the dirty, filthy, smoky, greasy, disorderly, sheep-smeared, goat-dirtied, pitch-plastered, tar-smothered decks and gallies, and cabooses, and round-houses of a heavy-going slug of a merchantman, the very prospect of the smart, sharp, square-yarded taunt-masted hooker, with her snowy-white holy-stoned decks, her jetty blocks with their shining sheaves, her bright belaying-pins, her glittering stauncheons, and, above all, her towering pennant, and her nobly waving ensign, must be a sort of heaven, if not [on] earth, at least upon the waters. What! is it a punishment for a man to escape from a frowsty red frock and tar-stained trousers, into a pair of jolly pipeclays and a smart Guernsey shirt, with the name of his craft beautifully seamed across his gallant breast—absurd! His glazed hat glittering in the sun, with a lovely copy of his favourite figure-head painted in all its proper colours;—is it a cruelty to a man to take him from smoke and smother—the duty of fifty men divided perhaps amongst eight, in doing which he has a chance of getting flogged by a Newcastle clod, or a Limehouse vagabond, for forgetting to bring a pound of mutton-chops on board the *Clumsey* for dinner, or for upsetting a pot of lobs-kous in the fire-place of the caboose? We repeat it—the thing is all absurdity—mob-catching, popularity-hunting, beneath a Government. Why not negative Mr. BUCKINGHAM'S motion at a blow?—Why tamper or temporise with such a question?—and why, of all men, Sir JAMES GRAHAM, who knows his colleagues, and has given us his open, fair, and honourable opinion of them?'

'But let us for a moment consider in detail what the evils are to which the drudge of the merchantman is exposed by impressment—a poor fellow, perhaps, who has been for twenty years doomed to lend his hand to bring Lord DURHAM'S coals to market. Mercy on us! what an occupation. Why this man is impressed, and *forced into this*.'

'A home—a comfortable bed—clothes at a price the most reasonable—soap and tobacco—all of which he may purchase, and, as can be proved, lay by, ten pounds at the end of the year, exclusive of what the fortune of war may give him as prize-money.'

'He has provisions in abundance—nay, he has the very same provisions, in quantity and quality, as the Captain commanding his ship, or the Admiral commanding the fleet—he has as much spirits as any man ashore or afloat ought to drink, and if he prefers it, on many stations—we believe on all—a pint of wine in lieu of them.'

'If he is ill, he has the best medical advice at hand, gratis—medicine for his restoration gratis—every attention and consideration paid to him in illness—every care taken to ensure his recovery. Pressed or not pressed, he has two months wages advanced him, when his ship is fitted, in order to enable him to supply himself with any little

extra comforts; that when he is abroad, he can receive a certain portion of his pay for present use, limited only by a consideration for his ultimate good, which precaution is absoluteiy necessary with noble hearts and liberal minds, such as the KING's men-of-war's-men are known almost universally to possess.'

'But, more than this, the common sailors—as the poor, dirty cockney sweepers, and patriots, and scavengers, and orators, call these brave fellows—the men-of-war's-men, can allot a portion of their pay for the support of their wives or families, or relations, which sum is paid to them monthly, without charge. *This, their officers cannot do.*'

'The man-of-war's-man can write to his home, to his family, his sweetheart, or his friend, let him be where he may, upholding the honour of our flag in the remotest corner of the world, for the charge of one penny.'

'Moreover, when his ship is paid, which it must be every year, he can send all, or part of his pay to any place in Great Britain or Ireland, at the risk of Government, for the use of his family, or he may receive it where he pleases, himself.'

'To those men-of-war's men, who distinguish themselves by their good conduct, their gallantry—and it is hard to make distinctions there—appointments to be petty officers are open. Many a man now walks the quarter-deck, with his shining epaulettes on his shoulders, and glittering orders on his breast, who began before the mast—nay, there are more flags than one flying, and ready to fly, at the word of command, that belong to men who were at their outset what these cockney lubbers call "common sailors." That they were *not* common sailors, their present station proves.'

'After this, let it be considered that a man-of-war's-man, after a certain number of years, has his pension, if he shew that he has not forfeited his claim to it by misconduct. Recollect, that if he be wounded, or if he live—as thousands of them do—to a good old age, Greenwich Hospital, that noblest of noble institutions, is open to receive him; but that is not all, his boys and girls are eligible to the schools at Greenwich, and that while he is sitting on his bench, under the shades of that magnificent building, chewing his quid, and fighting his battles over again, he may see his fond and favourite children enjoying their recreations from study, as happy—aye, happier, perhaps, than the richest and noblest in the land.'

'Talk of impressment—of the necessity of change—of a Bill of Registration—of Mr. BUCKINGHAM's philanthropy, and Sir JAMES GRAHAM's long consideration—we say again, stuff—pull the truth out of the husk of humbug, and see what it is. The people of SHEFFIELD, who sit with their noses at the grind-stone from morning till night making razors and scissors, and fire tongs and hearth shovels, have an undefined notion of the horrors of the sea. This, coupled with their admiration for Mr. BUCKINGHAM as an advocate for the *liberty of the Press*—which they have confused somehow with the *tyranny of the Press-gang*—have set the grinders in a flame, and it is quite right that Mr. BUCKINGHAM should, as Mr. HAMILTON says, "*go the whole Hog.*" But for a serious discussion, or meeting his

motion for a Committee, with a Bill embodying part of his scheme, it is only another proof of the weakness of our wretched Government.'

'Sir JAMES GRAHAM certainly went farther—at least as the reports say—than he need have done, in praising the good intentions of his colleagues; why, if, as he said, he believed that they *never did* anything without conscientiously meaning well, why did he so gallantly, so honourably, and so properly denounce them in the affair of BARON SMITH, and vote against them *because he had a regard for his own honour and character?* Rely upon it, the GRAHAM is much too good to remain with them after Easter; but in the mean time we trust that the House of Commons—which is now like the performers in a Dutch concert, where every man plays his own tune—will, in spite of patriotism, philanthropy, Tom-foolery, and Mr. BUCKINGHAM, reject any Bill to alter that, which is admitted to be absolutely necessary for the safety of the country, and for which the substitution of a registry of men whose vocations necessarily scatter them over the whole face of the earth, could in no degree whatever compensate.*'—*John Bull*, March 9, 1834.

See what undisguised and open slave-trade is driven in your bones and muscles,—not modified or mystified, but put forward under the avowal that opposition to it is to be met with the same contempt as the opposition to negro slavery. They are a set of poor *niggers*, the common English, after all their bullying; that will allow themselves tamely to have personal slavery thrust down their proper throats, and defended by appeals to the unreasonableness of resisting it in the West Indies. Look at the sort of argument thrown to you in your kennel; and compare it, for instance, to the argument that might have been brought forward by the predecessors of these very men, when they claimed and exercised, which is not so long since either, the *droit de seigneur*,—perhaps you have not the tongues,—the right of sleeping for three nights with your wives. *There* would be "rigmarole trash" for you, if you grumbled. "A woman is pressed—to do what? To put herself in a situation of positive comfort, with clothing and pay, plenty to eat and drink, a much better bed than she has been used to, and an agreeable gentleman of the landed interest to keep her company. What! is it a punishment for a country woman to be taken from a smoky house, and dressed up like a squire's lady, and put to bed like any heiress in the land? Is it a cruelty to take her from a village lout, fuming of ale and tobacco, and put her in the landlord's snug apartment, warmed

* 'For further information on the point, *vide* a pamphlet published by *Roake and Varty, on Imprisonment and Corporal Punishment.*'—Note in original.

with steam, and himself smelling of Bond Street and scented all over with the best lavender-water—absurd! The thing is all mob-catching, popularity-hunting, there are men that make a trade of going about to interfere with the comforts of the aristocracy. Remember too the gifts, the pay, the beautiful shining gold piece in the pocket, which she may be sure to calculate on at quitting if she has behaved well. The best medical advice too at hand, if there should ever be occasion, gratis; —every attention and consideration that the housekeeper's room can afford in the way of chicken broth. Talk of impressment—of the necessity of change—of a Bill of Registration—of Mr. Buckingham's philanthropy—we say again, stuff—pull the truth out of the husk of humbug, and see what it is."

Now this, hard-working and enduring poor people of England, is as good in every way as the declared and avowed tyranny thrust upon you in the other matter. There is but one petty objection in either case; *You do not like it.* If the thing be as good as they tell you, what need to force people into it. It is because it is *not* as good, that your enemies go about to cheat you into acquiescence in their using force. You see your men. On the one side negro-drivers, backing themselves on the established church, supporting their treatment of you undisguisedly upon the propriety of doing the same in the West Indies; on the other side a ministry, halting between their fear of retribution, and the desire to do wrong.

A Yorkshire Mrs. Partington, on being waked by her house on fire, laid hold of the chamber utensil and rushed out exclaiming, "I've sav'd some'at." The object of the Whigs is always to save a "some'at." There is perpetually some vessel to dishonour,—some cracked potsherd without a handle, and tied together with two turns of most filthy packthread beneath the remnants of a rim,—that they set their hearts upon to rescue from the peril of Reform. In the present instance they formed a salutary judgment of the impossibility of preserving the total evil. But they saw a chance of preserving an abstract hold on the opinion that it is, was, or may happen to be the law, with a further hope of shelter under the title of its being the King's prerogative; and they jumped at the possibility. It would be a great thing, in such a wreck of mischief as has or may take place, to save some rag or remnant of a brutal practice. As if men could not find out, that if it is the law, men go to parliament to alter it; and if it is the King's prerogative, it is one of those things which ought as speedily as possible to add another item to the list of conquests of a civilized nation over feudal barbarity. A little while ago, we were *all* slaves; the Whigs must not be allowed to chuckle under the idea, that they have

carried off in a bag the palladium of slavery for water-borne businesses.

Exactly similar has been their conduct on military and naval flogging. The question at issue was, whether the aristocracy should preserve the right of flogging the *demos*. The subject has at last come forward from the proper quarter, the officers of the army; who take the liberty to think scantily of the soldiership of the men that cannot keep their troops in order without the liberty of blood. The really useful officer knows, that military flogging has among others this great objection, that it fails before the enemy; and there being no habitual discipline independent of it, the results are those scenes of horror and indiscipline which have disgraced the British army to a greater extent than any other under the sun. What is your cat-of-nine-tails man, in a battle or a storm? The mischief of the flogging system is that it fails where discipline is most wanted. The invariable cry is, "you cannot be flogging men before the enemy;" which is true enough,—but sensible men would not entrust discipline to a punishment which thus fails where discipline is most required. If it is asked what punishment should be substituted in such circumstances;—put the criminal into the travelling prison of a pair of handcuffs, and march him so for an assigned number of days in rear of his regiment; blood is not cleanlier, nor in any one way more economical. If *that* will not tame a reprobate and hinder others, whipping will not. The confining soldiers in civil gaols, was a mere invention of the enemy, to hold in check officers opposed to the punishment of flogging. "You would not degrade the individual and the army,"—was the plea provided for every tough old president of a court-martial, who loves the smack of the whip in defiance of smooth-faced subalterns from the universities. The question was boldly brought forward in parliament by Major Fancourt, as fine a young aristocrat as steps, and twelve years ago the veriest image of Don Juan that ever joined a regiment of Indian dragoons. Men are not always to be taken by their looks; there is good blood and true heart under the tufted chin; and many a gallant has the genuine spirit of leadership in him, that never harmed mother's son out of the field of fair fight. There is perhaps no profession into which the improvement of the age has made such deep inroads, as into the military and naval. But there is reason to fear that the "old fogies" will have their way, till they see some symptoms of its being dangerous. A people are always whipped, till they chuse to intimate they wish it was left off. The sailors to this day talk with triumph of the mutiny at the Nore, as having put an end to what seems to have been peculiarly unpleasant

to the "sons of the waves," the being ordered by a midshipman to go up to a cask, that he the midshipman might stand upon it to kick them. The old blood-letters will never be brought to reason, till something like a hint, a distant one, what a tailor calls a *leetle*, is given them that the thing may be dangerous. "For information only," it would be curious to know what would be the consequence, if an officer ordered to preside at one of these brutal exhibitions, should take into his head to say to the men, "If *you* are fools enough to stay to see this, I am not." The writer knows a man, who was as near saying it to a battalion, as makes the difference between snapping and not snapping; but Minerva pulled him by the ear. Had there been one spice more of devil in his composition, or one other shake at that moment to the recipient of his bile, the words would have been out. Is it not better to mend things in time, than take such chances? The Whigs however will hold out to the last: it is their nature. When evil is to be wrought, it is always in its favour that it should be done abroad, and *there* they will try to keep up the power of the whip. In the meantime, whatever may become of the soldiers, the sailors are strongly recommended to try the question. It often happens that personal liberty cannot be defended without fighting: there is nothing new in it. The Whigs know perfectly well, that men who have destroyed life in self-defence upon this question, have been acquitted by the law; so that even as the law is, the ground is good. Above all things, let not the sailors encourage the stupid fraud that would compare the proposed registration to *balloting for the militia*. If the registration was for the *sea-fencibles*, the public might admit the analogy. But as a mere question of profit and loss, why should the sailors, and why should the merchants that employ them, submit to the obscure tyranny of a few bad men in office, eaters of their own professions, and the forlorn hope of expiring misrule? Would it not be wiser, to join with the other masses of the community, that are endeavouring to know their just interests and learn to enforce them?

Westminster Review, 1 April, 1834.

Art. XVI.—1. *Quarterly Review, No. CI, published in March*, 1834. *Article* "*On the Corn Laws.*"

2. *Globe*, March 24, 1834.

IN all kinds of polemics whether by sea or land, the best and easiest game that can possibly be played, is to find the leaders of the adversary doing exactly what if they knew better

they would not have done, and then take advantage of it and "go on to immortal glory." The only defect indeed about the recipe, is that it is not always that leaders can be so caught *en flagrant délit;* but when they are, is the time to make hay whether right or wrong, and the worse the cause the more need there is for taking advantage of the sunshine. It is of leaders as of kings, *Quicquid delirant &c.* All parties must be responsible for the men that get to the top of things; and if they are ill led, they must e'en look on and "joy to see" how well the adversary shall play his game. One comfort however there generally is to the popular cause, which is, that like Bunyan's Christian it may say to the Apollyon, "though I fall, yet shall I rise," and maintain a cheerful hope that all failures and lettings-down are only steps in the accomplishment of the necessary process to victory. Set down one, therefore, to the Globe, and another to the Quarterly, for having wrought in the good cause of exhausting fallacy, and giving a whetstone on which to sharpen truth.

'It was a gross delusion practised upon the farmer by the landlords, to say that they, the farmers, were interested in the continuance of the present system of corn laws. (Hear, hear). Let the question be fully and fairly discussed, and let the farmer really understand his own interest, and he would undertake to say that it would be impossible to maintain the doctrine that the two interests were identical, and it would be equally impossible that the monopoly of the corn laws could any longer exist. (Hear, hear.)'—*Times.* House of Commons. March 21, 1834.

This may be all very true and very proveable. But *is* it proved; or is something given that is no proof? Because if there is, the enemy will crow; and as he is far too stupid to know the difference between a thing proved not to be, and a thing not proved to be, the one will do for him just as well as the other.

'The farmer was a person who had to obtain his livelihood by the application of his capital in a particular pursuit—the tillage of land for instance; his interest, therefore, depended upon the rate of return rendered by his capital, which again depended upon the price of the produce of the land with reference to the rent. If the price fell, or, in other words, if it were reduced by the repeal of the corn laws, the interest of the farmer must be put to rights, and his losses prevented, by a reduction in the rate of rent. (Hear, hear.) When it was clearly proved that the interest of the farmer depended upon the price of the produce of the land with reference to rent, the farmer must be satisfied that he had no interest in the monopoly of the corn laws, but that the landlord had.'—*Ib.*

The enemy does no wrong in assuming this to be a statement, that the reason why the farmers have no stake in the corn laws, is *because their interests can be put to rights* by a

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reduction in the rate of rent; a cause manifestly incompetent to the production of the effect. The farmers are not only interested in paying a proportionate rent, but they are also interested in the *quantity of occupation* for farmers. No thoroughly informed leader on the Anti-corn-law side, would go about to tell the farmers that it was no loss to them *simpliciter*, that a stop should be put to the cultivation of considerable quantities of the poorer land, and to the profitable application of a certain portion of capital in carrying to the highest point the improvement of the best. The farmers are not very bright, but they are brighter than this; there is no use in throwing away rhetoric of this kind upon them. The farmers know well enough, that when they got the corn laws, they got a flush of farming business; and though they are in an "agricultural distress" at this present, (which means that they find they have made fools of themselves), they have a strong consciousness of the converse fact, that so far as their brief optics have hitherto been directed, they see nothing but aggravation from any removal. There must be more expenditure of mathematics on all sides, before anybody gets out of this difficulty.

Another authority—

'was ready to maintain the principle that the farmer had no interest in keeping up a high price for corn. The farmer during the currency of his lease was a part proprietor of the soil, and had a temporary interest in high prices, but that interest ceased on the expiration of the lease. The farmer, however, had a large, enduring, and permanent interest in low prices, like that of all employers of capital. The cost of cultivation was different in different qualities of soil, and if they admitted foreign corn, they might throw out of cultivation those poor soils that produced little corn, but they would not throw out the superior soils, and on those soils the farmer would get higher profits than before. Suppose a farmer obtained ten bushels per acre from a certain description of soil upon which the expense of cultivation was equal to that of soil which produced 20 bushels per acre, it would be no disadvantage to him to have the inferior soils thrown out of cultivation. If they looked to the question with attention, they would find the interests of the farmer were different from those of the landed proprietor, for the one had an interest in low prices and the other in high. The hon. member for Wiltshire had said that he was an advocate for cheap corn if the expense of cultivation was lowered, and he [the speaker] concurred in that principle.'—*Ib.*

This is the same assertion, set on a new base. The farmers are to have an interest in the lowering of prices, because the expense of cultivation will be less. Supposing it is, there is little difficulty in seeing that the profit is more likely to go to the landlord than to the farmer. Will the landlord not bethink

himself of saying, "You pay less wages than you used to do, and therefore can give me more rent, or at all events I may take off a shilling an acre from the reduction you insisted on." It would be a very hopeless effort, to go to a farmer and endeavour to persuade him of the simple converse, viz. that an increase of the price of the corn would be *primâ facie* a most hopeless and dangerous thing for him, by reason that he would have to pay more wages, and the expense of working the land would be increased. He would reply, "Give me ten shillings an acre in the price of corn, and *I* will find the increased expense of cultivation even if it be half-a-crown." The key to the whole would be, that the increase of the price of corn would make a large increase to the rent, which would go in the main to the landlord if there was no lease in the way, but out of which the landlord would be but too happy to let the farmer take the interest for his increase of outlay. And though all converses do not hold, this does.

Upon all this, there is no wonder the opponent should crow. But he will take especial care not to note, that the way in which the farmer was brought to loss by the corn laws, had by no means been rested on such rough and half-examined grounds as these, but had been referred to the effect of the general check to the possibility of finding profitable employment for industry, which must reach the agriculturists last if not first, and make them bite of the bridle of public misery which they have been so zealous in bringing on,

Suppose the working printers in London could procure an Act of Parliament, confining all printing in the United Kingdom to the existing London operatives,—would there be any use in telling them, in the simple case, they did not gain by it? If some collection of stupids, should frame a plan for giving every other kind of workmen a similar monopoly, so that all kinds should finally eat of the common folly, this would be something like the existing state of things, and their condition might, like Touchstone's shepherd's, be damnable enough;—but this is not the simple case. If they got a monopoly by themselves, they would gain, to a certain extent and for a certain time; and the farmers, when they got the Corn-laws, did the same. When the printers had lived up to the increased profits, and filled all existing printing-offices, however many, with their children and relations (which might reasonably enough be accomplished in twenty years), they would be much where they were before; and the farmers might be the same. But there happen to be two or three new consequences arising out of the fact, that corn is not types. When the printers have got to the extremity of their new tether, they are, at worst,

much about the point they were at before. Printers may be full; but they have pretty nearly the same chance they ever had, for making their children hosiers, hatters, haberdashers, or any other of the vocations on the list. Not so the farming conjuror. *He* has had the wit to lay an embargo on the whole progress of the country's industry. He has said, not a step shall you advance beyond what can be kept upon a certain quantity of corn: and then stands admiring the fact, that cousin Jack's six long-boned lads cannot all take snug farms within the county. And cousin Jack discovers if he tries, that there is just as much difficulty to make them tailors. Coats must come by wearers, and they by corn: there can be no infinity of shop-board, where there is an Act of Parliament upon the meal-tub. In this way the plague comes round upon its authors. They, and their labourers, are screwed to the last pinch by the competition in their line; at this very moment they have half-a-dozen children each, for whom there is not the smallest chance of escape from the squire's coffee-mill the poor-house. It is quite right,—it is a thing to sing anthems for;—so fall the foes of honesty everywhere, and honest men will the sooner come by the power of living by their work!

Just as the farmers suffer, do the landlords, the smallest most; the only excepted class being those who are born to getting good gifts and governments for their children. And they have a new source of suffering; the poor-rates are devouring them. Those that are not allowed to keep themselves, *they* must keep. In the language used before the Poor-Law Commissioners, "the eighteen-penny children are eating them up." Heavens prosper the multiplication of eighteen-penny children; they will be the saving of us after all. Small then is the skill that cries *Victoria* on the discovery that the landlords are a beast with many backs. The problem to be submitted to the "Globe" should be, "Given a million taken from the public; among how many people must half of it be divided, to make it public gain?" It is a strange sort of algebra.

'When it is said that the abolition would affect the landlords only, the assertion means that it would *only* affect the property of the very great majority of those who have any property to be affected.'

Bottle up this, of the vintage 1834: that our grandchildren may admire the notions of their ancestors. It will have an odd look fifty years hence. Let it be duly impressed upon them that it meant that their cunning progenitors bought corn at the dearest market, because they discovered that the very great majority had got corn to sell.

After this, it is very easy to make jokes about "Ragged Men." That the ragged men do not get up no inconsiderable joke upon the other side, is dependent on the same causes that take a drove of oxen to the butcher's shop. Perhaps after a little further course of raggedness, the "march of intellect" may march them in a different direction.

The article in the Quarterly Review, is a congregation of the current fallacies in favour of the robbery of the industrious classes, put forth with the apparent innocence of anything having ever been said on the other side, which is peculiar to ecclesiastics. The first of these plunged into, is the assertion that the maintaining the necessaries of life "at an equable price, is an object most worth the attention of a good government;" the thing meant being "maintaining them constantly at an *unjust* price." There is an odd stiffness about the word "most;" anybody in the trade of criticism will see, that the desire was to say that it was "*the* object *the* most." But a reason follows, that is in the highest degree characteristic. "If they be unusually cheap, you have, in the present state of public morals, so great an increase of idleness and profligacy as to produce a considerable increase in the mortality of each year." Wherever the carcase of tyranny is, there is sure to be the company of the preachers. To the influence of this kind of holy fraud must men submit in all their concerns, till they can break up the system which rears a separate caste of men by public endowment, to cherish all wrong, father all oppression, and cross the temporal interest of their fellow-citizens everywhere under the mask of helping them to heaven. The next are the old averments, that the landlords will be ruined by getting foreign corn, and still no foreign corn will be got; and that foreigners will not buy our manufactures though they may sell us their own; both of them "theories" which would be discreditable to the bell-man, but utterly ruinous to the parish clerk. Suppose it true, that "foreign governments would never consent to have their fabrics destroyed by the unrestricted introduction of British goods:" does that form any reason why the English people should be so bestial, as to tax themselves to support the tyrants of the soil, and refuse to buy food where it may be had? This is part and portion of the fallacy of "reciprocity;" which is the point on which the question mainly turns, and of which even the most interested may be suspected to have in general at this moment a very imperfect understanding.

The old fraud that "the agriculture of the kingdom is the first of all its concerns, the foundation of all its prosperity in every other matter," is of course reproduced from the agricul-

tural committee. As if it was not known to every man and boy that does not think himself interested in not seeing, that this was a mere thimble play consisting in putting "agriculture" in the place of "having corn." Jokes too against "King People" may be very good; but "King People" is a great log if he takes things much longer as he has done. Great strength and eye-sight cannot come together, without leading to a consummation "extremely disagreeable" to the enemies of the public weal.

'Ask,—but let your petition be couched in the menacing terms of a demand, and accompanied with a display of physical force! Knock,—but have sledge hammers and brickbats in readiness to force an entrance through doors and windows!'—*Quarterly Review, No. CI. p.* 243.

So says the Quarterly; and if it thought this was sarcastic, it was wrong in so thinking of a very fair description of what has been impressed upon the people by the same kind of process, as Mr. Ducrow employs when he trains a horse with a carrot as a "motive" for obedience and the *chambrière* for the opposite. The trade and traffic of all governments in turn, appears to be to teach the people, that they get no justice till it cannot be withheld. The impression forced on the public is, that governments do not meet to know what is just, but to know how many days of open trenches are between them and surrender to a just demand.

A Lancashire weaver is brought forward, who on being asked whether he does not "think it a bad principle of political economy to break down wages for the purpose of selling goods cheap abroad, and better to lift up wages so as to secure a great and certain market for our manufactures and agricultural produce at home,"—tumbles, as was likely, into the pit before him, and says, of course, it is a most mischievous thing to bring down wages. The poor man manifestly thought the question asked him was, whether there would be any sense in proposing to the operative to take less wages, for the chance of the increased quantity the master might sell *under a given state of opportunities;* it was never likely he should understand the darkling allusion to the Corn Laws, contained in the words "a great and certain market at home." Had the man been asked whether the "intelligent and virtuous part of the weavers in Lancashire" thought it desirable to give the landlord three pounds for a quarter of corn instead of two, in order that the landlord might buy of them with it three yards of cloth instead of two, he would have hit upon a very different kind of doctrine that "insulted the human understanding."

The Quarterly Review is glorious on the fact, that manufac-

tures are established throughout the continent. That is to say, the landed robbers first cut off the manufacturers from trading with the continent, and thereby laid the continent under the necessity of manufacturing for itself, and now twit them with it. Great is the patience that comes of ignorance; if it would only last. Of course it does not omit to try what can be squeezed out of the obsolete "Factory" *hoax*. The landlords first sew up the mouths of the manufacturers, and then run about to tell them how painful is the prick of the needle. There is assuredly no insolence and no fraud, that the labouring English would not take from what they call their "betters" as a compliment. An old diplomatist, it was said, would have received a kick in the rear without moving a muscle: an Englishman of the laborious classes might be persuaded to turn the other cheek, and add with piety "For what we have this day received." The winding-up of the Review is most unfortunate; consisting in the unhappiest of all allusions to [Moore's?*] inimitable poem of "The Bread-fruit Tree." The squires, God wot, are the bread-fruit trees; for love of which metaphor we are counselled not to cut them down.

There is no use in raving at either the incendiaries of the press or of public meetings. They mean to lay you as low as any race of beaten plunderers on record. The public intelligence is rapidly advancing. Liberal terms have been offered, and treated with contempt; it will be time enough to stop again, when we have got the nineteen years tax on home-grown corn, and the land-tax to help the mortgagees. The principal point for study now, is to ascertain how the assured fall of the landed tyranny, may be made to bring down with it the greatest quantity of other abuse. The intimation is freely thrown out, for the benefit of those who may be induced by prolonged resistance to increase the magnitude of the catastrophe.

PROGRAMME to the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for 1 July, 1834.

THE rural oligarchy are carrying the day, and the poor man is to be oppressed in his drink as well as in his bread. At every turn he is met by his betters, who not content with taking toll, insist on spitting in his pot. A time may come, when no landholder or member of parliament shall be able to drink a glass of claret in the house, but shall be obliged to come with his pitcher, and drink it at the distance the sovereign

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* "*Aut Morus, aut diabolus.*"

people shall direct. Why should not this take place as well as the other,—and is not hit for hit fair play? When the few interfere with the gin palaces, why do not the many take a look into the claret palaces? they pay for them, and the others cannot say they pay for the gin. Truly if Archimedes wanted to move the oligarchy, he need not lack a place to stand upon.

In France the *juste milieu* have got everything their own way; and will not be the safer for that. But their opponents are scantily informed in their craft. A foreigner of a very peaceful calling said of the French, *Ils n'ont pas de politique d' application, ils n'ont que la politique de discussion.* And so the opponents of the *juste mitieu* will go on, without ever laying their shoulders to taking advantage of the enormous practical blunders their adversaries tempt them with. For example. Free Trade is a question on which they might bring three-fourths of the nation into line. But the truth is, they have not got so far themselves. The secret of popular force, knowledge, is not forthcoming with them. England is perhaps as far beyond France on these points, as France is before Russia. The Chamber of monopolists must have its way, till the people's eyes are open; and then there will be an end of the Chamber of monopolists. Things go on everywhere quite fast enough; and every man has quite as much as he deserves.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, 1 July, 1834.

ART. I.—*Deontology; or, The Science of Morality: in which the Harmony and Coincidence of Duty and Self-Interest, Virtue and Felicity, Prudence and Benevolence, are explained and exemplified. From the MSS. of Jeremy Bentham.* Arranged and Edited by John Bowring.—2 vols. 8vo. London; Longman and Co. Edinburgh; Tait. 1834.

AT a period like the present, when the *multitudinous* classes of society throughout Europe are agitated by a more or less distinct impression of the injustice, cruelty, and fraud, to which they have been subjected by the classes which arrogate to themselves the title of the *higher*,—exacerbated in this and the neighbouring country of France by the additional sting of the evil having been continued or brought on by the treachery of those who were looked upon as friends,—few more substantial services can be attempted to the community at large, than any effort to throw light upon the real nature, origin, and extent of men's duties towards themselves and one another,—what men are to endure, and why,—what they are to protect themselves from, and how,—what are the remediable or pre-

ventible evils of man's estate, and what not,—and what information can be gained from the common-sense of past or present individuals (which is philosophy), upon any of these important questions.

To any man who to a tolerable familiarity with the leading events of his own age has joined a certain acquaintance with the history of past periods and other countries, it is needless to do more than recapitulate the facts, that the leading phænomenon of all time, has consisted in an incessant series of efforts on the part of such specimens of the human race as found themselves in possession of wealth or power, to turn those qualities to advantage as the instruments of obtaining more, at the expense of the less wealthy and less powerful. These efforts have as incessantly been met, by a spirit sometimes of active and sometimes of passive resistance, on the part of the suffering classes; and the consoling, and in the existing stage of man's history the incalculably important result, is that on the whole a gradual process of self-protection has been going on, which from time to time has obliged the oppressors to abandon certain grounds and yield up certain claims, confining themselves to such war against the interests of the community as could be carried on upon what was left. But here again,—lest man's improvement should advance too rapidly,—a degree of counterbalance has been caused by the springing up of new forms and opportunities of oppression, arising out of the new and progressive state of things, and supplying to a considerable extent the places of the old. For example, the old persuasion of a feudal aristocrat, was that he ought to take the vassal's service for his wars *ad libitum*, and the vassal's wife's for three nights by way of composition for a longer period. His descendant in the present day, confines his demand of military service to the waterborne; and commutes his claim on the other corporal subsidy, into a tax on the food of the family he permits to be reared without his personal interference. With a proper portion of the wisdom of the serpent, he is ready to admit the primitive claims to be worn out, and even to descant occasionally upon the advantageous comparison of the present times with the past. He gives up as sour, the grapes he believes to be unattainable, and attaches himself to such as appear to be within his reach.

In this and almost every known state of human society, there has further existed a permanent order of men, bound to the upper and oppressive classes by strong ties, reinforced in most instances by negations or privations tending to cut them off from a common interest with the rest of the community; and to this order has by custom and opinion been in great measure

committed the determining, or which is the same thing the *making*, of both private and public morality. They were to be the fountains,—they were to hold the spout,—from which men were to be baptized with the knowledge of what was good and evil, as regarded their conduct towards their fellow-citizens, their government, and foreign nations. They were not by any direct wire to control the utterance of laws by the judge, the sovereign, or the publicist; but they were to be laid under an almost invincible necessity of combining their influences over the individuals who were to be the personal actors in all these kinds, to knead and mould them into one continuous and irresistible system. The name given to the result, was *social order;* which always involves a begging of the question, that the social order produced is a good one. There is no doubt of its being "social order," or such order as the society is allowed to have; but the question for a wise man would be, whether it is such as the society should be content with. And the answer to this, will depend on discovering some general principle for determining, independently of the dicta of any class or classes of men, what it is that individuals and the society *ought* to have,—what is meant by the term *ought*,—what are the means of its attainment, and what the degree in which it can be attained. In this it will be reasonable to expect opposition from the moral-*making* classes. No man loves a rival in the market, or rejoices to see a rule set up with the avowed purpose of over-riding the rule, so far as it shall be found opposing, which he has been labouring to set up himself. But it must be submitted to, with what grace the sufferers may. The history of the world presents one continuous example, of the gradual submission and subjection of this sacerdotal class, to successive eruptions or rebellions of the principle of reason or philosophy inserted in man; and it would only be a repetition of the perpetual mistake, to suppose that the end was reached just now. As far as concerns the portion of history included in the Christian æra, the constantly advanced claim, as well known, has been to the right of deciding as the interpreters of revelation. And the as constantly employed weapon of the conquerors, has been the proving,—to the satisfaction, if not of the opponents, at all events of large and important masses of mankind,—that the interpreters could not interpret their own rule; and this without at all involving the question of the authenticity of the rule. The right of burning heretics, and forcing nations of other religions "to come in," would have been strictly adhered to till the present day, if the reason of mankind, exercising itself upon abstract principles of what the patriarch of Westminster has chosen to call "Deontology," had not discovered that such

things ought not to be. It may be true to a very considerable extent, that certain general maxims avowed in the declared revelation, have added light and authority to the gropings of mankind after the reasons why heretics should not be burnt. But it is not the less true, that all that was done was done in the teeth of the most violent resistance on the part of the great majority of those who maintained themselves to be the possessors and interpreters of the rule, or what for brevity may be called the orthodox; and that it was only by degrees, and through great tribulations, that the protesters gained footing enough to be allowed to live in peace, till they should be disturbed in turn by the repetition of a similar process upon themselves.

The upshot of all this is, that man can find out what is good, or in other words can work out the principles of "Deontology," as he can of Geometry or any other science; and that if he could not, he would still have been burning heretics at home, except when he was busy crusading abroad. It is of no use to perplex the case with the question, whether he could or not have done this without the aid of revelation; for no objection is made to any man getting light at any time from any quarter that he can. The thing maintained is, that "Deontology" of some kind has been and is, at all events a "worker together:" and that without such working together, there is the evidence of facts that the result, such as it is, would not have been attained.

What then is the basis of this science, the existence of which in the minds of men, has in all ages been the controller and teacher of the priesthood, the legislator, and the politician, so far as they have been controlled or taught at all,—the science of the δέον [*deon*] or that which *ought* or *ought not* to be*? The common word pushed forward in answer, has been *duty*; which is only Gallicized Latin for the Saxon *ought*. The answer therefore, when cleared of the tongues, is that the basis of what a man ought to do, is what he ought to do; a poor conclusion. But what is the common property, the general attribute, of those things which it is declared *ought* to be done, and of those which *ought not*? What has been manifestly

* It is interesting to pursue the meaning of words of similar import in different languages, as indicative of the ideas uppermost in the minds of the users. Δέον is from δεῖ "it ought to be," and this again is from δέω *ligo*, "to bind;" which connexion is exactly copied in the Latin *obligatio*. The Latin *debeo*, which like the Saxon is used both for "owing money" and "ought," appears to be *de* and *habeo*, "having" something "of" or "from" another person, and which consequently he can demand, and enforce an obligation to surrender.

running in the heads of all mankind since the existence of language, is that there is something of the nature of an obligation or bond;—something which powerfully binds a man to do certain acts or to abstain from certain others. A different branch of the same metaphor represents the existence of a *debt*; a certain course of action to be followed, for reasons of the same kind that a debt is to be paid. The reasons may exist in some evil that is to come upon the recusant, either from particular individuals or from the society at large; or they may consist in an appeal to certain habits or feelings the debtor is supposed to possess, which will make it uncomfortable for him to continue in the non-discharge of the so-called *debt*. But whichever of these it may be, the mere recognition of such a term as *debt*, whether in a savage of the Tropics or the Pole, implies the consciousness of a force of some kind, impelling an individual to one course rather than to the contrary; and which, though he may possibly resist, he must still resist at the expense of resisting a force. There is a tide in favour of his doing a certain act; and though he may perhaps swim against it, it must at all events be at the expense of swimming against a tide.

But if there is a force, can there be any doubt upon whom it must act? The question might seem of matchless absurdity, if the doubt had not been raised with imperturbable gravity by men that pass for wise. When mankind since their beginning have used terms akin to *obligation*, did they mean an obligation upon the person bound, or an obligation upon somebody else? There seems to be no danger in assuming, that it must be upon the person bound. There is visibly no touching a man, but through himself first or last. When we talk of his feelings for other people, we evidently mean the feelings produced *in himself* by what he sees done to other people. If a man is said to feel more for other people than for himself, what is meant is manifestly that the feelings excited in him by the view of other people's situation, are more piquant and energetic than those excited in him by the consideration of his own. If a mother in a famine should divide her last morsel among her children to the exclusion of herself, this would be because the pain of seeing her children want, was greater than the pain of suffering want herself; and the least reasonable of all conclusions would be, that it was because she did not feel at all. It might seem trifling or irrational to go into such a point as this, if the fact was not, that the researches of the moderns after the principles of Deontology, have been protested against in totality, by individuals of no inconsiderable name*, under the title of

* Dugal Stewart, Dr. Chalmers, &c.

the "selfish" Theory of Morals, upon this very ground and no other, that they referred all obligation to a man's "self" and not to somebody else. The whole being in fact a pun, and a poor one, on the popular meaning of the word "selfish" as derived from "self." Because reasons were to act upon a man's self, they fancied they must be "selfish;" and set themselves in consequence, it is to be presumed, to find reasons that should operate without acting upon a man at all. If they had declared, or attempted to prove, that no weight or too little had been given to those feelings which are excited in men by view of what happens to others, they would have had some ground under their feet; but it so happens, that the parties impugned had been particularly diffuse in examining and laying down the different ways in which men felt in consequence of viewing the feelings of other men, and in dragging this principle forward as forming a large and important part of any just theory of the "ought" and the "ought not." In fact they had avowed, that without the *ad libitum* use of this principle,—to which they had given the good round term of the "principle of sympathy,"—they would not undertake to make anything like a theory of morals at all.

Akin to this, is the objection,—which is noticed as having come from a respected source,—that benevolence has been based on a calculation of good to accrue to the individual *from others*, and that it ought to have been confined to a calculation of good to accrue to the individual *from himself*. In the first place, there may be suspected to be some mistake between benevolence and beneficence. When the supporters of the Greatest Happiness principle were twitted with inability to give a reason why men should do good to others, it seems perfectly justifiable that they should have given as *one* reason the fact that to do good to others is in the long run the surest way for a man to obtain a great deal of positive good to himself in turn. There was nothing base or abject in producing this motive among others; it was little more than saying, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." But when the production of this reason for beneficence is brought forward as if it had been the *only* reason ever advanced, it might be inferred that not a word had been discoverable on the pleasures of "sympathy," or the tendency of acts of benevolence to the creation of "habits of benevolence" which like all other habits produce gratification by their indulgence. The manifest operation of such habits, is to make the happiness of others realize itself so vividly in our minds, as to constitute our happiness and to become a motive, independently of, and in addition to, any absolute good to be derived from others in return. Who, when

he relieves a maimed sailor in the street, does it with a view to the chance of finding the sailor ready on his road home, to knock down a mad dog with his crutch, according to the received prescription in children's books on such occasions? Nevertheless the story may not be without its use, in awakening the attention of children to the desirableness of cultivating the good-will of others; and it may be doubted whether there was ever a child so flinty-hearted, as to infer the desirableness of limiting the exercise of charity to occasions where there was a probability of receiving subsequent assistance from the crutch. In addition to the mistake between benevolence and beneficence, there is probably in the objection described, a little tendency to the superfine. It appears to border on the "divine love" of the French mystics; where the Divine Being was represented as the supreme object of love, but to make the love pure there was to be a sieving-out of all considerations of past or future good derivable from the beloved object, and the lover was to go all lengths in loving, with the single reservation that it was to be for nothing but the abstract pleasure to be discovered in the exercise of the affection. There is nothing to hinder any man from going to the utmost length to which he feels excited, in developing the portion of the principle which relates to the good to accrue to an individual *from himself;* but there appears no reason why he should demand to begin by cutting off the good he is also to receive *from others*.

If it has been sufficiently established, that a motive to be felt must be felt by the man that is to be moved,—the next point is to try to get light on the nature and description of the force or forces, that do or may operate on individuals and societies; and to collect, if possible, what it is, of which men in all ages appear to have had a more or less distinct vision in the shape of some general and tolerably concise rule. And,—to begin at the beginning,—the first and rudest force or set of forces that operate upon mankind, is the desire to possess anything that promises present pleasure, and to avoid whatever indicates present pain. If a man could be imagined to be called into existence with all his susceptibilities fully developed, but with as complete an absence of experience as occurs in an infant; there can be no doubt that he would proceed to make himself agreeable to the first handsome woman he met, with as much simplicity and ignorance of possible reasons to the contrary, as a child stretches out its hand to a passing fruit-basket. And till he had had some time to acquire more gentlemanly habits, he would probably, as some savages would perhaps do in like circumstances, conduct himself very cavalierly towards any

male protector who should interfere with his will and pleasure. He has yet to learn, that there are other men of equal strength, who admire beauty too,—and that the personal contests consequent on clashing wills on these occasions, are apt to be such as to make it desirable for all parties that there should be some rule for a general accommodation. The same unlicked creature, would to a certainty never suffer hunger while he knew there was food in the domiciles of his neighbours; till he had been rapped on the fingers sufficiently often to make him abstain as a pointer does from partridge. These are the first or rudest forces that would operate on such a being, or that would be called into action among a multitude of such beings if they were many. And there is no difficulty in seeing, either in what manner, or on what principle, they are speedily modified and to a certain extent neutralized. The *manner* is, by the operation of one man's resistance to another's wishes; the *principle* is, that greater good or less evil *is to accrue to the individuals upon the whole*. Frankenstein's man is to let other men's pottage alone, because the knocks he will get in the pursuit of his object, will be worse to bear than going without the pottage. He must find out that there is a pottage that is lawful and right; and set himself to study Burke upon legitimate enjoyment. And if Frankenstein made many men, they must knock their heads together till they can come to some terms as to what and where each of them shall eat unhindered by the rest; as has in fact been done in all situations into which companies of human beings have been thrown.

Here then is a very clear apparition of the principle of the greater good; or if the phrase may be lapsed into without offence, the "greatest happiness." It may not be a perfect dilatation and evolution of the principle; but it is an exhibition as far as it goes. Frankenstein's men may be a long time before they come to a perfect cognizance of all and every imaginable bend and sinuosity in their new science; but they have manifestly got hold of the end. The rule for them all to aim at, clearly is, the rule which they would voluntarily agree upon if each was equally likely to be the subject of the rule in turn. And this is no other, than the rule which will produce the greatest quantity of happiness upon the whole. For if the rule is anything else,—supposing each member of the society or his immediate intimates to be equally gifted with bodily powers,—there will instantly arise a desire to have recourse to claws, in consequence of the absence of the balance which is to produce a general peace. It is true that one may say to another, "You shall have none of *my* pottage, but I reserve to myself the right of taking a tenth of *yours*;" and he may

claw and beat him till he consents,—in other words he may reduce him to a state of slavery. But this would go under a distinct name, at all events in the mind of the sufferer; and instead of being considered as a sacrifice to the new principle, would be considered as a sacrifice to its absence.

Rude and imperfect as would be the efforts of such a generation to come to an understanding and enforcement of this common rule, there would no doubt be numerous instances of individuals who took every opportunity of breaking it, when the prospect of retribution from individuals or the society at large did not press strongly on their view. The family of Frankenstein would in fact have got pretty nearly into the condition of New Zealand. Why some families have gone beyond this state and others have stuck fast in it, is one of the mysteries of human history. But if the family in question was one of the destined to advance, it would form the leading rules into something that would be called laws, and organize and improve the means of employing the united force of the society in their support. And as these processes were invigorated and refined, a new discovery would begin to arise upon the considerate barbarian,—which is, that taking all risks into the account, the chances of an ordinary man for happiness, were much greater by following the rule, than by flying in its face. He might still have a lickerish leaning towards the trade of Cacus; but the suspicion that he might at some time or other fall in with a stronger power than his own, would keep ninety-nine hundredths of the community within the pale of "*ne quis fur*." The remaining hundredth might perhaps take to the caves, and declare it a delightful life; but the sober ninety-and-nine and their posterity, when they saw the occasional members of the runagates blackening in the sun, would only bless themselves that they had been wise enough to chuse the better part; and if an inquisitive philosopher pressed them for a reason why any man should sacrifice his personal impulses to the good of the society, they would point to the ghastly memorials and leave the inference to be completed from the comparison of their own better estate. And in this or a somewhat advanced state of society, there would be no difficulty in discovering the same principle in operation in a less rude form. "*Deprensi non bella est fama Treboni**" is the same motive in a gentler shape. If Horace had said, "But Papa, if I can do the deed and escape being caught?"—then Horace *père* would have replied, by asking how he knew he

* "The reputation of caught Trebonius, is nothing to covet." Represented by Horace, as his father's demonstration to him in his youth, why he should avoid the risk of actions for *crim. con.*

should not be caught. If the youngster had responded, that he should certainly prefer the bait, even with the knowledge of the hook that was concealed in it,—his father would then have applied himself to the portion of the argument which dwells on the inferior profit of the immediate gratification compared with the evil that may be the result. In all this there seems to be no difficulty in satisfactorily eliciting the principle, that the reason why a man is to sacrifice his own present wishes or greatest happiness to the greatest happiness of the public, is because his relations with the public are so constituted, that the odds are that his sacrifice to the general happiness is incomparably the best thing for *himself* in the end.

The next discovery which would seem to lie open to an observant speculator on the process going on,—or which at all events might be easily as the anatomists say *demonstrated* by anybody who had already got possession of the idea,—would be, that the rule which gave the greatest aggregate quantity of happiness, always gave the happiness of *the greatest number of individuals.* In other words, that beginning with the rule which gives the greatest aggregate enjoyed by somebody and everybody, there was no such thing as diminishing the happiness of twenty individuals under pretence of giving the amount of their loss in the shape of satisfaction to ten or one, without creating on the whole a diminution of the sum. And this upon the principle which it is easy for any man to satisfy himself of by putting himself into the situation of the opposing parties in turn,—that if half-a-crown each be taken from a score of men who are poor and weak, to be given to one who is rich and strong, each half-crown is of more importance to the poor man who loses it than to the rich who gains, and consequently the sum of all the losses is of more importance to the losers than the sum of all the gains to the gainers.

However individuals might occasionally be disposed to wrest this rule for their own purposes, there can be little doubt that they would all be glad to appeal to it when the rule lay on their own side. And there is a manifest popularity and general applicability about it, which makes it a tower of strength to whoever has it in his favour. This then is the rule which would soon come to be trumpeted abroad under some such title as *justice.* All men appeal to *justice.* Why do they appeal to *justice?* Simply because justice is the rule constituted and contrived with the view to its being what all human creatures in their turn shall have an interest in appealing to. It does not follow that justice shall be perfectly understood or thoroughly wrought out in all its bearings, by any of the parties concerned; this would be requiring of the young world what the

world's maturity may go on for ever to approach to. But the prompting purport, the object, of the pursuit is clear.

Soon after the idea of justice, there springs up in the minds of men the idea of another rule of conduct, possessing many affinities to the other, but founded on collecting the consequences of men's actions from other sources than that interference of the society which is invoked under the name of justice. There are many acts which public interference cannot touch; or public interference may be evaded or escaped, and still there may be a train of consequences descending on the actor. And this new rule and its contrary, will be more or less obscurely alluded to by the multitude, under the phrases of *good* and *bad* actions, *virtuous* and *vicious*, *moral* and *immoral*. The last pair of expressions points strongly to the existence of a rule; for it is presumable they do not mean *manners* and *no manners*, but *what is according to some rule of manners* and *what is not*. And what can the rule be, but as before, that which is calculated to produce the greatest happiness? If nobody has ever pretended to point out any rule that is not resolvable into this, the point may be considered as established. It is true that men have talked an infinite quantity beside the mark; but the Benthamite bow-shot goes through all the rings like the arrow of Ulysses. Some, for instance, have declared that certain actions were to be done or avoided, because they were honourable or dishonourable, decorous or shameful. What did this amount to, but that there were certain consequences resulting from the opinion of the public or of the individual himself, which were capable of overbalancing such inducements as might exist to the opposite course? Others spoke abstractedly of the necessity of pursuing the public good; which was deficient only in the explanation of the way in which the connexion was established between the public good and that of the individual who was to act. And this in fact remains a point to this day open for improved investigation; a leading clue perhaps being, that in the major part if not all of the instances where public and private good appear to clash, the public good is unreal, fictitious, or perhaps public evil. Some again apparently took the plan of recommending misery. Their highest merit was placed in privations, macerations, stripes. But these too, were pursuers of the Greatest-Happiness Principle, as Cromwell's follower said, *after a sort;* for their reason invariably was, that these sufferings were to be attended at some future period by an overbearing weight of happiness. The question therefore was not one of principle, but only of time and place. The Stylite was as greedy of happiness as Sardanapalus; only he looked for it at a different season, and took a different

road. One more race there was, who said that virtue ought to be followed because it was virtue;—and that any man who followed virtue for any reason but because it was virtue, had as good as no virtue at all. But even these must be convincible of admitting virtue to be a something to be desired; though they show no reason why, beyond an identical proposition. And the admission that virtue is an object to be desired, appears to bring even this shadowy tribe within the range of the Greatest-Happiness Principle.

Morality then is the rule of conduct which if universally pursued would produce the greatest aggregate of happiness;—a great light gained, though it does not incontinently follow, as some have demanded, that the knowledge of the principle should be attended with the knowledge of all possible applications of it, any more than in the case of the principle of Gravitation. And one line of inquiry which will perhaps be open to improvement as long as the world endures, is the digging out and applying to practical use the knowledge of the various ways in which the breaches of the general rule find their way into unpleasant operation on the individual. In which pursuit the proposition before mentioned, that of the uncertainty of escape, appears to bear a prominent part. There is a tendency for drunkards to have red noses, and various other evils; some drunkards may escape them; but the feeblest of all possible speculations, is to take the drunkard that escapes, and make him the measure of the policy of taking to drink. The question is not, will it be a good bargain if I escape; but is it a good bargain now, with all the chances that I may *not* escape. The object therefore should be to expand and elucidate the connexion between the breach of a certain rule and consequent suffering, for the benefit of those who have the act before them. This is Moral Philosophy.

In all this there is no vain tinkling, no babbling about "virtue" and other things inexplicable or unexplained; all is tangible, intelligible, good for man's edification, useful for his conduct as regards all possible suppositions of his past, present, and future condition; capable of being interwoven with all and every system of religious belief, except such as bear upon their front the stamp of enmity to mankind. This is *Bentham*.

But there are wider branches, and in which the fruit is still farther from being gathered to the full extent. Individuals everywhere are in contact with the complex thing called a *government*. The *beau idéal* might possibly be, that themselves should compose the government; but the practice is evidently yet at a great distance from the theory. And however far the theory should ever be carried into execution, there

must still always be a small minority that constitute the body termed distinctively *the government*. It may be a body that is to to be kept with more or less of precision within a certain rule by the agency of the rest of the community; but at all events there must be a rule. What then is it to be? And here the answer springs forward by analogy,—*the Greatest Happiness*. Of whom? Of the governors or the governed? Of both together. And here is a field for all of the present and coming generation who have any touch of talent for historical elucidation, to trace not only the effects of certain rules of action and the departure from them on the general happiness, but in a peculiar manner to trace the interest which the governing parties separately possess in the preservation of the rule; taking advantage of all the analogies presented by the less complicated subject of private Morality. A man is not to make what is not there; but the man is a fool, that getting hold of a respectable analogy, does not make himself sure of all that is to be had upon its track. Two points, therefore, for inquiry or notice at once present themselves. Is there a connexion traceable between the happiness of the governors and that of the community at large, of the same kind as between the happiness of the individual and the community in the case of the Moral rule? What says the old almanac history? Evolve it, chase it, ferret it out; there is matter for a century of abler historiographers than the world has seen. And ever keep in view the second point; which is, that the question is not whether bad governments have ever escaped punishment, but whether the odds of experience are in favour of a government's governing in the interest of the community, or in the interest of somebody that is opposed to it. If the digestion of one bishopric, with its prebends and smaller intestines, could be diverted to the elucidation of this class of verities, what a crop of useful knowledge might be poured upon the world, even though confirmation should languish, and visitations should wax dim, in the ratio of the deduction from the previous funds for their support.

And here emerges the meaning of another of those mighty words which have always drawn mankind after them however imperfectly their true bearing might be known,—*Liberty*. Who would not be free? Everybody for himself at least, has said "We must be free." What then has been the meaning of this awful sound? Not, what has been the meaning of every knave that used or opposed it,—for who but themselves can tell what all imaginable knaves have meant; but what has been the grand leading idea, which in all ages has led men to follow after the magic of this word, as including something which called on them to drop all minor considerations of loss or

gain, and come forward with bodies, children, goods, as willing sacrifices if need were before the altar of this divinity? The conduct of universal man has declared by acclamation, that what they united in pursuing, setting aside errors of judgment on the means or of opinion on the form, was the relief from all interference of a government, *except such as increased the general happiness*. Here then is Benthamism in the Home Department; holding out the same analogies, and presenting the same mirror for the trial of truth or falsehood, as in the previous branches. What a crackling is by this time in men's ears, of the coming down of the tawdry lath-and-plaster palaces, and tinkling pagodas of sugar-candy, which interest and folly have intruded upon the walks of human life! What is *Patriotism*, if it is to be cut down to that attachment to countrymen which induces the uniting to advance the general good,—not a vague readiness to be the instruments of all and every profligate who shall chuse to beat up for recruits to do harm to others for his selfish ends? What *Loyalty*, if it is to mean only the rational attachment of men to laws themselves have made,—and not a preparation for adhering to the first public enemy who shall pluck up heart to proceed to oppress the state? Sad is the wear and tear, dismal the expenditure of phrases thrown away to waste, which the progress of this philosophy threatens in the coming ages of the world. Who will be able to govern a people, when there is no use in talking nonsense to them? Manifestly nobody but themselves. The faster therefore the people advance in the requisite knowledge, the more certain apparently are the lovers of order of preserving the object they admire.

As the people of this and other countries, notwithstanding the temporary checks arising from the desertion of their officers, are on the whole engaged in a mighty movement of advance upon this very point of improving the art and mystery of governors, it is allowable to dilate a little upon the nature of their object. That object is decidedly the increase of the General Happiness:—not the happiness of one class or order as distinguished from the happiness of the rest of the community:—nor yet the happiness of the rest as distinguished from the happiness of some class or order;—but the aggregate happiness of all. And this throws wondrous light upon the reasonableness of the people's actual demands, or of such as may be gathered to be in their minds or in the contemplation of their leaders. For example, if they were bent upon meting out to their oppressors in the richer classes the measure with which they have themselves been measured,—they would propose that voting should be limited to men possessing under 10*l*. a-year, that

no man should sit for a borough who had above 300*l.*, and 600*l.* for a county,—and that nobody should enter parliament who did not swear to being a partner in the trade in foreign corn. If the people proposed this, they would propose the mathematical converse of the treatment they have received ; and as far as the rude justice is concerned which operates through the *lex talionis*, it would be impossible to urge a word against the equity of the demand. But view the moderation and long-suffering of the people. They have advanced no such claims as these. They have never said an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, nor a pillage for a pillage. They have simply stood, and stand, upon progression towards the point where the greatest happiness of all, the suspected classes included, shall be consulted by admitting all to their due influence be it much or little in the great market of suffrage. They want to take no man's property, they want only to have the use of their own ; and they know and feel that so long as they have not at least the share of suffrage that would befall them in an open market, they are in the same state of unmerited bondage, as if they were kept out of the literal market on the pretence that the rich might buy. They make no immediate demand touching the rate or time of arrival ; but they hold fast to the principle, and when they are asked in church, they intend to multiply its partisans. The only real question is, whether the principle does not concede too much ; whether the practical evidence that has been given of the total incapacity of the richer classes when left to themselves, to ward off enormous evils from themselves and other persons, does not exclaim trumpet-tongued on the necessity and policy of subjecting them for their own sakes to a *greater* popular check than would arise out of the ultimate introduction of universal suffrage. The solution perhaps will be in the *locus penitentiæ* afforded to the richer classes by the interval during which the system is in progression. If during this interval they "tak' a thought and mend," and no particular collision or suffering arises during the operation, it seems possible enough that the people may forget their injuries and not stand upon ulterior caution.

But there is yet another track in which the principle of the greatest happiness is destined to be brilliantly diffused. There is the conduct of men towards one another in their congregate capacity of *nations*. That much is done already, is announced by the astounding fact, that Bentham was the inventor of the word *international**. He died two years ago at only eighty-

* 'It was the ambition of a Roman Emperor to plant a word which should be allowed by after times to grow. Two words, at least, have been planted by Bentham, and adopted into our language,—the adjective *international*, the noun

four; and before him, it appears that communities had not sufficiently meditated on the nature of their relations, to create a demand for such a term. If heaven takes care of nations, what a stir must have been there on the arrival of the man that invented *international*. And what a vista does the application of the principle in question open to the human race. If it does not, like La Place's principle of planetary compensations, hold forth a capability of eternity, it at all events seems to say that nations are in the infancy of their existence. There wants somebody to re-write Vattel and—

'Wicquefort,
And Puffendorf and Grotius;—

many thanks to the Antijacobin for having strung their names together into some sort of reasonable memory. It is true that these authorities have not been without glimpses, or even strong and sturdy applications, of the principle of pursuing general good and avoiding unnecessary evil. But the principle is far from being carried out, in the way that will at some time be consequent on its extended illustration, and the aid and force derived from the analogies of its operation on other cases.

How is the happiness of nations to be estimated? As nations are composed of individuals, the happiness of nations must be composed of the happiness of individuals. But there may be an effect upon individuals which comes to them in their private capacity, and an effect which comes to them through their nationality. If the Maltese and Algerines kidnap one another, this may be a suffering that comes to them in their private capacity. If the greater barbarian governments invade the civilized portion of Europe, the sufferings to men from this cause may come to them in great measure through their nationality. A man may not have received a sixpence from the Revolution of July, nor have lost a sixpence through the defeat of the efforts which followed on its suffocation; and yet he may have gained greatly through his nationality in one case, and have suffered in the other. This is a point the enemy will naturally try to raise a puzzle on. Again, what is the true state of the question of *interference*, and of what goes by the name of *propagandism*, which is incorporeal interference? Is there any analogy to the right which men have always maintained, of preaching down, for instance, thieves,—and not attending to the declamations such thieves might utter against the unfairness of letting loose a *propagande* against their trade? Is there any such thing as establishing a distinction, independ-

codification, with its conjugates, to codify and codifiers.'—*Deontology*. Vol. i. p. 322.

ently of the wishes of the parties immediately at issue, between things that ought to be propagated and things that ought not; and though of course the preacher of honesty cannot expect to go into the thieves' strong-holds without the chance of maltreatment, is there any getting the masses that are outside, to agree to laugh to scorn the idea of admitting any protest that shall extend beyond the robbers' own borders? It is well known, that as the matter stands, the barbarous powers themselves exercise a most insolent *propagande;* and wherever men are gathered together for their own protection, there are they in the midst to threaten and to distract. Will this be always so? It is a loop-hole, through which men may spy enough to make them answer, it will not.

Justice then, *Morality*, *Home Politics*, *Foreign Politics*, have one common back-bone that runs through all, and which he that does not discern, loses half the clue to his anatomy of the subdivisions. What an invasion upon law-craft, and pulpit-craft, and Home and Foreign Secretaries' craft, when the Mechanics' Institutes are called in to sit in judgment on their claims. The multitude of mankind can hardly fail to see, what a string they have got to pull at. If they could only be persuaded that the thing is not finished yet;—that it does not consist in hard words, but that there is really and truly a great science or half-a-dozen great sciences opening out upon them, in which they have every chance to be beforehand, and every the smallest inference from which, as fast as it comes into combination with the practical conviction of mankind, tells like a thunderbolt upon their enemies;—a large portion of those who now eat the scanty and bitter bread of oppressors, might look forward with at least the alleviation of hope*.

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* A notable instance has just presented itself, of the importance of the correction made by BENTHAM in his later years in the announcement of his great principle, consisting in dismissing the superfluous words "of the greatest number," and declaring the just object of morals and politics to be simply "THE GREATEST HAPPINESS," or the creation of the greatest quantity of happiness in the aggregate of all affected or concerned.

On the trial of the Rev. Joseph Rayner Stephens, the following is given as part of the defence made by the defendant in person.

'My lord, I live in a district which for seven years has been the scene of infidelity—which has been overrun with the principles, religious and political, of Carlile and Paine, and the rest of that school—a district in which the people were imbued with the false and dangerous notion of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," as if it was not equally criminal and unjust to ask for happiness at the expense of the few as at the expense of the many. For seven years I have lifted up my voice against those false and Benthamite notions—those liberal notions—those reforming notions. On all occasions I have embraced the opportunity of showing the people that the principles and doctrines of liberalism and reform are the most dangerous that can be entertained.'—*Defence of the Rev. J. R. Stephens.* Morning Herald, 20 Aug. 1839.

Here is an attack on the principle of Bentham and on reform in general.

based entirely on the interpretation to which the words, before the correction, were undeniably open.

The first public avowal of the correction, was conveyed at the end of the Article on the "Greatest-Happiness Principle" in the Westminster Review for I July, 1829. (*See page* 135 *of Vol. I of the present Work*). And the same correction is given in Bentham's own words, in the following extract from the work which is the subject of the present Article, published in 1834.

'In the later years of Mr. Bentham's life the phrase "Greatest happiness of the greatest number" appeared, on a closer scrutiny, to be wanting in that clearness and correctness which had originally recommended it to his notice and adoption. And these are the reasons for his change of opinion, given in his own words :—'

"Be the community in question what it may, divide it into two unequal "parts; call one of them the majority, the other the minority; lay out of the "account the feelings of the minority; include in the account no feelings but "those of the majority,—you will find, that to the aggregate stock of the hap- "piness of the community, loss, not profit, is the result of the operation. Of "this proposition the truth will be the more palpable, the greater the ratio of "the number of the minority to that of the majority; in other words, the less "the difference between the two unequal parts; and suppose the undivided "parts equal, the quantity of the error will then be at its maximum."

"Number of the majority suppose 2001, number of the minority, 2000. Sup- "pose, in the first place, the stock of happiness in such sort divided, that by "every one of the 4001 an equal portion of happiness shall be possessed. Take "now from every one of the 2000 his share of happiness, and divide it any how "among the 2001: instead of augmentation, vast is the diminution you will "find to be the result. The feelings of the minority being, by the supposition, "laid entirely out of the account (for such, in its enlarged form, is the import "of the proposition), the vacuum thus left may, instead of remaining a vacuum, "be filled with unhappiness, positive suffering, in magnitude, intensity, and "duration taken together, the greatest which it is in the power of human nature "to endure."

"Take from your 2000, and give to your 2001 all the happiness you find your "2000 in possession of: insert, in the room of the happiness you have taken "out, unhappiness in as large a quantity as the receptacle will contain: to the "aggregate amount of the happiness possessed by the 4001 taken together, will "the result be net profit? on the contrary, the whole profit will have given place "to loss. How so? because so it is, that such is the nature of the receptacle, "the quantity of unhappiness it is capable of containing, during any given por- "tion of time, is greater than the quantity of happiness."

"At the outset, place your 4001 in a state of perfect equality, in respect of the "means, or say, instruments of happiness, and in particular, power and opu- "lence: every one of them in a state of equal liberty; every one independent "of every other: every one of them possessing an equal portion of money and "money's worth: in this state it is that you find them. Taking in hand now your "2000, reduce them to a state of slavery, and, no matter in what proportions of the "slaves thus constituted, divide the whole number with such, their property, "among your 2001; the operation performed, of the happiness of what number "will an augmentation be the result? The question answers itself."

"Were it otherwise, note now the practical application that would be to be "made of it in the British Isles. In Great Britain, take the whole body of the "Roman Catholics, make slaves of them, and divide them in any proportion, "them and their progeny, among the whole body of the Protestants. In Ireland, "take the whole body of the Protestants, and divide them, in like manner, "among the whole body of the Roman Catholics."—*Deontology*, I. 328.

If the author of the present Work was so fortunate as to be the suggester of the correction finally adopted by Bentham, and of the previously supposed case of an equal number of black and of white men, one set of which is to reduce the other to slavery according as the accidents of population first give to one or the other the numerical majority; it is hardly to be expected that he should conceal a fact so grateful to the recollections of a devoted follower, or miss an opportunity of defending the legacy of his chief.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, 1 July, 1834.

ART. XII.—1. ΣΤΝΕΙΣΦΟΡΑΙ ΕΝΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΟΤ. *Φυλλάδιον* Α'· ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΣΩΝ ΤΟΤ ΕΝΩΣΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΠΕΖΙΚΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΑΝ ΤΟΤ ΕΛΑΦΡΟΤ ΙΠΠΙΚΟΤ ΔΙΑ ΤΑΣ ΕΚΔΟΤΛΕΤΣΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΦΤΛΑΚΩΝ, ΜΕ ΤΟ ΕΚΤΟΝ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΤΟΤ ΣΤΝΕΙΘΙΣΜΕΝΟΤ ΑΡΙΘΜΟΤ ΤΩΝ ΙΠΠΩΝ. (Εἰς Νεοελληνικὸν καὶ Γαλλικόν. Οἱ δὲ παράγραφοι σημειώνονται μὲ ἀριθμοὺς διὰ τὴν σύγχεισιν τῶν δύο γλωσσῶν.)—*Contributions d'un Militaire. No. I. Sur les Moyens de procurer á l'Infanterie l'Assistance de la Cavalerie Légère pour le service des Avant-Postes, avec le Sixième de l'ordinaire de Chevaux. Διΐ γὰρ ὅπου στρατιὰν, εἰ μέλλει πράξειν τὰ δέοντα, μηδέποτε παύεσθαι, ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις κακὰ πορσύνουσαν, ἢ ἑαυτῇ ἀγαθά.* XENOPHON.—Londres; de l'Imprimerie de Richard Taylor. 1825. pp. 16. Planche.

2. *Idem;* in French only. pp. 8. Sold by Egerton, Military Library, opposite the Admiralty.

3. *Idem;* a *rifacimento* made in France. *Extrait du Receuil Industriel et des Beaux Arts, publié par M. de Moléon, rue Godot-Mauroi, no.* 2.—pp. 12. broché. Imprimerie d' Everat, rue du Cadran, no. 16.

THIS and the subject of the Article that next after follows, are pamphlets on military subjects written and published in modern Greek and French in the year 1825*. Of course they are not very acceptable to those who grieve over the battle of Navarino as an "untoward event;" and it was never intended that they should. Though the immediate occasion which led to their appearance is gone by, they may possess some interest, as specimens of the Catholic spirit existing among the liberal portion of the European military, and the efforts they can make in its demonstration. And further,—at a moment when the British branch of the Holy Alliance has not done dandling of defeated despots, and intimates as one of its organs did a day or two ago †, "the possibility" of defending the corruptions of the church "in arms" at home, and the "probably bloody" struggle which the bullies of the Tory faction delight to represent as impending over the heads of their countrymen,—there is a virtue and a power in keeping up the recollections of military science, and demonstrating from time to time that knowledge on such points is not confined to the regulators of a moustache, or the tacticians of an army's pantaloons. Of one thing the originators and contrivers of such discreditable bluster may be certain;—that it will never occur without the opportunity being taken by the opposite side, to

* By the author of the present Work.—*Added in* 1839.

† Morning Post, 23 June.

make some appeal to the spirit and power of popular resistance, by way of keeping up the wholesome state of preparation which after all is the best security for never seeing it called into action. The men of the people will never originate an appeal to military force; and never decline to answer to one upon the slightest intimation of their enemies.

The fact is, that in the military branch as well as any other, the extension of knowledge has a direct connexion with the promotion of public liberty. In all European services there is a class of officers who might not unaptly be termed Xenophontean; men deeply impressed with the value of science of all descriptions, and zealous to know the most that is possible, for the sake of acting under its guidance; and of these it is rare to find an individual, who is not a liberal in politics and a cosmopolite in principle.

The favourite arm of the aristocracy in all ages has been cavalry; and as memorable have been the defeats which they have sustained, when they have trusted too implicitly to its solitary powers. The giant-killing knight-errants of the middle ages, were manifestly nothing but a squirearchy comfortably clothed in mail, and riding about on what Mr. Cobbett calls their "cavalry horses," to put down raw-boned peasants who had the insolence to defend themselves with hedge-stakes and root-grown ashes, which mythologic lore has christened clubs. A time however came, when the peasant put an iron spike at the end of his pole, and then came such victories as those of Granson and Morat. The invention of fire-arms added still more to the superiority of the two-legged combatant, and cavalry merged into what it now is, an accessory most essential and important, but not the staff of war.

The aristocracy in all countries manage their favourite arm very ill; and there is probably none in which the superiority of a popular army would ultimately be more decided *. Look at the cavalry force of almost any European country, and there will be seen immense expense and luxury both in men and horses, huge attention to everything that is splendid in the eyes of children, but very little to the real purposes of war. In every obstinate campaign, there is a struggle between the opposing cavalries, *which* shall keep itself in condition for action longest. Is this an object aimed at or sought for in modern cavalries? What are the substantial operations of cavalry, but those of a great hunting-match; and who but a madman would go a hunting in the guise and cumber of a modern dragoon? Long and quick marches are of the essence of cavalry operations; and there is hardly a brigade of cavalry in

* Witness the *Ironsides* of Cromwell.—*Added in* 1859.

Europe that would move thirty miles in four hours, and least of all by night, without being virtually incompetent to further operations, and this through having never practised or meditated the principles required for causing extensive bodies to move rapidly in column without floating and concussion of the component parts. European cavalry is taught to move in line upon picked ground and in rolled barrack-yards; but set a line of five or six thousand horse to move at the gallop for two miles together over an ordinarily open country (which Saxe truly said was the test of a *line* cavalry's being good for anything), and everybody will be found abroad as to the theory and practice by which such an operation is to be accomplished. They have been accustomed to move for a hundred yards in a gimcrack line, and halt all together by a signal, which is precisely the thing not wanted in war; but the rapid doublings and undoublings by which the parts which meet with obstacles must preserve their average position, the moderated medium pace at which alone it is possible for the movement to be conducted, the preservation of the general line on principles totally independent of the absolute uniformity of motion of all its parts,—all these are things very little understood or reduced to practice*. On a field-day, in all *probability*,—and in a real movement against an enemy where the fear of misconstruction would operate against the execution of the *festina lentè*, with all *certainty*,—the attempt at such an operation would speedily degenerate into a race, where each man would go as fast as legs could be laid to ground when the thing was practicable, and go slower only when it was not, and the whole would arrive at the end in a state of complete dispersion, presenting a perfect *bonne bouche* for an organized enemy who should be lucky enough to be waiting there for the chance of what might follow. At this moment it is not written down in the Regulations of any power in Europe, at what aggregate rate such a movement, in an average cavalry country, should be conducted,—what should be the rate at which the parts delayed shall proceed to recover their relative positions,—what measures are to be provided to maintain the aggregate uniformity of advance, if the divisions which in ordinary circumstances direct, are temporarily retarded by obstacles peculiar to themselves. They have regulated the moustaches and the sabretasches, but how all these other effects are to be produced, and as Jeremy Bentham would have said if he had been metamorphosed into a cavalry general, "maximized,"—they have left to chance

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* It would appear from a late work of Marshal Marmont, that the Russian cavalry has adopted a more reasonable principle.—*Added in* 1839.

and each man's unpractised discretion when the time comes. If the oligarchy were foolish enough to sound "boots and saddles" for the corruptions of the church, there is room left yet, for them to get a fling from Jeremy Bentham on horseback, they little dreamed of.

Whenever the threatened turn-out of the oligarchy takes place, an object of considerable importance would be to preserve such portions of the organized cavalry as should be found taking "the better part," intact for the operations for which they are peculiarly qualified, and to get up an auxiliary force on cattle collected on the spur of the occasion, which should be competent to do one class of duties and thereby leave the others disposable for different purposes. Whoever is inclined to pick the small bones of the lobster with this object before his imagination, will find many bits applicable to his purpose in the course of the Neohellenic pamphlet. Neither the Greek nor French being vouchable for the very best of their kinds, such parts as may be extracted will be "done into English" for the reader's use.

'On the way to procure to Infantry the assistance of Light Cavalry for Outpost Service, with one-sixth of the ordinary number of horses.'

'The object of this article is not to do any mighty things, but to lay down what in certain circumstances may be worth a troop of cavalry to the good cause, as has been proved by others who have tried it.'

1. 'It is not necessary to be a militarist by profession to comprehend, that no body of infantry acting by itself can be out of danger of being surprised, unless it has some mounted men as vedettes on its front and flanks. The principle of which is simply, that the mounted men can be moved to distances where men on foot could not stay without being certain to be cut off.'

2. 'Such mounted vedettes in an open country may often be pushed forward in the day-time to the distance of a couple of miles. And in close or hilly countries, and at night, they can generally be pushed to a third of a mile in advance of the most advanced infantry sentries; a distance which is quite capable of being highly conducive to the safety of the whole. When surprises succeed on the part of the enemy, it is generally in consequence of the advanced posts not having been pushed far enough. And no post or camp can be considered out of danger of surprise, if it has not got advanced posts and vedettes of some kind, who have perfect command over at least a mile all round it both by day and night. Because a mile is what men on foot can go over in a quarter of an hour, which is the least time that can reasonably be allowed for making the necessary preparations in case of being attacked.'

3. 'When there is a difficulty in getting horses or forage for

them, there may be great use in a system by which one horse may often be made to do the work of six. On which it may be useful to relate what actually befell an officer that could be mentioned.'

4. 'It was his chance to be left in the command of eleven hundred infantry, in an imperfectly fortified position, where the object to be guarded against was being surprised by an Arab force. When the main body of the army was on the point of quitting, he got the General in command to give him authority to purchase ten horses. For these he made bridles without bitts, after the fashion of those which Marshal Saxe wanted to have for all the cavalry, (See *Mémoires sur l'Art de la Guerre, de Maurice Comte de Saxe*, Chap. 3. Art. 3.); and as there were no materials to be had but rope-yarns out of old cables and worked up by seamen, these bridles were in fact halters, with a strong iron ring on each side of the nose-band where the bitt commonly is, and the reins passed through these rings and led backwards, the part that went under the horse's chin acting like a curb-chain. The part which passed through the rings could be changed every day, to prevent wearing; and by undoing the reins in the place where they were joined together, they could be taken off and taken care of, when the horse was at his pickets in camp. To the nose-band was attached a cord, which served to fasten the horse; and when the man was mounted, the end of this rope was brought to the saddle-bow on the near side, so that if the man had his reins cut, he had still the chance of this to have some guidance over the horse.'

5. 'With a bridle of this kind, a horse that is supplied with forage and does not have the man upon his back, may stand on vedette night and day almost as easily as stand in camp. And the man, by being on foot, will keep a much better look-out than he will on horseback. For it is a well-known fact that men often go to sleep on horseback; so that if the man and horse be acquainted with their business, the odds are that if the enemy comes on, the man that was on foot will be ready for him before the one on horseback, by the difference of having kept a better look-out.'

6. 'For each vedette there must be three men on duty; and a man cannot be on duty more than, at most, every other day. On this principle therefore, six men were appointed to each horse; besides two serjeants, four corporals, and an officer who had the command of the whole. The men were volunteers from the different infantry corps; and they were removed from their corps and formed into a troop. The six men made a squad; and by doing the duty by half-squads together, the man always went on duty with the same horse. If there were men and horses sick, the men of the squad that were without a horse, were divided for the time among the squads which were short of men.'

7. 'The saddles were the common ones of the country, of all manner of kinds. The stirrups were of the form used in the east, where the corner of the stirrup is made to act as a spur; by which means the men when off their horses were without the encumbrance of spurs.'

8. 'To every saddle were attached a sabre and a pistol. The pistols were ship's pistols; and the sabres were of all manner of forms, that had the necessary length.'

Here follows the mode of marching off the guards of this corps for duty; in which the only points there is room to extract are, that they marched off under one corporal, with the night picquets of infantry, and that the mounted men carried their musquets slung over the left shoulder, the object being to give the solitary vedette a second shot in case of the failure of one. But it is intimated that a carbine after the Napoleon model called *de l'an* 9, and taking the same cartridge as the pistol, would have been a great improvement.

In this manner seven horses,—a pretty fair proportion out of ten,—were placed on vedette at different points every night at sunset, a third of a mile in advance of the most advanced infantry sentries, the men being relieved every two hours, those off vedette with the corporal establishing themselves with one of the advanced posts of infantry.

15. 'On the first shot from any of the vedettes, the advanced sentries of the infantry had orders to fall back upon the guards to which they belonged. And the commanders of these guards had orders to begin their retreat as soon as their sentries were in and they were convinced there was the enemy, and to fire from time to time as soon as the vedettes were in. On the second shot from any quarter, the whole garrison was to turn out.'

16. 'The vedettes came in without further orders at sunrise; and the whole came into camp along with the infantry picquets. To prevent the waste of cartridges, the same arms were used for the advanced vedettes every night, using only a few cartridges occasionally for new priming.'

17. 'In all this no difficulty occurred. The volunteers were pleased with their service, and no accidents happened except what happen always when recruits are to learn to ride. The bridles were found to answer every essential purpose; and there were even some horses that were hard to hold with the common bitt, which were perfectly manageable with these. On which it may further be observed, that if objections are found to the bridles described, a horse can eat very well if he has only a snaffle in his mouth; which is the reason the Cossacks ride in snaffles. If therefore the horses have the European bridle, the purpose might be answered by unbuckling the *bitt* on one side, and leaving the *snaffle* in the horse's mouth; a piece of caution which would prevent the danger that ensues when the men on the advanced posts take off the bridle at night to feed the horse; because if the enemy should come on unexpectedly, the man might move off with the snaffle. For want of this the author was once very near been taken; and he never forgot it afterwards.'

18. 'By these means the confidence of the garrison was such, that

there was never any such thing as a false alarm. And the spies brought word, that there had been a proposal to attack the place, and among other objections it had been urged, that the mounted men cut off the chance of surprise.'

19. 'When the intention of destroying and leaving the place became evident and the danger of attack more imminent, the vedettes were increased to the total number of horses, without any bad consequences. And before more horses were got, two officer's horses, which were all that could be had, were posted night after night in the manner described, without any harm to the horses.'

On this experiment, it would be easy to lay the foundation of a regular corps. In such a corps,

23. 'The horses might be the smallest in the service. And in cases of necessity, if the men were used to mount without stirrups, a blanket doubled might serve for a saddle.'

24. 'It seems plain that a detachment of such a corps, with three horses only, might be the salvation of a body of infantry of any assignable magnitude. There is no officer that does not know the difference between having three vedettes on his front and flanks, and none at all. It might therefore be laid down as a rule, that no body of infantry acting by itself, whether small or great, should be without a detachment of four horses and four-and-twenty men, besides three non-commissioned officers; and that a body of infantry of a thousand strong, should have at least the double of men and horses, with an officer and five non-commissioned officers; and for larger bodies in proportion. In this manner twenty infantry corps might be supplied, with the horses of a single squadron.'

25. 'Since the dismounted men are just as effective as any other men on foot, there is in reality no additional expense but that of one horse to six.'

26. 'A Corps thus organized, might be called "Voltigeurs," mounted and dismounted.'

A further consideration is the effect which the establishment of such a corps might have on the composition of a Cavalry of the Line. For combats of cavalry against cavalry, the great machine which makes the difference is the horse; it is therefore of importance to husband the good horses, which like all good things are scarce.

27. 'Another advantage of this system would be, that when you came to make a Line or fighting Cavalry, you would have a greater number of horses at your disposal for it, and this cavalry might attend to its instruction and equipment, without being broken up by the daily demands for out-post duties. And it is clear that all that was saved by using a light cavalry as described, might be added to what was laid out on the Line Cavalry, or the artillery, or on any other branch of the service. For example, in a European army of 100,000 men, which may have perhaps eight divisions of infantry of 10 or 12,000 men each, there is generally for each division of infantry a regiment

of light cavalry of 600 men attached to it for contingent service, with another regiment of mounted troops of some kind of equal numbers to support it. And these regiments are quite distinct from the divisions of Line Cavalry, which are to act in great masses and play the grand parts of cavalry in time of action. But if instead of these 1200 men of mounted troops, there were three squadrons of Voltigeurs mounted making about 400, and 800 men of the same corps dismounted (which is *double* the allowance of horses proposed above) there is reason to believe that the service wanted by the infantry would be done just as well; which would be a saving of 800 horses. And this saving, for the whole army, would amount to 6,400 horses. The expense of which horses [*first cost and keep*] applied to the Line Cavalry, is enough to augment them by a number of horses almost equal; inasmuch as the difference of the first cost of the horses is a small matter compared with the expense of their after keep, which is nearly the same for the small horses as the large. Or if the saving was applied to the horses of the artillery, it would be competent to furnish a well-horsed artillery instead of an ill-horsed; a thing which, like the other, may be the settling of interests of the first magnitude*. It would further appear, that these advantages might be obtained, by forming a number of regiments of light cavalry for the purpose of being attached to divisions of infantry, of which one-third should be mounted and two-thirds on foot; an arrangement which will always meet with opposition from notions of chivalry and feudality [in the French *idées chevaleresques et féodales*, in the Greek τὰς βαρβαρικὰς καὶ δουλικὰς ἰδίας], but which will perhaps be put in practice by some people that has no object except beating the enemy. But what is economy for large armies, will be economy for small; the proportions being always the same. And the example has been taken in a large army, to make the result more striking.'

Follow some observations on the possibility of making artillery-harness out of the same materials as described for the bridles, and on the general value of sailors with a land force; with drawings in the Plate. In confirmation of the last it may be adduced, that Napoleon seems always to have had his Grand Army accompanied by a division of "*Marins de la Garde.*"

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* "—si dans la première campagne de Bonaparte, l'armée eût eu son artillerie bien attelée, la paix eût été signée dans Vienne."—*Aide-Mémoire à l'usage des Officiers d'Artillerie de France.* 1819. p. 380.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, 1 July, 1834.

ART. III. — ΣΥΝΕΙΣΦΟΡΑΙ ΕΝΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΟΥ. *Φυλλάδιον* Β'. ΠΕΡΙ ΔΙΟΡΓΑΝΗΣΕΩΣ ΤΗΛΕΓΡΑΦΕΩΝ ΕΦΙΠΠΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΖΩΝ, ΔΙΑ ΤΑΣ ΕΚΔΟΤΑΕΤΣΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ. (*Εἰς Νεοελληνικὸν καὶ Γαλλικόν. Οἱ δὲ παράγραφοι θέτονται παράλληλοι, διὰ νὰ παραβάλλεται μὲ τὸ Γαλλικὸν ἂν εὑρίσκεταί τι δυσνόητον εἰς τὸ Νεοελληνικόν.*) Ἐν Λονδίνῳ· ἐκ τῆς Τυπογραφίας Ῥικάρδου Ταίλορ. 1825.—*Contributions d'un Militaire. No. II. Sur l'Organisation des Télégraphes à cheval et à pied, pour le service de campagne. (En Grec moderne et en Français. Les paragraphes sont arrangés parallèlement dans les deux langues, afin de faciliter la comparaison du Français quand il pourrait y avoir de l'obscurité dans le Grec.)*—London; Printed by Richard Taylor. 1825. pp. 32, and 4 moveable pages of lithograph in imitation of manuscript; with a Plate. Sold by Egerton, Military Library.

THIS is a System of Signals for the service of land-troops in the field. When nations begin to fight in good earnest,—as will be the case when the English and foreign Holy Alliance bring on the campaign of Armageddon which will make Europe free,—something of this kind will be in requisition. It is remarkable that the system of Naval Signals, at least in anything like its present organized state, is no older than the reign of Charles the Second. And there can be no doubt that when it was proposed to direct the movements of fleets by bits of bunting flickering in the wind, a large list of obstacles was got up by seamen of the old school, consisting in the chances of mistake, of fogs, of uselessness by reason of distance, and the frivolity of supposing that the ocean thunder and the big war were to have their operations regulated by little painted flags on slips of paper. Nevertheless the invention was tried and prospered. It was not always foggy; if there were some distances at which certain flags could not be seen, there were others where they could; mistakes diminished by practice; experience could improve the powers of the system and relieve its defects. Just so will it be on land, when, as intimated, men fight again in earnest. If one kind of flag or other object cannot be seen, another will be found that can. One advantage gained, or defeat prevented, will give reputation; and a *telegrapher* on horse or foot, will probably at some time be as indispensable an adjunct to an officer of a certain rank, as ever was an orderly. In fact what has the telegrapher to do, but be the orderly; and if the telegraphers are practicable, why should not all orderlies be telegraphers?

The quotation in the title-page* is evidence that Xenophon appreciated the advantage that might be derived from the use of visual signals in the field; and the inference is not weakened by the intimation being found in a work not strictly to be considered as true history, but rather as a frame for displaying the military and political opinions of the author. A passage from Cæsar might have been added†, which exhibits that great commander as providing for the most important movements of his army, by an organization of the same nature.

The book consists of thirty-two pages (Greek and French opposite to each other, and therefore reducible to half that number in one language) bound in parchment like the soldier's account-book or what the French call "*le livret du soldat*;" and purports to be at once a complete "*Ordonnance pour les Télégrapheurs à cheval et à pied*," and to be the signal-book for the application of the signals. Little more can be done than enumerate the heads of chapters. Any person in possession of *two* copies, may set to work at once to prove the powers or defects of the system.

'Composition of a corps of Telegraphers, mounted or dismounted.

Equipment of the Telegrapher. Consists of a long lance for displaying the signals; two flags of a yard square, one red and white in two parallel bands, the other blue and yellow in ditto, capable of being hoisted in any of the four possible ways, [*manifestly taken from what are, or used to be, the Compass Signals in the Navy*]: one red pennon, five feet long, and six inches broad at the end next the staff. A copy of the book which is the subject of this Article. A blank book for noting signals. A pen or pencil, with a knife to cut it. A watch and small telescope for each of the officers, and if possible for the non-commissioned officers. Arms, for the mounted a pistol and sabre attached to the saddle; for the dismounted a carbine, and sword for clearing away obstacles.

Ordinary signals. In number 368; with a double table, by numbers and by the signification alphabetically. Nearly analogous to the ordinary numerical signals in the Navy.

Auxiliary signals. Proposed to be at the disposal of commandants of corps of a certain magnitude, and all commandants acting separately. Distinct in their form from the ordinary or general; and consequently not mistakeable.

Alphabetic signals; giving the power of expressing anything by spelling it with the letters of the alphabet.

Private signals.

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* —ἤρει τοῖς κέρασι σημεῖον, μηκέτι ἄνω προιέναι.—*Cyropæd.* 7. 1. —'he put up a signal for the wings, not to go any further in advance.'

† Simul tertiæ aciei, totique exercitui imperavit, ne injussu suo concurreret: se, quum id fieri vellet, vexillo signum daturum.—*Cæsar de Bell. Civil.* iii, 89.—'At the same time he gave directions to the third line and the whole army, not to move forward on the enemy without his orders; and that when he wished this to take place, he would give a signal with a flag.'

Signals distinctive of rank. It is proposed that a General of Division should have a right to be accompanied by *three* mounted Telegraphers with a flag on the lance, instead of three horse-tails; the General of Brigade *two;* and the Chef de Demibrigade *one.*

To form the chain of Telegraphic Communication. An admirable exercise for a young staff man of any gifts.

Night signals. Requiring nothing but a lantern to each post.

On the establishment of Posts *(Postes aux Lettres)* for the army, and Extraordinary Couriers. Objects which it is conceived may be usefully appended to the establishment of a chain of telegraphic posts.

On the means of perfecting the Code of Signals. By necessary changes from time to time, and otherwise.

On the individuals who are to be in possession of the Code of Signals. All officers of the rank of commanding a battalion, all staff-officers* including adjutants, and everybody else that pleases. No secrecy to be professed about anything, except the cypher which is the key to the private signals, which is only to be in possession of certain individuals, and to be changed from time to time.

Paradigms (so the Greek has it) of the cypher for private signals, and of the ordinary system for notation of signals made and received.'

All this is printed. Besides which there are four pages of lithograph in imitation of manuscript, slipped through a string at the end of the book, and presenting the numbers of a table of Auxiliary Signals, the significations of which are to be filled up by heads of corps; and also a "Paradigm" of the distinguishing numbers to be attached to divisions, brigades, regiments, &c., new leaves being supposed to be substituted from time to time according to circumstances.

The system, after being first duly deposited in the catacombs of the Quartermaster-General's Office, has been pretty widely circulated in France, and is understood to have attracted some attention in Sweden. The executive part appears to be carried to great minuteness, and the one thing wanting, as in the case of Naval Signals "before they were made," is to know what may be the precise extent to which they may be practically applicable. An excellent step towards such knowledge, would be if some Artillery-officer at a siege would try their efficiency in communicating with his dépôts in rear of the first parallel. Will nobody make the trial, before the battle of Armageddon?

* In one part of the book there is inserted a definition of *Staff;* a point in which the military authors appear to be generally defective.

In any military body, the "staff" (*état-major*) consists of those officers whose services relate to the whole body, and are not confined to any of its parts separately. Hence there is a staff of battalion, demi-brigade, brigade, division, &c. The serjeant-major and pay-serjeant may with equal propriety be called the staff of a company.

Among the ancient Greeks, officers performing the functions of *Etat-major*, are discoverable under the titles of *συνεπιμεληταὶ, ἔκτακτοι, ἐπίλεκτοι, ὑπηρέται.*

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, 1 July, 1834.

ART. XVI.—*First Report on the Commercial Relations between France and Great Britain, addressed to the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade and Plantations, by George Villiers and John Bowring, with a Supplementary Report, by John Bowring.*—Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.—London: Printed by W. Clowes. fol. pp. 251. 1834.

THERE is something so novel in seeing the negociations between two leading European nations taking the course of right reason, humanity, and common interest, that the present Report may claim an elevated place among the noiseless events which enable man to bear up against the evil of those which history and folly delight to honour with their notice. Extraordinary testimony has also been borne to its importance, by the bitter scorn and earnest hate with which those employed in its construction were during its progress treated by the enemy of man. That two whole Commissioners should be employed abroad on a mission of peace and good-will, involving no interests but those of the industrious classes of two great nations, was an offence only to be surpassed by the idea of an army which should be employed abroad and not for absolutism, or a fleet which should establish the freedom of an injured people, instead of dangling, as was the olden fashion, at the heels of some despot in danger of being kicked out by an indignant nation. Had the expense of the Commission been incurred in conveying a baby frigate to furnish the toy-shop of some continental sovereign, or in transporting some injurious foreigner to be the bearer of the expiring hopes and wishes of the English oligarchy to the whiskered enemies of freedom abroad, the thing would have been hailed with reverence due, and even the standing types which announce the unbroken existence of sound bills of health at Windsor, might have been displaced to make room for the announcement. But the event is at once a symptom and a cause. In spite of custom, a modicum of John Bull's money has been expended in his service; and the precedent of its happening once, will be a dangerous step towards repetition of the like.

The Commissioners, men not altogether unknown to fame, —one of them a rising young Patrician*, who has the genius to see what may be accomplished in conjunction with the people, and to be among the first to strike out for the grand chances of

* Since Earl of Clarendon, and Ambassador to Spain.—*Added in* 1839.

diplomacy in their coming service,—the other a well-entered servant of the popular cause, possessed of the personal confidence of its supporters in all quarters of the globe to a greater extent than any other man in Europe,—proceed as follows, to state the origin and object of their Commission.

'The Commercial Legislation of France has been founded, for the most part, on the desire to make that country independent of every other, and to force within itself the production of the principal articles of consumption, in spite of natural difficulties, and without any reference to their cost. That legislation received its greatest encouragement under the Imperial régime, when France was excluded from many of the markets of the world, and when, in order to possess without interruption those objects of luxury which long usage had made necessaries, it appeared absolutely needful they should be created by her own industry, or grown on her own soil. And though the cost of so producing was ruinous to the consumer, and, in the long run, scarcely less so to the producer, yet the Government and the people lulled each other with the fallacy "that the cost mattered not, as the money was spent in the nation, and the wealth of France was not expended on Foreigners." The fact, however, cannot be denied, that many of the efforts made by France to produce the commodities she had been accustomed to import, were forced upon her by the isolation into which she was thrown by the naval superiority of Great Britain. But these efforts, however well suited to the peculiar exigencies of the time, and however creditable to the ingenuity of those who exerted them, necessarily flung the capital of France into false and unfavourable positions. When the return of the Bourbons opened to France the commerce of the world, so many interests had been created, so much labour and wealth were engaged in the production of articles which might have been more economically imported, that it was found difficult suddenly to change that legislation which gave to the French producers the benefit of a monopoly, without which they would have fallen; and their fall would inevitably have brought with it much suffering and distress. A part of the arguments on which the prohibitory system was reared, namely, —that drawn from the rivalry of hostile nations,—naturally lost much of its force when France entered upon an era of tranquillity and peace. Mutual intercourse softened mutual jealousy: popular antipathies became gradually lessened by more intimate relations; and, as the severe regulations which a state of warfare introduces, become modified in a period of peace and friendly feeling, it was obvious that important commercial changes were at hand.

It is true, that many attempts had been made by the Government of England to induce that of France to consent to a revision of their commercial policy, and that these had met with little success. Formal negociations carried on by the higher authorities of the two Governments, presented formidable difficulties; for such negociations could scarcely be directed to the minor objects, through which alone, perhaps, those of a higher importance could be ultimately reached.

The state of things produced by interference with the natural course of commerce becomes so complicated and artificial, as to render any sudden or extended alteration only less dangerous than persistence in an erroneous course; for, however desirable and imperative it may be to get rid of a vicious system of commercial legislation, yet the interests it has created and fostered become susceptible to alarm in the very ratio of their insecurity, and of the demand they make upon society. In England, it cannot be denied, that opinion had given to the Government a power of calling sound principles into action, which the Government of France did not possess. The perfection of many of our manufactures had been long considered on the continent as pervading them all. They were represented almost universally as destined to crush all rivals by their irresistible superiority; and the manufacturing interest of France, appealing habitually to the self-esteem and apprehensions of the nation, had acquired a concentrated power, which the commercial and agricultural interests, even though supported by a considerable amount of intelligence among the people, and the favourable dispositions of some members of the Government, were unable to resist.

In the year 1830, one of your Lordship's Commissioners, being then employed by the British Government in the investigation of Financial matters, had frequent occasions of communicating with the official authorities of France, and of ascertaining the feelings that existed on the subject of the Commercial Regulations between that country and England: he found, that though the Government was unwilling to contemplate changes which should be at once extensive and immediate, yet there was a sincere and growing disposition to revise the Tariffs of the two countries, with a view to improve the intercourse between them, by the removal of those restrictions, impediments, and prohibitions, which had hitherto narrowed the sphere of their mutual relations. In order to accomplish this object, Baron Louis, the French Minister of Finance, proposed that a mixed Commission should be nominated by the two Governments, to hold its sittings either in Paris or London, or in both; that they should suggest, for the consideration of each Government, such changes as were likely to be beneficial and practicable, and gather together such facts as might illustrate the past or present state of the commercial relations of the two countries, or be useful with a view to their future extension. He stated that he should deem every step towards a more liberal intercourse, however seemingly unimportant, as something gained; and that it was his earnest desire to give the inquiry every possible impulse towards a system of freedom. We feel it due to Baron Louis, who took so marked a part in the establishment of our Commission, to state, that he has always exhibited the most intelligent and unwearied zeal for the advancing of its important objects.

The first written communication on the part of Baron Louis was the following:—

'*Paris, le* 28 *Juillet*, 1831.

* 'MONSIEUR,'

Ministère des Finances. Cabinet du Ministre.

'J'ai lû avec un vif intérêt la Lettre que vous 'avez bien voulu m'écrire, et je vous remercie beau- 'coup de l'envoi que vous y avez joint. Les opinions 'que professe votre Gouvernement en matière de 'commerce sont aussi les miennes, et je vous répé- 'terai volontiers par écrit ce 'que je vous ai dit de vive voix. Si, 'comme la raison l'enseigne, l'affranchissement du commerce est 'dans les intérêts de tous les peuples, la France et l'Angleterre, 'les deux nations les plus riches du monde, ne peuvent que gagner 'toutes deux à étendre des relations d'échange qu'une politique 'étroite a soumises à trop de restrictions. Un régime de douanes 'plus libéral augmenterait la richesse des deux états, et donnerait 'au maintien de la paix de nouvelles garanties. C'est donc avec 'une véritable satisfaction que je verrais se former une Commis- 'sion mixte, qui préparerait le travail, et indiquerait les modifica- 'tions que la législation des deux pays est susceptible de recevoir 'dans le sens du libre commerce.'

'Pour ma part, je tiendrais à honneur de contribuer en quelque 'chose à une réforme de si haute importance pour les progrès de la 'civilisation. Mais vous devez sentir, Monsieur, que c'est à votre 'Gouvernement à prendre l'initiative pour un semblable projet : il 'a déjà entrepris la réforme commerciale : il rencontre moins d'obsta- 'cles, et n'a pas à lutter contre des préjugés aussi puissans. Qu'il 'exprime son vœu : il trouvera, du côté du Gouvernement Français, 'concours et sympathie.'

'*A Monsieur* 'LOUIS.'

'*Monsieur le Docteur Bowring.*'

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* 'SIR,' '*Paris, July* 28, 1831.

Ministry of Finance. Cabinet of the Minister.

'I have read with lively interest the letter which you have had the goodness to write to me, and thank you much for the transmission which accompanies it. The opinions avowed by your Government on the subject of commerce are my own, and I shall readily repeat to you in writing what I have already said by word of mouth. If, as reason points out, the liberation of commerce is for the interest of all nations generally, France and England, the two richest in the world, cannot fail to gain on both sides by enlarging a system of exchange which a narrow policy has hitherto subjected to too many restrictions. A more liberal arrangement of the Custom Duties would increase the riches of both countries, and give new securities for the continuance of peace. It would therefore be with real satisfaction that I should see the formation of a Mixed Commission, which should prepare the work, and point out the alterations which might be made in the existing laws of the two countries in favour of free trade.'

'For my own part I should account it an honour to contribute in any way to a reform of such high importance to the progress of civilization. But you will be aware, Sir, that it is your Government that must take the initiative in any similar project. It has already entered on commercial reform ; it is met by fewer obstacles, and has not to struggle against prejudices so powerful as we. It has only to express its wishes, and it will find on the part of the French Government a community of operation and of interest.'

'*To Dr. Bowring.*' 'LOUIS.'

And it was repeated in another Letter, dated the 16th August :—

* 'Vous avez dû recevoir par l'entremise de M. Hamilton, Secrétaire de l'Ambassade britannique, la Lettre que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire le 28 Juillet dernier, en réponse à la vôtre du même mois. Je n'en saisis pas moins avec satisfaction cette nouvelle occasion de vous confirmer tout le prix que j'attache au succès des mesures qui pourraient être adoptées de concert entre nos deux Gouvernemens pour étendre leurs relations commerciales en les dégageant des entraves que le régime des douanes apporte encore à leurs développemens.'

'LOUIS.'

The presence of the Vice President of the Board of Trade in Paris, in the autumn of 1831, and the efforts which he made to give effect to the amicable dispositions of the French Government, removed many obstacles to the appointment of the French Commissioners, and great difficulties of detail, and enabled him to lend important assistance to the initiatory proceedings of the Commission.

The Commissioners nominated by the French Government were

The Baron Freville†, Counsellor of State, and

The Count Tanneguy Duchâtel‡, ditto ;

and to their intelligence, zeal, and aptitude, no tribute of ours can be sufficiently ample.

The instructions we received from Mr. Poulett Thomson for our guidance were as follows :—

'*Paris*, 29 *November*, 1831.

'GENTLEMEN,'

'The Government having complied with the suggestion, that they should appoint a Commission in order to discuss conjointly with the French Government the commercial relations between Great Britain and France, and having named you to fill the office of Commissioners for that purpose, I think it right, before I leave you to pursue your labours, to put you in possession of the character which I understand this Commission bears, and to draw your attention to the objects to which it seems to me it is desirable that it should be particularly directed.'

'As Mr. Bowring has been so long upon the spot, and has been necessarily aware of the circumstances which have led to the adoption of the plan of a Commission, it will not be necessary for me to dwell at any length upon them. I have only to remark, that as it appeared that, in spite of the sincere wish which is certainly entertained by

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* 'You will have received through Mr. Hamilton, Secretary to the British Embassy, the letter which I had the honour to write to you on the 28th of July last, in reply to yours of the same month. I cannot, however, allow myself to let pass the renewed opportunity of impressing on you all the importance which I attach to the measures which may be adopted in concert by our two Governments, to extend their commercial relations with each other by liberating them from the shackles which the present arrangement of the Custom Duties continues to throw about their progress.' 'LOUIS.'

† 'Since made a Peer of France.'

‡ 'Since a Member of the Chamber of Deputies.'

'all the members of the French Cabinet to facilitate the commercial relations between the two countries, so many obstacles are to be 'found in the prejudices of interested or ignorant individuals to proceeding directly by diplomatic negociations, or by direct proposals 'on the part of the French Government to the Chambers, that it was 'deemed advisable to abandon both these modes, and to adopt, in 'the first instance, as a preliminary to either, an inquiry into the 'whole of the present system, especially that of France.'

'With this view it was proposed to establish the present Commission, to be composed of individuals of each nation, not with the 'character of representatives of the commercial interests of their respective countries, to contend for peculiar points, or negociate for separate advantages, but with one common and uniform object in view, 'namely,—to ascertain as clearly and exactly as possible, from the 'documents and information which either Government can command, 'what is the present state of the trade of the two countries; to examine how it is affected by the Tariffs; how far their provisions are 'rendered inoperative by the smuggler; and how, with regard to the 'existing interests, and the obstacles which they must naturally create 'to the introduction of a better system, a change in favour of a freer 'communication can be effected.'

'Prohibition and excessive protection, whether on one side of the 'Channel or the other, should be considered by the Commissioners 'of either nation as a common object of attack; but, at the same time, 'the difficulties in the way of their immediate removal, and the interests which would be compromised by a sudden change, whether in 'one country or the other, should be fairly considered and reported 'on by all, to enable the Governments hereafter to decide how far it 'may be practicable to surmount them.'

'It is obvious, however, that in consequence of the numerous changes 'that have already been made in the English system, comparatively 'little remains to be done on our part, while, on the contrary, as the 'French still retain their prohibitions and protective regulations to 'the fullest extent, it is in their Tariff that the most important alterations are to be sought for. Of this they are well aware, and it 'will be to the consideration of this object that your attention will be 'most particularly directed. The principle which you will find them 'at once willing to admit,—namely, that prohibition shall wholly 'cease, and be replaced by duties graduated according to the cost of 'risk of smuggling,—will naturally open a wide field for your inquiries. 'That part of the Tariff which contains so many and such various 'restrictions and prohibitions, must of course be thoroughly sifted, 'and the nature of the articles introduced by the contraband trade, 'the extent and the expense of their introduction in this manner, 'should be ascertained as correctly as possible. In the same manner 'many of their duties, owing to their exorbitant scale, will be found 'to produce the effect of absolute prohibitions, and should be scrutinized with the same view.'

'Without wishing, therefore, to direct the specific mode of your 'proceedings, I would suggest that the fittest course to pursue, will

'be to take the French Tariff, and after analyzing it in such a manner as 'may appear most convenient,—for instance, into articles prohibited, 'but which are the objects of illicit introduction, articles charged with 'duties so high as to afford encouragement to their fraudulent impor- 'tation, and so forth,—to proceed to examine the whole, article by 'article, and to record, as you go on, your observations upon each.'

'In doing this, it will be necessary that you give due weight to 'the peculiar circumstances in which the commerce and manufactures 'of France are at this moment placed. There are several articles of 'vast importance, such as iron, cotton manufactures, and others, 'which are the subjects of a ruinous system of legislation; but 'though it is obvious that a reduction of duty on them would be as 'important to England as advantageous to the general interests of 'France, yet the opposition to such an amelioration would be so 'powerful, that you would probably find it vain to contend against it 'at the present moment, and it may be only by degrees that it will 'be possible to introduce material alterations in this particular. It 'would be better, therefore, that your efforts should be primarily di- 'rected to the duties on articles apparently of less importance, but 'which, compromising smaller interests, are likely to be more easily 'modified. Of this description you will find a great number; 'although apparently insignificant under a restrictive system, it is 'found by experience that they grow greatly in importance when the 'restrictions are removed. By examining with attention this class 'of duties, you will probably succeed in producing what will ulti- 'mately prove a means of very important and extended intercourse 'between the two countries, and you will pave the way for conces- 'sion in those objects which at present are more likely to meet with 'obstacles on the part of the French. It is with this view that I 'would recommend you to consider no article of commerce as of 'too little importance to deserve your attention, or to be worthy of 'remark.'

'The consideration of the Tariff will naturally lead you to that of 'the system of navigation law which is established by treaty between 'the two countries; and it appears to me, that your labours may be 'well directed to an examination of the effect of these regulations, 'which prohibit in both the admission from the other of extra-Euro- 'pean produce. All the facts connected with these provisions of the 'law, which has now been in operation for six years, it will be de- 'sirable to examine, with the view of ascertaining how far the inte- 'rests of the two countries may demand a modification, or an altera- 'tion for the future.'

'In the course of your inquiries you will probably discover many 'topics, connected with the main object of the Commission, well 'worthy of being pursued, but which of course it is impossible for 'me to advert to, or to anticipate. Understanding, however, that 'the object of your Commission is to ascertain how the commercial 'relations of the two countries may be generally extended and im- 'proved, you will consider yourselves authorized to inquire into 'whatever you think will tend to this result, and to examine and re-

'port on whatever topic connected with it you may deem worthy of 'developement.'

'It is desirable that you should put the Government in possession 'of the character which your proceedings assume, and of the progress, 'as well as the record of the conferences which you will of course 'establish. As your Commission is not of a diplomatic character, and 'can best communicate with home in a semi-official manner, I should 'request you will be good enough to address those communications 'to the Board of Trade for the present, as well as any observations or 'demand for documents you deem it advisable to make; and I shall 'take care that you shall be furnished with any information or in-'structions which may be required by the circumstances of the case, 'and may facilitate the objects of your Mission. If, however, official 'communications become necessary in the course of your labour, they 'will naturally be made through the Ambassador, with whom you 'will be in constant communication.'

'I have the honour to be,

'Gentlemen,

'Your obedient humble servant,

'*To Messrs. George Villiers and John Bowring, Paris.*' 'C. POULETT THOMSON.'

The appointment of this Commission was in itself a valuable point gained, and an evidence of sincerity of purpose; but we were well aware that the interests which had been created in France by her commercial system, and the prejudices which these interests had engendered, presented a formidable barrier against any rapid or extensive change. To alter the whole legislation of a country on matters which involve great pecuniary considerations was no task to be lightly undertaken, or easily accomplished. All that we could hope for the present was, that some modifications might be introduced into the French Tariff, and some principles recognised, whose future developement, when experience had shown their value, might be reasonably anticipated. We could not but feel, and the fact has been again and again presented to us, that England had been long engaged in the career of restriction and prohibition, and that she had in truth furnished example and encouragement to other nations to adopt a system, which, happily for her own interest, she has since had the wisdom to abandon, or considerably to modify, yet that she still retained numerous laws which protected and interfered with free commercial communication. "But though hopeless of any extensive or immediate change, we considered that the opportunity was most valuable for gathering together authentic and official facts, and of tracing from sources whose authority could not be disputed, the progress of manufacturing and commercial decline or prosperity; nor has our conviction of the usefulness of our investigations been in any way diminished as we have proceeded in a task which has been materially forwarded by the friendly zeal of our colleagues, and the most unreserved communications on the part of the French authorities.'—*Report*, p. 1.

The causes of many of the difficulties which free trade has to encounter in France, may be traced in the following paragraph.

'In France, a very large proportion of those who are interested in the continuance of the existing commercial system, are elevated public functionaries, or are placed in immediate contact with them. It would have been idle, therefore, to have attacked great monopolies in their strongest holds. Nor can it be denied, that some of the protected manufactures are of such magnitude as to demand attention and respect. In many of them considerable numbers of workmen are engaged; and, though their employment in protected fabrics leads to the exclusion of a far more considerable number of labourers in those branches of industry whose cultivation would be the natural, instead of the forced growth of capital, yet all serious shiftings or transfer of labour, cannot but involve questions of difficulty and deep concern. In the mean time, the labouring classes, impatient of the suffering which is of necessity consequent upon the changes which every alteration of the Tariff brings with it, naturally ally themselves with their manufacturing masters, who demand the exclusion of the foreign articles which are in competition with their own. Even among these classes, however, the extension of the principles of more liberal intercourse, has produced a decided change, and so strong has been the English interest created, even among the French manufacturers, that the weavers of Lyons have lately petitioned the French Government to give all possible developement to the commercial relations between England and France.'—*p.* 8.

The "General Statement of Prohibited Goods from Foreign Countries," (p. 39), with the reasons appended, forms a curious object. Some of the most remarkable items will be found stated in the last of the paragraphs that follow.

'It is hardly necessary to remark, that if these reasons for prohibition were pushed to their necessary consequences, all commercial relations would infallibly cease. If the cheapness of a foreign article were a sufficient ground for prohibiting its importation, and the cheapness of a home article for prohibiting its exportation, no exchange at all could take place.'

'Many of the arguments which are put forward in justification of prohibitory measures are mutually destructive of each other. To keep the price of corn low in the interest of the consumer, is assigned as the reason for prohibiting exportation; and to raise the price high in the interest of the producer, as the reason for prohibiting importation: the two objects are incompatible. Again, one set of prohibitions are justified because the articles are dear in France; such are the exportations of silk, rags, bark, &c. Reasonings wholly opposed to one another are, in turn, employed. There is scarcely an argument or a calculation, which if recognised as applying to some articles, is not opposed altogether to the legislation on others.'

'It requires merely to state some of the objections to importations, in order to show their narrow and anti-commercial spirit. The introduction of manufactured tin, for example, is opposed because it

might benefit England, which is rich in tin mines; as if the importation into France could take place without equally benefiting her. The reasons, too, which are grounded on the superiority of other countries; as, for example, "dangerous rivalry," in the case of manufactured steel; "cheapness" of foreign article, in the case of shipping; threatened "annihilation of the French manufacture" in that of cutlery; "extra advantages of the English" in plated ware; "apprehension of the English" in articles of pottery; "imprudence of admitting English sadlery, as so many persons, regardless of price, prefer it;" "advantages of machinery" in works of iron;—all are modes of announcing the superiority of the foreign articles, and the power which foreigners possess of supplying them on cheaper terms than they can be produced at home.'—*p.* 45.

But, the monopolist will say, if you benefit the consumer, you injure me the monopolist. To which the answer is, that there is another person still left out, which is the French trader with whom the difference of price, saved to the consumer by the destruction of the monopolist, would have been laid out. Or put all the effects on French trade and commerce together, and the aggregate is the same with the monopoly or without: only there is this difference, that in one case the consumer gets nothing for the difference of price, and in the other he does. When will the consumers all the world over, cease to be the dupes of knavish tradesmen and more knavish legislators?

The French government is just now in a state of distress by reason of "*chiens fraudeurs*," dogs taught to smuggle, who are stated to be carrying their operations to an extent *vraiment effrayante*, and the legislators of the *grande nation* are combining their talents for the suppression of these dogs. To such ridiculous occupations does ignorance bring the leaders of a people. As if a smuggling dog was not the best of four-legged citizens, making a saving to the public at every journey, of the difference of price in the foreign article introduced, *minus* his own diet and expenses. If the bones that are in all cathedrals in all countries were looked through, how few would have a claim on their country's gratitude to match those of a smuggling dog.

The immediate result of the efforts of the Commissioners has been the abandonment of the principle of absolute prohibition, and the substitution of duties; a step, of which the value as a movement, and as giving rise to a vast quantity of popular agitation and reflection, is independent of the positive magnitude of the opening made.

PROGRAMME to the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for 1 Oct. 1834.

THE Whigs have presented a curious commentary on the practical use of royalty. A civil war had just burnt out in Portugal, and a scion of royalty was found in the act of preparing another for Spain. He was found there, because he had not the power of conveying himself to a better place. He ought to have been in Biscay; and it was precisely because the Spanish government had taken the means to hinder him, that he was found where he was instead. What then did the Whigs or the Whigs' agent? They said, "Because this is a royal man, we cannot leave the Spaniards to deal with him as they think fit. We must take him to England, and from England there will be nothing to hinder his going to Biscay." And so, because he was a royal man, they took him from his bad military position in Portugal, and put him into his good military position in Biscay; giving the Spanish government work for thirty thousand men, because a royal man must have the privilege of doing mischief uncontrolled.*

Had the Whigs' agent orders for what he did, or had he not? If he had not, then see the consequence of employing known enemies in foreign countries. Here is a friendly power put to the expense of thirty thousand men, because the British government professes friendship, and at the same time leaves bitter enemies in posts and places where they have the power of injury. If the Whigs did it all themselves, why does not the Spanish ambassador demand, that as the Whigs chose to send the mischief to Spain, they should take it away again? He would find people enough in England to support him.

It is in this way that men in place toil to make royalty odious. If a poor printer set down a few hasty words, it would be called a libel; and here is a government holding forth to universal Europe, that royalty is an exception to all rules;—that no bond of national faith or public interest holds good, where royalty is in question;—that royal persons may stalk over the earth, raising a civil war here, and overwhelming a constitution there, and all the earth has to do is to tremble beneath their steps. Surely these people will obtain their end at last.

An immense uproar is made by the Tories, because a bishop asked a Dissenting and a Catholic clergyman to dine with him.

* It is curious to reflect, in 1839, that the civil war in Spain and its attendant miseries, were the simple creation of the Whig ministers, acting on their determination to support anything holding of royalty, in the right divine of doing mischief. They are at this moment exhibiting a parallel instance of insane devotion to what they call legitimacy, in their hostility to Mohammed Ali; in which, luckily, the better sense of France is holding them in check.—*Added in Oct.* 1839.

What asses the Catholics and the Dissenters must be, to pay towards the established church without making at least the same resistance the Quakers do; when it is thus pointedly put forward to them, that it is a disgrace to sit at meat with them. Who will take a bet, how long this established tyranny endures?

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, 1 October, 1834.

ART. VIII.—1. *Cab and Omnibus Nuisance.* Morning Herald.
2. *Cab and Omnibus Nuisance.* Standard.
3. *Omnibus Nuisance.* Albion.
4. *Cab Nuisance.* Morning Post.
5. *Cab and Omnibus Nuisance.* John Bull.
6. *Cab and Omnibus Nuisance.* Age.

THE moment anything is done in England for the comfort or convenience of the numerous classes, it makes its appearance under the title of a *nuisance*. England therefore does not exist for the comfort or convenience of the numerous classes, but for the well-being of some other class or classes, whose meat and drink it is to live upon the sufferings of the rest. This is the passage, which it is at present intended, with permission, as the sectaries phrase it, "to improve."

The charge against the people of England is, that the people ride along the streets. The streets are not *their* streets; they are the streets of those to whom everything else belongs; and everything else does not belong to the people. Walking has been permitted to the *demos* * from time immemorial; but to ride is insolence. By a sort of parallel to the Game Laws, certain modes of vehiculation were to be peculiar to the magnificos. A cart was permitted, like the shooting of rooks and other base fowl; and there was even a modification called a "taxed-cart," in which, on condition of certain letters of so many inches high and of such a precise colour on such a ground, understood to convey the abandonment of all pretensions to gentility, the serf was permitted to approach in a limited degree to the velocity of his betters, but always on condition that the preservation of the sitting parts by means of springs, was reserved for what the Spaniards call the "blue

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* Δῆμος, *Demos*, "the people" in the political sense; whence "democratic" &c. See the continual fire kept up by the poets of the Lackey School in Athens, where the *demos* was supreme; which has been produced in English with such admirable vigour and notable benefit to the popular cause, by the only translators (or more probably translator) of Greek the world has had, in the Quarterly Review and Blackwood's Magazine.

blood" (*sangre azul*), or for the porcelain clay that compounds the muscles of the great.

It was in France,—where the Revolution, in spite of all after changes, had on many points put the people in possession of useful and substantial sovereignty,—that those improvements in popular vehicles took place, whose copying by the middle classes of England has given such distress to the sensitive minds of their superiors. The Cabriolet can hardly be said to be of revolutionary origin; but its extended use may. A French general officer in full uniform trundles up to the Tuileries in a hired cabriolet, and feels his dignity nowise diminished by the fact, that the serjeant-major last used it to take his inamorata to the *guingette*. There can be little doubt that this holds of the spirit of personal equality fostered by never-enough-to-be-lamented events. But the Omnibus was an entirely post-revolutionary discovery. Its very name is levelling. That fourteen citizens male and female should ride smirking opposite to one another in two rows, the *curé* of eighty breathing the same air with the smiling *couturière* of sixteen, and the gay young conscript pluming himself, not unconscious of good looks, in the eyes of what for all he knew might be the Duchess of Berri and her attendant,—was an invention that could only have been made in a country of happy temperament like France. Nobody there ever found out that they were hurt; no journals declared the public weal in danger; it was reserved for miserable, sulky, down-trodden, tory-ridden England, to discover that the populace, the base lower classes, were making themselves comfortable. The shabbier race of shopkeepers too, joined the cry. They remarked that fourteen citizens got in and out fourteen times as often as one ancient maiden shopping; and as all stops must take place somewhere, some might possibly be before their own door. Not but that everything of this kind was fair and proper matter of regulation; but there was no need to insult and annoy the citizens wherever fourteen were gathered together. There was no occasion to decree, that the member for Oldham and a half-pay lieutenant-colonel of foot should not ride peaceably together along their road, without hearing their conductors directly, and themselves indirectly, baited with the imprecations of the privates of the Police Guards, as might be more germane to the caravan that conveys convicted wild-beasts from Bow-street. The latter deponent makes generally two, and sometimes six or eight trajectories daily, in these abominated-of-the-anti-revolutionary vehicles, and never witnessed the slightest instance of misconduct either in the conductors or the inmates. The drivers of cabriolets were once also

eminent for good morals; but, like the broom-girls, they have deteriorated. The effect must have some cause; and the way for sensible men would be, to try to remove the cause. The earlier men of cabriolets, were many of them petty proprietors, lords and masters of the little planet they directed; many of them had been gentlemen's servants, and were as civil men for drivers, as could be met upon the road. As an instance in point, the writer of this had an innocent faculty, on first taking up a vocation which encouraged temporary *liaisons* in the matter of carriages, of forgetting his vehicle altogether and going his way without paying. Three times at least did this happen to him; besides once that he was taken *in flagrante delicto* at the door. Yet there was not the smallest incivility in any case. In one instance the driver cautiously communicated, to a friend not unknown to the public who remained behind, that he verily believed the gentleman that had just got out, had left him standing four hours at a door and never come back. As on comparing notes the "soft impeachment" could not be denied, plenary satisfaction was offered, and the moderate plaintiff proposed five shillings. Now these were certainly not bad, nor untrustworthy, nor dangerous men. Four times has the writer been thrown between the horse's ears, once has he ridden into a gas-pipe, but without any fault of the drivers; and when a wheel came off and the horse attempted to run away, he possibly owed his life to the resolution with which the driver, a worthy with much of the manners of an old dragoon, stuck to his seat till he was thrown out, and then hung to the reins and finally brought the horse to a stand-still. It would be an excellent thing, by the way, and greatly for the safety of the citizens, if some member of the House of Commons would borrow so far from the wisdom of antiquity, as to move that all two-wheel'd carriages should have four wheels. It might easily be effected by a slight favour in the duty *. It is difficult to surmise what governments are for, if they are not to take care of the citizens in those points where they cannot so well be taken care of by themselves. In other ways connected with public carriages, it is wonderful how the legislature contrives to throw dirt into the face of every man, who is not at least a doctor and drives a

* This is nearly effected now, by the simple operation of competition, and keeping the meddlers from making any regulations as to form. The drivers however, and their carriages, have been badged in a way discreditable to a free country. It is the interest of governors to multiply the outward form and inward substance of slavery where they can; and no where is the chance so good, as by flattering every petty cockney with the idea that he can bully a servant of the public.—*Author, on republication in* 1839.

pill-box of his own. One legislator amuses himself with defining the height and colour of the letters which shall announce, "These are a set of shabby people, who have not a carriage of their own." Another invents laborious modes of parading the driver's name; as much as to say, "Everybody that goes in these carriages, is a shabby person and very likely to be insulted, and therefore we will chalk it, if not upon his back, upon his carriage." A third invents the announcing how many passengers may enter into the ark; by way of declaring that they are all unclean beasts together, and have special need of the attention of the police. A fourth is particular in requesting that the number of the plebeian's carriage may be prominently displayed *behind;* that when he and his run away from justice together, there may be more chance of tracking the culprits home. And a fifth is in an agony to introduce the stupid remnant of continental tyranny, which exacts that one man shall not drive past another, however different their reasons for celerity; and proposes reducing the vulgar public to the pace of a procession. Have we no business, no vocations, nothing that may ever require haste? Galloping may be for royalty; but is no man under the degree of a lord to go at a jog-trot? The mad Paul of Russia once made such an enactment; and sent an Englishman to sweep the streets of Petersburg for contravening the order. It was not imagined then, that the thing would find its way thirty years afterwards into the British Parliament. Without any of these precautions, a *number* in the olden style, was quite sufficient for all necessary purposes of police. People had got so used to it, too, that it neither hurt the eye nor the feelings; therefore it was, that the present additions were devised. Royalty, of course, is intolerant of hackney-coaches; and great was the war of words, when Mr. Wilberforce, who had the *entrée*, insisted on driving in one through the Horse-Guards. All this will bear fruit in time, and go to increase the spirit of resistance to more serious oppressions. Like a straw thrown up to see which way the wind blows, it will direct the judgment upon weightier matters. On steam-boats, the self-same spirit is exhibited; but it happens that more influential classes are concerned. The poor man's *drink* has been and is to be, a plaything for the rich to amuse themselves by twitting him in; an old Tory Field-Marshal was the only man that showed any bowels for the people in the ranks, and the Whigs have undone it. When the time comes for the poor to regulate the rich man's cups, they shall stand upon no niceties in the execution. There is a general system of domineering over the industrious and numerous classes, of

which the Corn-laws may be said to be the head, and the regulations on a draught of beer the tail; the carcase being filled up with injuries of all manner of gradations of enormity. Take, for instance, the case which happened the other day, and is happening every day. Suppose for argument's sake, that one of the richer classes died, and his widow had invested the whole property in some concern with a view to the support of her children, and on pretence of some infringement of a municipal regulation, *the whole of such property was declared confiscated.* What sympathy, what sentiment, what a subject for a tragedy! Fancy a Mrs. Beverley coming forward, and rousing the indignant pit and boxes to a Revolution in her cause! But change the case to a widow of the *poor*, and there shall be no talk of a revolution at all. The thing is done every day, and is good parish guttlers' law. Such things will not go on;—it is dangerous to prophesy, but they will not. The moment the people of France got into their heads that there was a general system of maltreating them by their oligarchy, and the feeling got up a little higher than the rudest food for tyranny who in no country can help themselves,—they all stood up together, and there happened what happened. It seems barely possible, that some people might take something like a warning now.*

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* In numerous other ways the spirit of absurd and arbitrary interference with the popular classes is gaining ground, and has been ever since the disappearance from the House of Commons of the Radical party, who were their only defenders. That a poor man shall support his family by crying fish or water-cresses, or ringing a muffin-bell, is an abomination in the ears of the rich man, who has taken away his claim upon the poor's rate, and lives by a tax upon his bread. Men who are poor because it is part of the constitution that they must find the aristocracy in coach-horses, feel it convenient to drive dogs, and therefore this is to be prohibited; which nobody would have dared to do if one man of 300*l.* a-year had been in the habit of driving in a dog-cart four-in-hand to the House of Commons. The Sabbath tyranny, which the Radical members successfully kept at bay, is reproduced in other forms. The people disbelieve the duty, as they disbelieve the duty of abstaining from meat on Fridays; nay more, they know that the latter observance is at all events not prohibited in the scriptures which are pretended to be taken for the rule, and the other is. But all this they must gulp down, as the necessary consequence of men's having nothing to do with the laws but to suffer from them. It is very doubtful whether, in many of these cases, anybody except the inditers, knew that so and so was to be the law till it was found in operation. Any pragmatical Jack can plate a law against the peoplevof England upon the statute-book, and nobody know till it is done, The beginning and end of which is, that the unrepresented are politically slaves.

The fact is that the people of England are just where the people of France were at the commencement of their Revolution; they are ridden over by an insolent aristocracy whom they keep. And if like causes do not produce like effects, it must be by the vigorous and intelligent use of the legal and constitutional means of relief, which are already to a greater or less extent within the reach of the suffering classes.—*Author on republication in* 1839.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, 1 October, 1834.

ART. XIII.—*Memoir of a Proposed New System of Permanent Fortification.* (In English and French). By Joseph Bordwine, Professor of Fortification at the Honourable East India Company's Military Seminary, Addiscombe, late of the Quarter-Master General's Staff, &c.—London; Cochrane and Co. 4to, pp. 168. With Plates.

IN the present state of this country and of Europe, it is highly politic and necessary to keep up the public attention in a certain degree to matters connected with the military art. Resolute as the domestic enemy appears to be, in sticking to his expectation of one day settling his quarrel "in blood," there is no man that can say he may not have to build a sconce to hold some passage against the Tories, or turn his house into a "Tillietudlem" to check some inroad of a conservative "Army of the Faith." In Europe also, every man looks forward with anxiety in one way or the other, to the contest which is to drive the influence of the barbarous powers from Western Europe, and establish the outposts of civilized man on the lines of the Dwina and the Dnieper. Such a combination, whatever changes may have taken place in the relative importance of fortified places, will call for the occupation of a vast number of new points and passages by the European Alliance. Those who remember the regret felt that Napoleon did not occupy the neighbourhood of Orcha, Witepsk, and Smolensko till the ensuing spring, will perceive that if there is any situation in Europe in which it would be desirable for the anti-barbarous Alliance to possess two or three fortified places of first-rate magnitude, it would be that. Conceding to the fullest extent, that the modern use of fortified places is reduced substantially to the holding of passages and communications,—with rare possible exceptions in favour of the desirableness of grand depôts in an open country;—there is still no reason for considering the art and mystery of fortification as a thing obsolete and gone by. On the contrary, there is just expectancy enough to show, that any leading discovery for its improvement, would come in most apt time for useful application.

The peculiar feature of Professor Bordwine's System,—which he has ruminated on for above thirty years, and of which the writer of this Article has had a comrade's knowledge for above twenty-eight,—is the insulation of the bastion from the *corps de place*, and making the batteries which are to flank the curtain, *internal* instead of external. In addition to this, circular forms are adopted generally for the bastion, *corps de place*, and outworks; a suggestion not new, and which therefore ought not to be confounded with the novel proposition of Professor

Bordwine. For exemplification, trace a circle of about five feet radius to represent the *corps de place;* place eight Cheshire cheeses* touching the *corps de place* and at equal distances from one another; cut out of each a sector with an angle of about 135°, on the side towards the *place*, and on the lines which form this sector place your batteries for the defence of the curtain or space between the bastions: carry your ditch round the whole, and sink your bastions in it to the level of the *place*. In this way might My Uncle Toby have arrived at a very tolerable representation of the leading feature of the new system.

The great advantage proposed, is evidently that the flanking batteries, which in the old system are to be enfiladed without being covered by any part of the bastion, are not *come-at-able*, inasmuch as the mass and body of the bastion is thrown before them. The invention has the grandeur of simplicity; and considering that the actual system of fortification has been in operation for three centuries without material change, there is nothing in analogy to make it doubtful that the time may possibly have come for an improvement.

All "*legitimate*" military establishments hate improvements. In other words, they hate alterations. They view war as a game which they would gladly play by the existing rules; and for that very reason the *illegitimates* will always be inventing new ones. It is not long since an officer applied to the Admiralty touching some projected improvements in naval gunnery; and the Admiralty answered straight forward, "We do not wish for any alterations in naval war." The consequence therefore is, that the first time the Admiralty is concerned with war, it will have to limp after the improvements in the hands of its opponents. This is in fact one of the strong provisions of nature, for the success of revolutions. It will not therefore be considered as putting an extinguisher on the new system, that it has been opposed by the Engineers. The question was not, whether all existing fortresses should be incontinently pulled down and new ones built on the proposed system; but whether there were not points in the proposed system which an able man would take advantage of hereafter. Time and the foreigner will show.

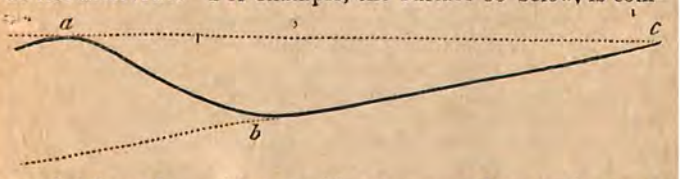
The rules for determining the merit of the *details* of the proposed new system, must depend on a large and comprehensive estimate of the relations between the general circumstances of the defending and attacking parties. A fortress presents a small and confined space, which has to defend itself against an almost unlimited circumference. The quantity of possible fire

* Which are cylinders of about two feet diameter, and eight inches high. Less than eight bastions does not answer well; which will probably have the effect of confining the application to places of the higher orders.

that can be put forward by the fortress is easily ascertained. The assailant, if he pleases, may fill the visible horizon with engines of assault, and even with two or three sets of engines, one operating over the other. Hence the impossibility,—in all ordinary cases,—of anything like a perpetual defence. The increased use of vertical fire,—of which the English siege of Hatras in India is the most marked instance since the cessation of general war,—will probably end in obliging all fortresses to cover themselves, or at all events to have what a sailor would call a lower deck. It appears exceedingly absurd, that when a fortress is expected to be attacked, as Antwerp, timber, which may or may not be procurable, should then for the first time be called for, to put the garrison under something like cover. For the defence also, the use of vertical fire has the manifest advantages, of the pieces not being seen, of their being defensible (even without cover overhead) from anything but vertical fire, and of their not being posted in lines which offer advantages to an enemy's enfilade. In this view one of the most important means of augmenting the defence of places, would probably be the improvement of ricochet or howitzer fire, in such manner as should in fact enable every part of the disposable ground within the fortress, to be occupied by pieces acting *en ricochet* over the entire ramparts while the enemy was in his distant parallels, and shifting their ground whenever any advantage was to be gained by it; and changing this into a vertical or mortar fire, when the enemy got nearer. The difference between such a defence, and what may be made by a few dozen guns placed in straight lines on the walls, does not seem difficult to trace. Rockets (*fusées*) are also a weapon which might manifestly be used with great advantage by the besieged; as demanding neither works nor lines, and being in fact projectible from any point where a man can stand. For an attack also (for it invariably happens that things of this kind cut both ways), there seems no absolute impossibility in divisions of infantry or cavalry bringing up every man a rocket before a fortress; and at the outbreak of a war, a *coup de main* or two of this kind, might have a sensible effect in changing the face of Europe.

All Professor Bordwine's application of his system has been to what is called Regular Fortification; which is undeniably in the natural progress of events. But this may give room to remark the vast comparative importance, which what is (perhaps improperly enough) called *Irregular Fortification*, has taken in the modern theory of war. The old theory was to build a fortress in the place where the strongest fortress could be built; and it was not far from being considered as ascertained, that a regular or uniform fortification in a level

country, was one of the most defensible of all. But modern war has decreed, that a fortress shall be of little or no use unless it occupies some passage or communication; the site therefore of modern fortresses is not for the engineer to pick, but is dictated to him by foreign circumstances. And this it is, that gives such increased importance to the branch of the science of fortification which treats of irregular or fortuitous positions. One of the most important subjects connected with this, is the theory of what the French call *défilement*, or the means of protecting a fortified work from the advantages which difference of altitude might otherwise give to the enemy. If a surface be supposed to pass through the upper line of the parapet of any work, and also through the point occupied by the enemy (which shall here be supposed *higher* than the work), it is plain that by shaping the floor or bottom of the work so as to be parallel to this surface, the work will be brought to nearly the same degree of safety and protection, as if the enemy had not been elevated. This imaginary surface is called the surface of *défilement;* and thirty years ago, whatever may be the case now, it does not appear that the writers on fortification had clearly convinced themselves, that the surface of *défilement* with reference to protection from any given point, when the parapet is a straight line of any kind, must always be a plane. On the meaning of the word *command*, an equal degree of inaccuracy appears to have been abroad. The vulgar idea of *command* is, that one position commands another, when it is *above* it. It is true it often does; but it is equally possible for a position to command another when it is on the *same level* or *below* it. A surface is properly said to be commanded, when it is exposed to the influence of an enemy from some particular point or position, in a greater degree than would have happened if the surface and the point had been in one horizontal plane. And this, with the modern weapons of artillery and musquetry, happens whenever the prolongation of the plane of the surface cuts the vertical line passing through the point which is the position of the enemy, in a part which is below that point, and foreign obstacles do not intervene. For example, the surface *bc* below, is com-



manded from the position *a*, without commanding it; for every part is exposed to view, and consequently to fire, from *a*, in a

greater degree than would have happened if *a* and the surface *bc* had been in one horizontal plane. And this exposure will be substantially neither increased nor diminished, if instead of *a* and *c* being in the same horizontal level as here represented, the whole ground is such as will be represented by turning the book round to the right or left, so as to make either *a* or *c* higher than the other. It follows therefore, that a man may be *below* his enemy, and still perfectly command his position, and without being commanded by him;—a point of knowledge that might be worth a great success. With the weapon in use in Cæsar's time, the *pilum*,—the *è superiori loco* was undoubtedly an immense advantage; but all that has been altered since.

These are mentioned, as instances of the directions in which the science of Fortification may probably find room for improvement. Like all other science, it must be in favour of man's best interests in the end, by the token that the happy and the free will always make the most vigorous application of the results.

PROGRAMME to the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for 1 Jan. 1835.

IF an American a few weeks ago had insulted an Englishman by asking him, how he could live under a government where the arbitrary power of arresting the whole course of public policy at a moment's warning was lodged in a single individual, and that individual not in any shape selected for the purpose by the nation, but taken by hereditary descent, and consequently liable to be, in the celebrated words of Archdeacon Paley, "the feeblest and worst of the whole set, a child, a woman, a madman, or a fool;" and who moreover through the operation of absurd laws, was exposed to almost the necessity of surrounding himself with an illegitimate offspring in his youth, and with the counsels of a foreign wife in his old age, thus systematically providing an inlet for the exercise of the two influences most wounding to national honour, and coolly making them integral portions of the government;—

If he had asked him how a nation was to be respectable in its connexions with foreigners, when in the midst of the most prosperous negotiations, every foreign agent might twit the Ambassador with the possibility of his being upset next post by the agency of such a perilously-contrived machinery at home, and the people's interest in the most important scheme of policy might be peremptorily stayed at the pleasure of an individual as above, and laid under the same kind of loss and disadvantage that would accrue to an army from the power of at any critical moment inserting the enemy's general in lieu of its own, and leaving to the army the chances of future recovery;—

If an American had said all this, he would have been

answered boldly, that it was an exaggeration and a falsehood. That though many of the rules of the British government were not written in express statutes, they were laid down in the great common law of History, and stamped there in characters so plain, and enforced by recollections so notable, that the man must be entirely "dement" and void of understanding, who should attempt to charge the British people with any such absurdity as was conveyed in the statement. That though the way in which the liberties of the citizen had been constituted by gradual accumulation, had prevented points of this kind from being arrayed in writing as might have been the case under different circumstances, yet every man in his heart and conscience knew it was a filthy libel to say, that what is called the prerogative of the crown in the appointment of its ministers, was the power of exercising arbitrary and personal fantasy or feeling, but on the contrary it was a power limited in its application by acknowledged rules, and guided by particular facts. That it was well understood, for example, that on the existence of a certain degree of avowed dissension among the ministers themselves, or of a certain degree of demonstrated inability to carry with them the support of Parliament, the crown was to exercise its constitutional right of change. But that it was no more understood, nor wrought into the minds and apprehensions of Englishmen, that the sovereign was endowed upon this point with the power of acting without concert with responsible ministers,—than that he was placed there to chuse his ministers by the cut of their beards or the colour of their hair:—or if he did, that it would be wilfully carrying back the country to those old and too fatally celebrated periods of struggle, which the public believed to have passed without the probability of recurrence.

All this confidence has been blown into the air, by the resolution suggested to the enemies of the people and the crown, through the lamentable refusal of the people's reputed friends and leaders to secure the post against the return of the enemy when they had it in possession. There is nothing to be done now, but try to get him out again by *unanimity*; though it would be but decent and for the common good, that after the Whigs have given such awful proof of their incompetency to direct, they should invite, at least a mixture, of better men. But with this reservation, there must be no un-friends, except such as are found trying to sell the common cause for some sneaking advantage to themselves. The country, with the single exception of the increased power in the hands of the people for setting things right by parliamentary resistance, is carried back by the advisers behind the throne, to the state of things which preceded the eruption of 1640. In the exer-

cise of that resistance in such a manner as to prevent the probability of a recurrence of the necessity, is the one hope of peaceful individuals. The country cannot be put on the verge of a civil war every two years. The Tories have recklessly played their last stake; the people must play theirs and successfully, or consent to see themselves led, with more or less of gradation and delay, to the infamous days of the Second Charles, through the miserable ones of the First.

The error committed by the extra-ministerial counsellors has been enormous, except as desperation covers all faults. They have done what Ham did to his father,—in sweeping away the decent reserves and modest conventional limitations that veiled the grossness of the prerogative; and they have forwarded the advances of republicanism some twenty years, by setting up a practical republican party in a country where there was before only a theoretical and abstract one. The die fell favourably for the people, that determined on a Dissolution. Men sell themselves to the devil for seven years; and will sell themselves to the minister for five. None can tell what defections there might have been, under a cunningly-devised system for taking all advantages against the people. The question is now in the people's hands, to save or to surrender. All shades of opinion must be sunk in the single question, whether the candidate, upon the call for the Supplies or for the Mutiny Bill, will vote for the Amendment, that "the advisers of the formation of an administration from the opponents of the Reform Bill, *were enemies to the people and the crown.*"

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, 1 January, 1835.

ART. I.—*John Hopkins's Notions on Political Economy.* By the Author of "Conversations on Chemistry, Political Economy," &c. &c.—Second Edition, 12mo. pp. 168. London; Longman. 1833.

THIS is a little book which begins ill, but improves greatly towards the end; and if (as is a construction capable of being put on an advertisement at the beginning) the improvement is of two years' growth, there is no limit assignable to the services which may in time be rendered to the public from the same quarter. An additional importance is given to the work, from its having been fixed on for observation by the "*National**," the organ of the party in France to whom the English liberals owe the "Three Days" and their consequences, and with whom it is consequently their interest to cultivate the closest understanding. The writer there, after ascribing it to Mrs. Marcet, as is indeed distinctly though not prominently

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* 12 Oct. 1834.

avowed in the title-page, assumes it as a specimen of what he chuses to denominate the "*économie politique anglaise*," and thence arrives at a sweeping conclusion against all the workings of the human mind on this side of the Channel, which can be brought under such a nomenclature. It may be true enough that there is a great deal of bad political economy got up in England; but it is also true, that there is a spirit of progress abroad there, of which the present work in the difference between its beginning and its conclusion affords an instance, and which will end in working out some of the great political problems favourably to the people, in a way which the supporters of the popular cause in France would do well to emulate and assist. It is easy to see that the political economists in England or some of them, are mining under all the foundations of oligarchical power in that country. There is no difficulty about saying it to the enemy, for there is no secret to be kept; the enemy knows as well as they, that the process is going on, and that he has no means of hindering it. The miners meanwhile, unlike their French allies, say nothing about republicanism; for the simple reason, that republicanism is not the key to the position they attack. If the government can be made to remove abuses, they care little about the form; and are wiser than to run their heads against a needless opposition, by pursuing what after all is of no value but as the means towards an end. It may be, that in France, it would be the leading or most efficient means; but the English reformers see a difference in their own case. They would enjoy nothing more, than driving the enemy into a corner where he should be obliged to avow that there must be either abuses or republicanism; but they have not been brought to this yet, and they are willing to wait till they are. To transfer the question in England to republicanism, would be allowing the adversary to fall over the ropes, instead of holding up and threshing him. It is pity but this was better understood in France: as tending to produce greater unity between the active liberals of the two countries.

The first Story represents John Hopkins as fretting himself by reason of the extravagance of the rich and his own poverty, and procuring a good-natured Fairy "to destroy all luxuries whatever." The object appears to be to impress on the poor the Chinese maxim, that "*The gentry are the hope of the poor people.*" Now nothing certainly can be wider of the truth than this apophthegm. The proof of it, is in the double way in which the claim for gratitude is applied. The labourer is told to consider his daily bread as what he is to be grateful for to the squire that employs him; and the squire's child is lectured by the same race of moralists, on the gratitude it owes

to Hob the ploughman, Ralph the miller, and Betty the dairy-maid, who are so good as to club their respective energies, that the scion of aristocracy may arrive at the enjoyment of bread-and-butter. The truth is, that one claim is just as unreal as the other; for two parties cannot mutually make out a claim to gratitude for the same fact. As might be expected, John Hopkins is disappointed in his results; but this does not hinder the whole parable from being built on a wrong foundation. The question was, not whether John Hopkins would be benefited by a destruction of luxuries, but whether he would be benefited by a state of things which should give him a somewhat greater share; and whether it may not be possible to throw wholesome light on the causes that made his actual share so small. It is on this latter point that Mrs. Marcet, with more felicity than has attended on any rival name, appears to be on the verge of taking the "step into the right," which would present Political Economy under the figure of a decent matron, freed from the dirt and ignominy with which cribbed and narrow notions of utility have besmirched her comely brow.

In the Second Story, John Hopkins tries his hand again. He this time begs the Fairy, "with the stroke of her wand, to cause wages to be doubled." So John has in consequence double wages, and goes to the market in great glee, bearing in his right hand a basket of plums, and in his left a bundle of straw-plait, and inly meditating the purchase of clothes for his ragged children with the proceeds. He is delighted to find that plums and plait have risen, in consequence of the increased demand made by the numerous classes on the strength of their double wages. But he is proportionably depressed on discovering, that cloth also had risen by two shillings a yard from the same cause. Dick and Sally next come home, with news that they have been discharged by their respective employers, through the inability of the masters to pay double wages to more than half their people. Finally John's own employer sends him word, that he must employ him three days a-week instead of six, for a similar reason. Everything goes wrong, and John enjoys no peace till the Fairy's charm is at an end.

Now all this, it cannot be concealed, is wonderfully beside the mark. It is worth no more, than telling a crowd of people who should be working for wages in a ship short of provisions, that doubling their wages could not make one week's provisions into six. But what men in such a case would naturally desire, would be to know by what circumstances they were brought and kept in this unhappy situation, and above all, how far this knowledge might lead to the further knowledge of the possible means of abatement. They would not say, "It is manifest that all the wages in the world could not relieve us, therefore let us sit down and enjoy our martyrdom;"—but they would say

"How came you, Captain *This* and Purser *That*, to bring us into this notable scrape for your own base interests; and are not you thinking, that if there is any port under our lee which you could run into to save our lives and do not, we may chance before our end to bring you to such a reckoning, as to say the least will be *extremely disagreeable?*" This is what people in such circumstances would be apt to say; and if the captain and the purser issued a "Cheap Repository" tract with the parable of the Fairy, it is not likely they would much advance their cause. John Hopkins, when he is clothed and in his right mind, will demand to know who it was that brought him into such a plight and how; and will by no means be satisfied by the technical demonstration, that a Fairy's doubling wages would not mend it. He will look for amendment, not from the doubling of wages by a Fairy in his old condition, but from altering his *status*, as the slaveholders call it, altogether; from putting him into the *status* of a man in the way of ports where good things grow, instead of a man a thousand miles off with nothing to eat.

The Third Story is an allegory of three Giants, who turn out to be Wind, Water, and Steam. It is chiefly important as leading to the Fourth, entitled "Population; or the Old World;" a title which it is impossible to help suspecting has been added *après coup*, the truth being that this story marks the period immediately preceding the moment in which the authoress received a call to better things. Poor Dame Hopkins appears to be brought forward for nothing but to excuse herself for having had so many children. A distinct plot is laid for hindering "boy George" and "Betsy Bloomfield" from effecting "grandchildren;" for which it appears that, at the respective ages of two-and-twenty and nineteen, they have a considerable "hankering." The whole business has certainly, up to this, a hopeless look. But the hour of light is never nearer than in the hour of darkness. Betsy's good angel puts somebody on talking of America, and how "they may marry young in those parts." *Rem acû tetigisti*, might exclaim the angel, though too learned for his client. The secret begins to leak out, that Georges and Betsies in America may follow their hearts' imaginations, *because there is nothing to hinder the obtaining food.* In one word, lovers in America have *corn*. The discovery at first excites an eagerness to go to such happy lands; but this is balanced by the demonstration, that these lands (the distance included) have grievous inconveniences too. Nevertheless—*hæret lethalis arundo*,—the daylight has been made to shine through the Corn-law fallacy. Betsy will never get it out of her head, that prohibiting George from exchanging his work for corn, has something to do with the affair. *Habet*—she hath it—and will keep; and it is hard if her woman's wit does not work out the full solution.

The "Poor's Rate" Story is a sort of interruption, directed to prove to the poor what they might have found out without, that the Poor's Rate is, or was, a "treacherous friend." The poor are prohibited from selling their labour to foreigners by the rich, in order that they may be forced to give to the rich at home a greater quantity of labour for the same return. Georges and Betsies may not sell their work and marry upon the produce, but George and Betsy must be kept in the single state, in order that the squire may have their work for less than he would without. The squire's slaves must not only be his slaves, but they must be oxen and "spay'd wyes" in order to increase his profit by them. It is true that a large portion of the sufferers have not wit to find this out; but their lack of wit does not affect the verity of the fact. The temptation held out by the squires is,—"If you will submit to this, you shall enjoy in return—*the poor's-rate.*" And even this, in their short-sightedness, they have cut down and in great measure taken away; not discerning how powerful a weapon they were putting into the hands of the intelligent among their opponents. Of all outcries, one of the least politic, is the outcry against adversaries who chuse to "begin at the wrong end." What could they do better, if the direct tendency is to bring "beginning at the right end" as the consequence? A pauper population that will endure the pulling down the Poor-rates with one hand, and laying on the Corn-laws with the other, will be a specimen of gullibility on a large scale, not to be credited till seen.

It is lamentable—but what can be done without grace,—that the authoress should have got as far as the end of this Story, without seeing through that most mendacious of ancient apologues, the "Fable of the Belly and the Members." The whole question turns on whether the rich have any real resemblance to that intestine or not. Do they really concoct, digest, and distribute the turtle and venison they eat, to the poor man's limbs or to their own? The plea is the same as if the poor should pretend to be the digesters to the rich. In all the communications—at least the honest ones—between the rich and poor, there is a *quid pro quo* on each side with perfect exactness. The poor man gives his labour to rear the rich man's pine-apple, and the pine-apple is the exact compensation to the rich, for the daily potatoe he may have given to the poor. To claim to be the poor man's "belly" besides, is fraud.

The Story on "Machinery; or Cheap Goods and Dear Goods," is an effective illustration of the effects of machinery on the labouring classes. But it is only on arriving at "Foreign Trade; or the Wedding Gown," that the authoress is found as in the camp of Dan. The enormity of Patty's receiving a French gown as a wedding present, is introduced and fairly grappled with.

"Why, have not you just heard that your sister Nancy is likely to be turned off at Nottingham, because they will wear so many French ribands?"

"Ay, but," said Tom archly, who could not help thinking of his own prospect, "have not you said that I am likely to be taken on at Leeds, because foreigners wear our English cloths? So you see, father, it is as broad as it is long."—p. 136.

It is not only as broad, but broader. For if Patty's delight in her French gown is obtained at the same price as an English one,—then, inasmuch as the gown must be bought in France with some English goods or other, there is a gain of all Patty's delight. And if it is obtained for *less*, then the difference of price will be laid out by Patty upon something and somebody, which exactly makes up the difference to English trade in the whole, and Patty will have the value of the difference besides. The whole notion of preventing Patty from having her French gown, is an invention to cheat Patty, without a fragment of gain to Patty's country in the aggregate to balance Patty's loss. One of the Tory publications lately put forward the cheating of "nursery-maids" as part of a manly policy;—it is a portion of what they wait for Sir Robert Peel for. It positively asserted and declared, that after the balance of free trade was struck, there appeared nothing established but a gain to a—"nursery-maid." Will the Tories explain why a "nursery-maid" is to be robbed for love;—or why and how, if it is established and allowed that there is an equilibrium of all other gains and losses besides, the country is to gain through the robbery of its "nursery-maids." This is the Tory love for the "lower orders."

It is however in the last Story, on "The Corn Trade; or, the Price of Bread," that the ready writer gets a full prospect of her mission. The question is fairly met, with no infantine attempts to coax the greedy squire or loutish farmer by the notion that the reduction in the price of his labourers' daily bread is what is to make up to him for the destruction of his monopoly. It is quite another sort of people, that go about in this manner to put salt upon the tails of the landed interest. But a point that would on another occasion be found susceptible of being improved, is the certainty that the landlords in general (with the exception of such as are destined to celibacy, or have the power of supporting their offspring at all hazards out of the public purse), and all their train of tenants and of labourers, are ultimately reached through the impossibility of finding profitable employment for their children. A most pleasant and lamentable history might be indited, of the woes of a country squire, who in return for having his estate nominally raised from two thousand a-year to three, had his seven long sons and eight bony daughters returned upon his hands, to keep as miserable annuitants out of the proceeds.

The time is not far off when the public will discover, that the true criterion of the general happiness, the real measure of a home statesman's talent, is in the degree in which he

provides for the honest gratification of the master passion, the tyrant instinct, which alone sustains the tragedy of life, and prevents its comedy from being contemptible. To put the proposition in mathematical terms,—*the fluxion of the population* is the measure of the public happiness. What a hateful world would this have been, if in addition to all the other ills of life it had been really true, that man was sent here only to wink and nod at lovely woman through the grate of the preventive check. For moderate prudence, decent foresight, there must under all possible states of society be an incessant call. But the blunder that plays into the hands of squire-made law, and cuts off all the poetry and all the charities of life to gratify the public enemy with wealth which after all turns only to dust and ashes in his grasp,—can last no longer than till warm hearts and cool heads apply themselves to crush the public feud by showing to all classes the folly of the whole.

How "beautiful upon the mountains" would be the feet of a woman that brought these good tidings of peace. And what a contrast to the tormenting misery, of seeing an educated female grappling with things which men hardly talk about, hint to one another in nods and whispers, conceal from little boys, and involve in mystic symbols like a design upon the national debt; and all this when a quarter of an hour's good counsel might have started her as an angel of light, to beautify this nether world with all that womanly grace can add to manly knowledge. What needed there to have been from which either maid or matron should turn away,—whether her harp had rung the ancient chords to "Cupid lord of gods and men," or the Frenchman's lighter lay "*C'est l'Amour, l'Amour, l'Amour, qui fait le monde à la ronde*"? John Hopkins by heaven's grace has been preserved from any absolute tumble into the quagmire in his last excursion. Will he not come forth again, a kindly and a loving man, and make the *amende* to any of his youthful kindred he may have terrified into unhappiness?

ART. V.—1. *Description of the Enharmonic Organ constructed by J. Robson and Son*, 101, *St. Martin's Lane, London. With directions for playing, &c.* 1834.—At J. Robson and Son's, as above.

2. *Do. New Edition, with Alterations.* 1842.

AN Organ on a considerable scale, has been constructed on the principles at various times put forward in this Review under the title of "Enharmonic." The following is the history of the experiment in the terms last issued at the constructor's, containing such alterations as have suggested themselves up to the publication of the present Work.

'This attempt at obtaining correct Harmony, is founded on the principle of the *duplicity of the Dissonances;* by which is meant that the Dissonances (the Major and Minor Second and Major and Minor Seventh, so called in contradistinction to the Thirds, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixths, which are the *Consonances*), are *double*, or have each *two forms*, differing by the interval called a Comma*, and which make exact concords with the Consonances *alternately*,—that is to say the *Acute* form makes mathematically exact concords (whenever the interval is not less than the least of the intervals that make a concord of any kind) with the Thirds and the Fifth (*odd* numbers), and the *Grave* with the Fourth and the Sixths (*even* numbers). The truth of which is easily ascertained by any person familiar with the calculation of musical ratios.

Instead therefore of trying to get rid of the difficulty by mixing up this perplexing Comma among the various notes, as in one way or other is the object of everything that passes under the title of Temperament, —the more reasonable process would appear to be, to endeavour to execute the proper forms of the Dissonances in the proper places, as may be suspected to be already done by performers on unfettered instruments, such as the voice and viol kind†.

The correct division of the octave in this manner, when represented by the division of a Circle, will be as given in the next page‡; where

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* A Comma is the difference between the Great and the Small Tone; or in other words, between the correct interval from Fourth to Fifth, and that from Minor Third to Fourth, or from Fifth to Major Sixth. It is about one-third of the difference between the Major and Minor Thirds or Sixths; or in general terms, of the difference between a note and its Flat or Sharp. And it is expressed on any string by shortening it by its eighty-first part.

† What led to this conclusion, was the observation made by musical writers, that singers in singing the *descending* scale, make the Second *grave*, or a Comma lower than in ascending. Now what can be the cause of this, except the desire to make an exact concord (Minor Third) with the last sound capable of a concord that has preceded, viz. the Fourth, the memory of which may be supposed to linger in the ear? And *à fortiori* if the singer was executing the Second in a duett where another performer was at the same time executing the Fourth, he would execute the *grave* Second which makes an exact concord, and not the *acute* Second which does not. In the same manner it may be concluded, that if the Second had to be executed in conjunction with, or sequence to, the Fifth, it would be the acute Second and not the grave. And by the extension of the same principle to the other Dissonances, a general rule appears to arise for their determination.

If it is demanded why the Dissonances are to be moveable and not the Consonances,—answer may be made, that it is because the Consonances are the closest and most important relations of harmony, and the others the more remote.

‡ This Circle presents to the eye the accurate relations between the different intervals, as constructed by nature on the foundation of the simple ratios, and unaltered by temperament. That is to say, those intervals which are represented as equal to one another, *are* equal, and those which are represented as the sums or differences of other intervals, are so in reality.

The process of construction may be conceived to have been by shortening the whole string by a small fraction of itself, as for instance a thousandth, and then shortening the remainder by the same fraction of itself, and so on, till the divisions extended to the middle of the string, which is the place of the Octave. If upon this it appeared that the number of these minute fractions contained in two specified intervals were equal, it might be inferred that the two intervals are equal; and in like manner with respect to sums and differences. If then the circumference of a circle were taken to represent the octave, and beginning from any point in it, portions were successively taken bearing to the whole circumference the proportions which the number of the minute fractions between the head of the original string and the places of the several sounds, bear to

the curious observer will discover a number of conformities and analogies, which it is difficult to suppose were intended to be destroyed by any process like that of mincing up the whole into twelve equal intervals. The Measure of each sound is attached to it. The Grave forms of the Dissonances are represented by broken lines.

THE ENHARMONIC CIRCLE.

the number between the head of the string and its middle point which is the place of the Octave, there would be obtained the kind of visual representation desired.

But the process may be vastly improved in ease and accuracy by the application of logarithms; from which it results, that the intervals between the several correct sounds are as displayed by the divisions of the circumference presented in the following Table. The Dissonances, (which are added afterwards, on the principle of making harmonious intervals with the Consonances), are distinguished in the Table by italics.

TABLE OF THE CORRECT DIVISIONS OF THE ENHARMONIC CIRCLE.

	°	′	″		°	′	″
Key-note	0	0	0	Fifth	210	35	11·4
Grave Minor Second	33	31	9·8	Minor Sixth	244	6	21·2
Acute Minor Second	39	58	16·6	Major Sixth	265	18	27·4
Grave Major Second	54	43	16	*Grave Minor Seventh*	298	49	37·2
Acute Major Second	61	10	22·8	*Acute Minor Seventh*	305	16	44
Minor Third	94	41	32·6	*Grave Major Seventh*	320	1	43·4
Major Third	115	53	38·8	*Acute Major Seventh*	326	28	50·2
Fourth	149	24	48·6	Octave	360	0	0

The circumference of the Circle is surrounded by 53 dots or points at equal distances from one another; of which one is opposite the place of the Key-note. Where it will be found on inspection, that each of the divisions of the Circle as previously established, has one of these dots nearly, though not exactly, opposite to it. The dots being numbered as in the figure, the number in the neighbourhood of any sound is called the *index* of that sound; and the spaces between the dots are called *degrees*. And the useful property of these numbers is, that though the divisions which give name to them are not coincident with the correct, yet within certain boundaries (extending to all wherein the present instrument and enharmonic instruments in general are concerned), if the indices of any two sounds be added together, or subtracted one from the other, the inference deducible from such sum or difference will be found rigidly true of the correct divisions. For example, if it is required to know what sound will be arrived at by taking a correct Fourth above the correct Major Third; 22 the index of the Fourth, added to 17 the index of the Major Third, makes 39 which is the index of the Major Sixth. And it is rigidly and accurately true, that the Major Sixth is a Fourth to the Major Third; as may be proved by the addition of ratios ($\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{4}{5} = \frac{3}{5}$). And in the same way in other cases; casting out 53 when the sum of the indices is greater, the remainder indicating the place of the sound sought, in the octave next above.

Here then is an obvious method of obtaining great command over the calculation and comparison of the correct intervals. For it is only requisite to commit to memory the names of the sixteen sounds in the Enharmonic Circle with their indices, and addition or subtraction of the indices will solve every question which in practice will occur*.

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* Observations which may be made by aid of the indices, are

That there is a large interval in the middle of the octave (between the Fourth and Fifth), and the wings on the two sides of it (which may be called Tetrachords) are equal to one another, and divided into intervals respectively equal in each tetrachord, in order from the middle of the octave outwards.

That no sound proposed for a Dissonance, can make a concord with the Fifth or a Third, and also make a concord with the Fourth or a Sixth. Whence the necessity, as before noted, of the Dissonances being *double*.

That the intervals which make concords with the Key-note (or constitute Consonances), are those whose indices are 14, 17, 22, 31, 36, 39.

That of the intervals smaller than these, the most prominent are

1. The interval of *nine* degrees (exemplified between the Fourth and Fifth), which is the *Great Tone*. Ratio 8:9.

2. The interval of *eight* degrees (exemplified between the Minor Third and the Fourth, and between the Fifth and the Major Sixth); which is the *Small Tone*. Ratio 9:10.

3. The interval of *three* degrees (exemplified between the Minor and Major Third, and between the Minor and Major Sixth); which will be called the *Subtone*. Ratio 24:25.

4. The interval of *five* degrees (exemplified between the Major Third and the Fourth, and between the Fifth and the Minor Sixth), being what is left after taking the Subtone out of the Small Tone; which will be called the *Limma* (from a Greek word signifying "what is left"). Ratio 15:16.

5. The interval of *one* degree (exemplified between the two forms of the Dissonances, and equal to the difference between the Great and Small Tone); which is the *Comma*. Ratio 80:81.

These may be considered as the elementary intervals. But there is one more interval, discoverable in the simple Canon, but of importance mainly from the way in which it makes its appearance among the secondary intervals, or those which arise in consequence of recommencing the calculation of the Canon from a new point in the old, which is what constitutes a change of Key. And this is, the interval of *twenty-six* degrees (exemplified between the Fourth and the Acute Major Seventh);

The indices collected, form what will be called

THE INDEX SCALE.

0, 5,6, 8,9, 14, 17, 22, 31, 36, 39, 44,45, 47,48, 53.

Examples of the use of the Index Scale will appear in the progress of the

DESCRIPTION OF THE INSTRUMENT.

The instrument has three finger-boards; the sounds which are common to more than one finger-board, being produced from the same pipe.

To begin with the lowest finger-board, which presents the Key of C. The C, which is the Key-note, is distinguished by being *red*. The Dissonances (D ♭ and D, B ♭ and B,) have each two digitals*, of which the Acute or sharpest of the two, is in the ordinary place and shape, while the Grave is in a retired position by its side†. The Acute forms of the Dissonances are all coloured *white*, and the Grave *black;* the Thirds and Fifth of the Key being at the same time made white, and the Fourth and Sixths black. Hence as a general direction, the Dissonance requires to be taken of the same colour as the note with which it is to make a concord.

Between the Fourth and Fifth a note is wanted to keep up the resemblance to the ordinary finger-boards; and the sound of most use or most likely to be called for, is the F ♯ which will appear if the Key should happen to be changed to that of G or one Sharp more than before. This sound therefore is inserted; and the interval it makes with the Key-note, is the *Tritone*. And because the Tritone is found to make concords with notes coloured *white* in the previous arrangements, it is itself coloured white. In the calculations which follow, its index 26 will be always inserted in its place in the Index Scale‡.

Some additional digitals in this and the other finger-boards, bearing a resemblance in shape to those of a flute, will be taken notice of hereafter under the title of flutals.

The second or middle finger-board presents the Key of G, or the sounds formed by commencing the enharmonic division on the *Fifth* of the preceding Key of C. To calculate which, add each of the numbers of the Index Scale to 31 the index of the Fifth, (casting out 53 where required), and the result will be as follows.

To	31,
Add	0, 5, 6, 8, 9, 14, 17, 22, 26, 31, 36, 39, 44, 45, 47, 48, 53.
Makes	31, 36, 37, 39, 40, 45, 48, 0, 4, 9, 14, 17, 22, 23, 25, 26, 31.

In which such numbers as have already appeared in the Index Scale,

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which is called the *Tritone*. Ratio 32 : 45. It is equal to the sum of two Great Tones and one Small; whence its name. Its use will be described elsewhere.

Of secondary intervals, it may be enough to mention the *Enharmonic Diesis;* which is the difference between the Limma and the Subtone, represented consequently by *two* degrees, and its Ratio 125 : 128. This is the interval between (for instance) A ♯ and B ♭, when they appear in the same music in consequence of an intermediate change of Key. It is *not* equal to the interval between the Acute Minor and Grave Major Seventh in the simple Canon; an instance of the failure (as intimated) of the Indices to give precise results when carried beyond certain boundaries. In the same manner the secondary intervals indicated by one degree, are not always Commas, but some of them the smaller interval the musical Tables call the *Diaschisma of Euler*.

* This term has been introduced for a finger-key, to avoid the confusion arising from the use of the word key in different senses.

† The instrument was originally constructed with the Grave Seconds in the ordinary places, and the Acute in the retired; but was altered on experience.

‡ The Tritone, and its complement the interval of *twenty-seven* degrees which is

indicate the recurrence of the same sounds as in the Key of C; and the others indicate new sounds, which must be supplied by calculation. The construction, colouring, &c. of the digitals, are relatively the same as in the C board.

The third or uppermost finger-board presents the Key of E, or the sounds formed by commencing the enharmonic division on the *Major Third* of the original Key of C. Add therefore each of the numbers of the Index Scale to 17 the index of the Major Third, (casting out 53 where required), and the result will be

17, 22, 23, 25, 26, 31, 34, 39, 43, 48, 0, 3, 8, 9, 11, 12, 17.

In which such numbers as appear neither in the Key of G nor of C, indicate new sounds, which must be supplied by calculation. The construction, colouring, &c. of the digitals, are relatively the same as in the other finger-boards.

When the experiment had proceeded thus far, it was observed that a small number of additional sounds would give a useful, though not a perfect power, of executing in a number of other Keys. And this was effected by the addition of the flute-like digitals. It was made a point, that each of the additional Keys should possess the Grave and Acute Major Second; but they are often deficient of some of the least usual sounds. The flutals never express anything but Dissonances, or a Tritone; and like the Dissonances in other places, they are distinguished by being black or white, according as they are Grave or Acute.

In the C board, by the addition of one flutal (a Grave G), are presented the Key of F, wanting the Minor Seconds and the Grave Minor and Major Sevenths; and the Key of A ♭ Major, complete throughout.

In the G board, by the addition of two flutals (an Acute C and an Acute E), are presented the Key of D′, wanting the Acute Minor Second, and the Grave Major Seventh (to be found however in the E board); and the Keys of B ♭ Major and E ♭ Major, complete throughout.

In the E board, by the addition of three flutals (an Acute A, a Grave B, and an Acute C ♯, being the additions on the other two boards united), are presented the Key of A, wanting the Grave Minor Seventh (to be found however in the C board), and the Grave Major Seventh; and the Key of B, wanting the Acute Minor Second (to be found however in the G board), the Grave Major Seventh, and the Tritone*.

The Key from which the board is named, and which presents the double Dissonances and Tritone complete, is called the *principal;* and the other Keys on the same board, are called the *additional.*

The instrument therefore, with the reservations stated, presents the power of playing in any Key from Four Flats to Five Sharps, both inclusive.

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called the False Fifth, must be distinguished from the Superfluous Fourth of *twenty-five* degrees, and its complement the Diminished Fifth of *twenty-eight* degrees, which are found exemplified between the Minor Third and Major Sixth, and in the complement to this which is between the Major Sixth and the Minor Third in the octave above. One use of noting which is, that if the form of a Dissonance is in question in a given Key, it is the Superfluous Fourth or the Diminished Fifth which is to be made, and not the Tritone or the False Fifth. For the former are the harmonious intervals; and the latter merely secondary intervals arising out of changes of Key, and not to be referred to in the case of sounds which are to be made together.

* By analogy, on the E board may be found the Keys of C Major and G Major.

The sounds contained in one octave, with the boards in which they are found, may be collected from the following Table.

Boards in which found.			Name of Note.	Index.	Measure.
C	G	E	C`	0 or 53	1,
	G*		C′	1	,$\overline{987654320}$
		E	C♯`	3	,96
	G	E*	C♯′	4	,$\overline{9481}$
C			D♭`	5	,9375
C			D♭′	6	,$\overline{925925}$
C	G	E	D`	8	,9
C	G	E	D′	9	,$\overline{88}$
		E	D♯`	11	,864
		E	D♯′	12	,$\overline{8533}$
C	G		E♭	14	,$\overline{833}$
C	G	E	E`	17	,8
	G*		E′	18	,$\overline{790123456}$
C	G	E	F`	22	,75
	G	E	F′	23	,$\overline{740740}$
	G	E	F♯`	25	,72
C	G	E	F♯′	26	,$\overline{711}$
C*			G`	30	,675
C	G	E	G′	31	,$\overline{66}$
		E	G♯	34	,64
C	G		A♭`	36	,625
	G		A♭′	37	,$\overline{617283950}$
C	G	E	A`	39	,6
	G	E*	A′	40	,$\overline{592592}$
		E	A♯	43	,5688
C			B♭`	44	,5625
C	G		B♭′	45	,$\overline{55}$
C		E*	B`	47	,54
C	G	E	B′	48	,$\overline{533}$
C	G	E	C`	53 or 0	,5 Octave.

The mark * shows that the note is produced by one of the flutals. In the column of Measures, a line drawn over any number of figures, indicates that these figures form a recurring decimal.

The compass of the instrument is four octaves and a half, from C C to G *in alto;* with three stops, Open Diapason, Stopped Diapason, and Principal. Below the lowest G, only those sounds are given which appear on the instrument as Key-notes or their Fifths. The whole number of pipes is consequently somewhat less than in an Organ of the same compass with seven stops on the ordinary construction.

THE TUNING-PIPE,

Is a pipe of mahogany, stopped by a moveable staff, like the pitch-pipe used in churches to set the psalm. It communicates with the bellows, and speaks on pressure upon a rod. The places of the 29 sounds in the octave being marked on the staff, the Organ is tuned to them in the same way that the pipes of one stop would be tuned to those of another.

The tuning-pipe is of the area of 1·7 inch by 1·3 (English measure); being the same as the pipe used in the Organ for G on the highest space in the bass clef. It sounds C on the second space from the bottom of the bass clef, when the stopper is 21¼ inches from the lower edge of the mouth; which is the sound taken for the Key-note. From the Key-note to the Octave, the distance on the staff is 13·4 inches. The length of the tuning-pipe, exclusive of the foot, is 29 inches; and from the mark of the Key-note on the staff, to the bottom of the stopper, is 5¾ inches. The foot is of pipe-metal, for the convenience of adjusting the orifice or what is technically termed the wind*.

An ivory scale, the top of which forms the mark to which the divisions on the staff are successively to be brought, is capable of moving half an inch each way from the middle point or zero; making the difference of something more than a Comma each way in the pitch of the Key-note. Through the middle of the transverse division on the staff which marks the Octave, an oblique line is drawn, cutting off about half an inch on each edge of the staff; and this line being continued by a thread till it cuts the prolongation of the transverse line which marks the Key-note, the thread is fastened at the point of intersection, and then carried successively through the middle of each of the transverse divisions on the staff, and oblique lines drawn by it, making less and less angles with those drawn directly across.

To use the tuning-pipe, set the ivory scale so that the Key-note shall be of the pitch desired. Then by the ear set the staff so as to make the correct Octave; and if this does not coincide with the Octave division, mark with a pencil the point where the oblique line cuts the ivory, and bring the oblique lines of all the other divisions successively to cut it at the same point. The difference will thus be distributed proportionally among all the divisions. Bating the effects of atmospheric changes, the place of the Octave should be found altered by half the distance through which zero on the ivory scale was moved from its regular place, but in the contrary direction.

To give command over the fitting of the stopper, the staff inside the stuffing is split in the longest direction, and pressed open by a wedge of metal, applied at the end of a metal rod which passes down the centre of the staff, and is worked by a screw with a collar, which acts on turning round the nut at the top of the staff.

The capacity of the tuning-pipe for the expression of minute intervals at any given time, was found unexpectedly great; an alteration of the staff to the distance corresponding to the twentieth part of a Comma, being traceable in the beats. But the effects of atmospheric changes

* The wind must be made small at first, and increased till the place on the staff at which the lowest sound the pipe will make breaks into the Fifth, is brought to be only half a Tone below the place of the Key-note. The pipe will then make all the sounds in the octave without breaking, and with the maximum of strength.

can only be counteracted by the revisions described in the note*; the practical difficulty of which is very little.

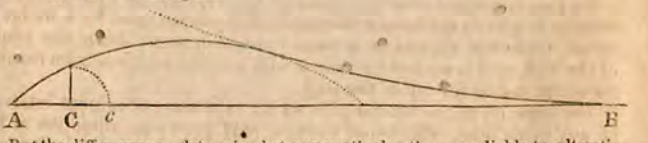
DIRECTIONS FOR BEGINNING TO PLAY.

In any of the Keys which are principal on their respective boards, take a passage or air (for which nothing is better than a psalm tune) which is free from changes of Key. See whether the Second of the Key is ever sounded in combination with the Fourth or Sixth; and where it is, mark the Second on the book by drawing the Grave accent through the head of the note, which will be more conspicuous if done with a *red* pencil. Extend the like examination to the Seventh; though a Grave Seventh is of comparatively rare occurrence, except where the Fourth, Second, and Seventh in the octave below, appear in combination as a chord. Play the passage in the usual manner, only sounding the Grave forms of the notes in the places marked; in which assistance will be found from the extraordinary notes being of the same colour with those of the ordinary form with which they are connected. Practise in this way in the Major and Minor of the Key; and afterwards of the other Keys which are principal on their boards.

Proceed next to some of the additional Keys, selecting those which begin on a *white* note. The notes will be *white*, wherever there is a

* To graduate the tuning-pipe, the ivory scale being at zero, mark on the staff the places which produce the intended Key-note and its Octave, and tune two pipes of the Organ accurately to these sounds. On one side of the staff, divide the distance between the places of the Key-note and Octave (called the Octave distance) in the canonical proportions, for the other sounds desired. Compare the Consonances (Thirds, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixths) as produced by setting the staff to the places thus given, with the Key note and Octave as produced on the two pipes of the Organ, and with a pencil mark on the staff the differences required to obtain the accurate concords. Tune also by the ear a pipe of the Organ to the accurate Major Sixth, and mark on the staff the difference required at the Grave Major Second to sound a just Fifth below it. Having thus determined the differences at seven of the principal points, distribute them proportionally at the points which are intermediate.

It will be found that the differences are all on the side of making sharper, and that on being applied in the way of ordinates or perpendiculars, they fall into a curve of double curvature which may be represented by arcs of two circles touching one another as in the accompanying figure, where A is the point on the staff which marks the Key-note, and B the Octave; the ordinate at any point C in the base line AB, being to be added to the distance from the Key-note, or subtracted from the distance from the Octave, to give *c* the place on the staff, of the sound whose place according to the canon would be at C. The relative magnitudes of the ordinates are exaggerated in the figure.



But the differences as determined at any particular time, are liable to alteration from atmospheric changes. The seven principal points must therefore be corrected from time to time in the same manner as they were first determined; previously ascertaining that the ivory scale is at the point which, at the time being, causes the Key-note and Octave marks on the staff, to produce with accuracy the interval of an octave. For this purpose, if after tuning a pipe of the Organ to the Key-note, the Octave mark is found to make too flat a sound for it, the ivory scale must be depressed a little, and the experiment repeated; and the contrary. The correc-

choice; except when a grave Dissonance is required, which may be supposed to be marked upon the book. And as a tendency is thus created for the sounds to fall on the notes of the ordinary conformation, the difficulty will be little more than in the principal Keys, except that the Acute Second will require to be taken on one of the flute-shaped notes.

Go afterwards to some of the Keys which begin on a *black* note. The notes will be *black*, wherever there is a choice; with the exception of the acute Dissonances, which will be always present and white, whether the other form happens to be on the board or not. And as a tendency is thus created for the sounds to fall on the notes of extraordinary conformation, a considerable increase of difficulty will be found in executing in these Keys, which nothing but practice can surmount. On occasion of constructing another instrument, an effort would be made to remove all the important Keys out of this class; on which more in the sequel.

From this, proceed to some of the most marked and simple changes of Key; as for instance to the Synonymous (or Relative) Minor or Major. When the Key changes, write the letter of the new Key in red under the bass line, at the place where the change of Key begins. If there should ever be occasion to mark an Acute Dissonance, it may be done by drawing the Acute accent through the head of the note.

From the passages where the marks are least frequent, proceed by degrees to those where they are most. Attend to what you *can* do, and not what you *cannot*; as being the most likely way to advance to the limit of the possible. If after all there is something which cannot be done, the question will then arise of its comparative value, and particularly of whether it is imperative to reject Correct Harmony for the sake of it.

If a book so marked were provided for the beginner, it would no doubt be an assistance. If such a book were to be printed, the various indications might be made in a manner which would admit of their

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tions when found for the seven points must be distributed among the others, and new transverse and oblique lines drawn with a pencil, parallel to the old; after which the Organ may be tuned to any other pitch, by using the oblique lines as described. The differences permanently marked, were calculated trigonometrically, on the assumption that the greatest ordinate was $\frac{1}{11}$th part of the Octave distance (AB). and its distance from the place of the Key-note ·29 of the same; which happened to accord with the differences at a particular time. For any other Measures, the differences might be calculated by the method of proportional parts.

Differences, subtractive from the Measures. The left columns are the Indices.

0	·000000	8	·005379	18	·004771	31	·001574	43	·000268
1	·000971	9	·005627	22	·003544	34	·001110	44	·000223
3	·002833	11	·005929	23	·003285	36	·000885	45	·000176
4	·003498	12	·005951	25	·002743	37	·000779	47	·000090
5	·004027	14	·005819	26	·002523	39	·000566	48	·000062
6	·004528	17	·005096	30	·001727	40	·000484	53	·000000

To apply any desired Measure to pipe or string, subtract it from 1· and double the remainder; multiplying the Octave distance AB by this, gives the distance from A. Or cast out ·5 from the Measure, and double the remainder; multiplying AB by this, gives the distance from B.

being coloured red at the discretion of the user. But it is probable that a little practice would render this unnecessary*.

A difficulty which will arise, is to know what to do with a Dissonance which is in connexion with two Consonances at once, of such a nature that it cannot make a just concord with both. Such an appearance may gene-

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* ALTERATIONS WHICH WOULD BE CONTEMPLATED ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF ANOTHER INSTRUMENT.

There would be an inclination to substitute the Key of D` for principal on the second board. This would prevent any of the important Keys from beginning on black notes; the difficulty arising out of which, has been noticed.

Changes consequent would be, that the Key of G must appear as additional on the C board; and A, F Major, and B b` Major instead of B b' Major, on the second board. This would require 30 pipes and two flutals (white) in the octave; producing the same Keys as before, with the exception of F Minor, which however might be had as well as ever on the C board, by leaving the flutal (black) for its Grave Major Second (index 30) as at present.

An apparent awkwardness in this system, would be the presence of three C ♯; the gravest of which must be called C ♯`` or *double grave*. But there is nothing in this to balance the advantage of taking A and F Major out of the class of Keys beginning on black notes.

By adding three more pipes in the octave, might be had an E ♯ in the D board on index 20, and a B ♯ and F × in the E board on indices 51 and 29. The digitals for these should be as unlike any of the others as possible, and be considered as interlopers not included in any rules. For which purpose no shape would be better, than that of a milled screw-head in brass; and for further distinction they might have their names engraved on them. By these changes a number of new Indices and Measures would be introduced, and old ones abolished.

Trial would also be made, of making the tuning-pipe cylindrical, of stout pipe-metal bored like a gun-barrel; to be inclosed in a square tube of wood, and the staff square as at present, after which it would be easy to apply the divisions and lines as now. The stopper under the stuffing to be *trifid* or divided into three equal parts, pressed open by a conical wedge. Such a pipe might possibly dispense with the trouble of frequent corrections.

There would further be a desire to try a tuning-pipe of the area used in the Organ for a Minor Third lower, or E instead of G. For it seems inferrible from analogy on the present pipe, that on taking C for the Key-note, the corrections to the canonical Measures would be found expressed by the ordinates of a single circular arc, or what is probably the real curve concerned, the curve whose ordinate varies as $\overline{A-x} \times x$, where A is the Octave distance, and x the distance from either of its extremities (See Note on Chap. XV in Article on *Enharmonic of the Ancients*, in Vol. II. p. 133 of the present Work): the corrections at the same time being additive to the Measures instead of subtractive. A simpler process than the other, and consequently likely to be productive of greater accuracy. In addition to which, the pipe would probably have a stronger wind.

If this all held good, the inference would seem to be, that an Organ-pipe within certain lengths is analogous to a string of the same thickness, and the corrections on it are similar to those demanded upon a string on the principle of retardations by resistance of the air. But after a certain length, the law seems to be broken in upon, and carried into a contrary direction by some cause of perturbation not explained. On which the question may arise, whether corresponding effects can be traced on strings. For instance, at great lengths, the *weight* of a horizontal string would create a sensibly increased tension, and a sharpening of the pitch compared with that of half the string when propped in the middle. Though it does not appear how a similar effect is to be produced on a pipe.

Other alterations contemplated would be,

To add half an octave at the upper end; being to C *in altissimo* inclusive.

To add a Dulciana stop, going to middle C. For the bass a part of the Stopped Diapason might be made transferable; which would bring the number of pipes to the same as in an Organ of nine-and-a-half stops on the ordinary construction.

To be particular in making the pipes easy of access to the tuner. And to give a bold tone to the instrument instead of a soft or weak one; the object being to throw light on deficiencies, and not to disguise them.

rally be avoided by some trivial alteration; and is probably a fault in the composer, which would not occur if correct harmony was more familiar. In the last resort, it is probable that the evil in any event is small, and that the best way is to make the Dissonance harmonize with the Consonance with which it has the nearest connexion or simplest ratio.

In passing from one Key to another, the ascent by Fifths is not always practicable, nor could in any system be made so. Thus between the Keys of D♭ and A in the present instrument, there is what may be called a "break," for A is not the Key of one Sharp more than D♭. And the like between the Keys of B ♭ and F. Hence where a change of Key to one Sharp more or less is contemplated, these Keys must not be chosen.

MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.

A direction in which it is hoped to arrive at increased effect by means of the enharmonic instrument, is in the execution of the remoter relations of harmony which go by the name of Discords. The nearer relations pall upon the ear in time; and there is probably truth in the notion, that the purity of proportions has still more effect in increasing the beauty of the remote relations, than of the near*.

It is very desirable to know the effect on singers (solo, glee, and chorus), of singing in company with an enharmonic instrument.

One way of multiplying such experiments, would be by the application of the enharmonic arrangement to the Barrel Organs sometimes used in churches; which may be effected with little increase of expense.

It is further to be expected that such an instrument would continue in tune longer, and be less affected by atmospheric changes, than the ordinary kind. For in every kind of temperament, some notes in each direction are tortured to the extremity of what the ear can bear. The smallest changes therefore must make some of them intolerable.

Such an instrument ought to be more effective than another in all the Keys, and in all the different expressions which are attributed to them. If an individual had a number of pen-knives or other cutting instruments, some of which cut best at the heel, and some at the point, and some in intermediate places, it would be an odd mistake which should lead him to imagine he had an advantage over another who had his pen-knife sharp all over. Yet this seems to be the mistake of those who boast of the treasure they possess in the different tempered Keys.'

The error of the moderns on the subject of the Enharmonic,

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* It is worthy of notice, that if a Dissonance is to be sounded along with the neighbouring Major or Minor Third or Sixth to make a Discord, the rule of colour is inverted; with exception of the case where the resulting interval is a *Minor Second*. And the ear recognizes and approves the simpler ratio; as is particularly exemplified where the interval is the Great Tone, such combination being sensibly more agreeable than where the interval is the Small Tone. In fact the correct Great Tone makes almost as smooth a combination as the Minor Third.

It would therefore be for composers to mark in such cases upon their music the form they want; though a cultivated ear might be competent to decide without it.

Of two ratios, that is simplest, where the product of the two terms is least. But the ratios must previously be in their lowest terms, and reduced to the same octave; which last is effected by doubling the smaller of the two terms as often as can be done consistently with leaving it less than the other.

seems to have been the mistaking what may be called the secondary intervals for primary. Thus when what is called the *Enharmonic diesis* takes place, (of which a good example is found in the 9th and 11th bars of Rossini's air *Deh! calma*), it is not that some outlandish interval is to occur between two successive sounds, but only that (for instance) B♯ and C♮ in different places involving an intermediate change of key, differ from each other by about two-thirds of the just difference between a note and its Sharp or Flat, in consequence of being both of them taken in the correct proportions to their respective key-notes.

For further observations on the various parts of the subject, see "Instructions to my Daughter, for playing on the Enharmonic Guitar. Goulding and D'Almaine, 20, Soho Square. 1830. 4*s*." See also Westminster Review, No. XXXII for April 1832, Article "Enharmonic of the Ancients," (*p.* 99 *of Vol. II. of the present Work*); No. XXXIV for Oct. 1832, Article "Gardiner's Music of Nature," (*p.* 282 *of Do.*); No. XXXV for Jan. 1833, Article "Harmonics of the Violin," (*p.* 337 *of Do.*); No. XXXIX for Jan. 1834, Article "Jew's Harps, &c." (*p.* 22 *of Vol. III. of Do.*).

Westminster Review, 1 January, 1835.

Art. XV.—*Contre-Enquête. Par l'Homme aux Quarante Ecus.* Contenant un Examen des Arguments et des Principes mis en avant dans l'Enquête Commerciale.—Prix; 50 centimes. Paris, Charpentier, rue de Seine-Saint-Germain, no. 31. 1834 *.

2. *Counter-Inquiry. By the Man with the Forty Crowns a Year.* Containing an Examination of the Arguments and Principles advanced in the French Commercial Inquiry.—Price 10 sous. Paris. Charpentier, rue de Seine-Saint-Germain, no. 31. 1834.

THIS is an examination of the *Enquête* or Commercial Inquiry carried on and still in progress in France; if the name of Inquiry can be given, to what is in fact only a parading of the parties hostile to the public interest, for the purpose of enabling them to make their own statement of their case. It was prepared for publication in Paris, as nearly as possible to the time to which the examination is brought down; but was suppressed, as far as a timely appearance was concerned, through the operation of causes which have not been satisfactorily traced. It is given here entire, in the hope that the parties interested in France, will make up for the interference by reprinting or otherwise circulating the contents. The style is familiar and lively; and may consequently be read where graver works would fail. A translation into English is added on the alternate pages.

* By the author of the present Work.—*Added in* 1839.

CONTRE-ENQUÊTE.

PAR

L'HOMME AUX QUARANTE ÉCUS.

1. Les chambres de commerce s'empressent de répondre à l'appel du ministre; elles ont compris tout ce qu'il y avait de décisif dans le contact des faits et des intérêts.—*Moniteur du Commerce*, 15 *octobre* 1834.

1. C'est précisément parce que je doute si dans la somme des intérêts qu'on a prétendu défendre on a compris les miens, que je me permets de présenter à la classe nombreuse dont je fais partie, les observations suivantes.

2. En un mot, l'industrie française tout entière s'émeut et vient défendre ce qu'elle appelle *ses droits*. —*Ib.*

2. Moi aussi, je suis Français ; moi aussi, je suis industriel. Car, mes quarante écus, je ne les trouve pas le matin en balayant la terre, comme les Israélites trouvaient la manne : j'appartiens donc à l'industrie française. Je ne vends pas de vins de Bourdeaux, tant pis pour moi ; je ne vends pas de charbon, tant pis encore. Mais je gagne ma vie, et je paie ce que je consomme. Je veux savoir si, les intérêts des Bordelais et des charbonniers à part,—ou, si vous le préférez, en les contre-balançant l'un par l'autre,—je veux savoir, dis-je, s'il ne reste pas encore d'autres intérêts dont on ne parle pas, à savoir, le mien et celui de la France. Excusez-moi si je suis un peu vif ; je suis bon patriote, et de plus garde national. Je suis prêt à croiser la baïonnette contre quiconque fera tort à la France de la moitié d'un liard, et à présenter les armes à quiconque l'enrichira, l'embellira, la fortifiera de la même fraction. Mais je veux penser, je veux examiner. Je ne veux pas faire de méprise ; je ne veux pas frapper mal à propos, ni applaudir l'homme qui, chaque année, ôterait des millions à la France.

Entrons dans les entrailles de la question. Il y a lutte entre les Bordelais et les marchands de charbons ; ils soutiennent que ce qui est le gain des uns est la perte des autres ; et je veux savoir si la querelle doit s'arranger à mes dépens, si c'est moi qui dois payer les frais du procès. Les Bordelais disent : " On pourrait faire gagner quatre cents millions à la France, en nous permettant d'acheter de l'étranger ce que l'étranger peut nous fournir à meilleur marché." Les charbonniers disent : " Les choses peuvent continuer comme par le passé. Pour cela, il faut faire en notre faveur une souscription de quatre cents millions par an ; voilà tout." On me demande mon abonnement aux quatre cents millions ; et moi, je veux savoir pourquoi.

Depuis quatre ans, j'ai eu des nouvelles de ce qui s'est passé en Angleterre. Je ne suis pas marchand de gants ; mais j'ai un cousin

COUNTER-INQUIRY.

BY

THE MAN WITH THE FORTY CROWNS A-YEAR.

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1. The Chambers of Commerce have lost no time in answering to the call of the Minister; they see all the decisive results that must follow from the bringing together of facts and interests.—*Moniteur du Commerce* (French newspaper), 15 *Oct.* 1834.

1. It is precisely because I doubt whether among all these interests anybody has thought of mine, that I take the liberty of making the observations that follow, for the benefit of my numerous fraternity.

2. In a word, the whole of the industry of France is up in arms, and coming to defend what it maintains to be its rights.—*Ib.*

2. I too am a Frenchman. I too, am one of the working classes. For, my forty crowns a-year, I do not sweep them off the ground in the morning, as the children of Israel did manna; consequently I too am part and parcel of the industry of France. I do not sell Bordeaux wine; so much the worse for me. I do not sell coals; so much the worse still. But I get my bread, and I pay my way. What I want to know is, whether setting on one side the interests of both the Bordeaux people and the coal-owners,—or, if you like it better, setting off the one against the other,—what I want to know, I say, is, whether there is not somebody else's interest of which nobody has said a word, to wit my interest and France's. I must beg pardon if I am a little blunt. I am a good patriot, and a national guard to boot. I am ready to charge bayonets on any man that injures France by the moiety of a farthing, and to present arms to anybody that enriches, beautifies, strengthens her by the self-same fraction. But I mean to think; I mean to look twice. There must be no mistake; I do not want to demolish the wrong man, nor to huzza for somebody who year by year is taking millions from France.

Let us get to the pith of the question. There is high dispute between the Bordeaux people and the coal-owners. They both maintain that what makes the gain of one side, is the loss of the other; and I want to know whether the dispute is to be settled at my expense, and it is I that am to pay the piper for the whole. The Bordeaux people say, "There might be four hundred millions of francs yearly saved to France, if we were only allowed to buy from foreigners what foreigners will give us cheapest." The coal-owners say, "Things may go on as they are. It is only to make up for us four hundred millions a-year by subscription; that's all." So they come to me for my subscription towards the four hundred millions; and what I want to n ow is, the reason why.

For these four years back, I happen to know what has been going on in England. I am not a glover; but I have a cousin that is; and

qui l'est ; et c'est par lui que j'ai tout su. On a crié là-bas contre les gantiers français. On a dit à John Bull : " Voulez-vous que vos ennemis naturels fassent des gants pour vos femmes ? Souffrirez-vous que le gantier anglais ne fasse pas pour trois francs ce que l'étranger offre de fournir pour deux ? O trahison ! ô injustice ! l'esprit éminemment anglais serait-il mort ?"

Mais on a répondu au gantier anglais : " Vous offrez pour trois francs ce que le Français donne pour deux. Pensez-vous que les Français se fassent payer leur marchandise, oui ou non ?

—Nous n'en savons rien ; mais nous croyons que oui.

—Et en quoi consiste ce paiement ?

—On peut croire qu'il n'y a pour cela que deux voies ; ils prennent en retour, soit notre numéraire, soit nos marchandises.

—Passons pour le moment sur le numéraire ; nous traiterons ce sujet à part. Si les Français, en retour de leurs gants, reçoivent du commerce anglais une valeur équivalente de deux francs, admettez-vous que, quant à ces deux francs, la chose soit égale au commerce anglais ? Supposons, par example, la valeur de ces deux francs payée en laines, pourrez-vous convaincre le marchand de laine, qu'il y a justice impérieuse à soustraire cette valeur de deux francs au commerce des laines, pour la donner au commerce des gants ?

—C'est ce que nous ne voudrions pas soutenir. Mais il y a l'autre franc.

—Répondez-moi : quand un homme a reçu des gants de l'étranger pour deux francs, avez-vous remarqué qu'il jetât le troisième franc à la rivière ? Sinon, que devient donc ce franc ?

—Nous n'en savons rien. Il peut en avoir acheté de la pâtisserie.

—Ainsi vous croyez que s'il avait donné ce troisième franc pour ses gants, il ne l'aurait pas dépensé chez le pâtissier ?

—Monsieur, cela va sans dire.

—Mais, dites-moi ; si l'on faisait une loi pour faire donner ce troisième franc à vous gantier, pensez-vous que le pâtissier ne se plaindrait pas ? Gants contre pâtisserie, il serait possible de se passer de l'un et de l'autre article ? mais chacun de ces deux commerces est un métier licite : sur quoi établirez-vous la différence ?

—Monsieur, considérez nos femmes et nos enfants.

—Est-ce que le pâtissier n'a ni femme ni enfants ?

—Monsieur, nous n'en savons rien ; tout ce que nous savons, c'est que nous tenons de nos aïeux, que ne pas encourager les fabrications de son pays, est le fait d'un mauvais citoyen.

—Je désire savoir si la pâtisserie n'est pas une fabrication du pays.

—Mais pourquoi donner au pâtissier la préférence sur moi ?

that is the way I know all about it. There was a cry raised there, against our French glovers. People said to John Bull, "Will you allow your natural enemies, to fit your wives with gloves? Will you let an English glover be hindered from making you for three shillings, what a foreigner will make you for two? Oh ruin! Oh villainy! Where is the truly British spirit gone to?"

But somebody said to the English glover, "You give us for three shillings, what a Frenchman will give us for two. Do you think, now, the Frenchmen get paid for their goods, or they do not?"

"I know nothing about it; but probably they do."

"And what do you think this payment is made in?"

"I suppose there are only two ways; either in our money, or in goods."

"Skip the money for the present, and we will go to that again. If the French then, for their gloves, take two shillings-worth of the goods of English tradesmen, do you agree, that as far as these two shillings are concerned, the thing is as broad as it is long to English trade upon the whole? Suppose, for instance, these two shillings-worth are paid in wool;—will you, do you think, persuade the English wool-dealer, that heaven and earth will come together, if this two-shillings-worth is not taken from the wool-trade, to be given to the glove-trade?"

"I do not know that I could. But there is the other shilling."

"Tell me then; when a man has got gloves from abroad for two shillings instead of three, did you ever catch him throwing the odd shilling into the sea? And if he did not, what *did* he do with it?"

"How should I know. He, may-be, bought tarts and cheesecakes."

"And you think, that if he had given this third shilling for his gloves, he would may-be not have bought tarts and cheesecakes with it too?"

"I suppose one need not tell that."

"But tell me then,—if a law was made to oblige this third shilling to be given to you for gloves, do you think the cheesecake man would have anything to say against the business. Gloves against cheesecakes, it does not seem impossible to do without either one or the other; but as they are both of them honest trades, where do you put the difference?"

"But think, Sir, of our wives and children."

"My good friend, has the cheesecake-man neither wife nor children?"

"I know nothing about that. All I know is, that we have had it from our fathers before us, that it is a rascally thing not to encourage the produce of our own country."

"I desire to know, whether the cheesecakes are not the produce of our own country."

"But why give the cheesecake-man the preference to me?"

—J'y vois une raison des plus fortes. Je porte des gants ; me faire payer deux paires de gants le prix pour lequel l'étranger m'en donnerait trois, c'est évidemment m'en voler une. Or, si on me vole des gants, ne puis-je pas en demander raison à la loi ? Et si le voleur va aux galères, sera-t-il admis à crier : " Ce n'est que pour des gants." Est-il écrit dans votre décalogue : "Tu ne voleras pas, si ce n'est des gants ?" Pourquoi ne pas excepter aussi le chapeau qui est sur ma tête, ou les souliers que j'ai aux pieds ? Où vous arrêterez-vous, en me disant : "Ce n'est que ceci, ce n'est que cela ?" Je n'aime pas à être volé, et je n'aiderai pas à voler les autres.

—Mais, monsieur, c'est là ce qu'on appelle des théories.

—Mon ami, c'est ce que j'appelle, moi, la pratique.

—Monsieur, c'est une invention des riches pour tromper les pauvres.

—Il n'y a point d'invention là-dedans. C'est comme si vous vouliez me persuader que pour couper mon bois, je dois me servir d'une hache obtuse au lieu d'une hache affilée.

—Mais, je ne vous comprends pas.

—Vous, gantier anglais, vous êtes la hache obtuse, car vous m'obligez à dépenser trois francs pour ce que je pourrais avoir pour deux ; le marchand de laine anglais, au contraire, c'est la hache affilée, car il fait mon affaire pour deux francs, et avec l'autre franc, il m'envoie chez le pâtissier. Croyez-vous que le pâtissier vous remercie de lui avoir ôté ce franc ?

—Peut-être que non.

—Croyez-vous que moi, je vous remercie de m'avoir ôté ma pâtisserie ?

—Je ne dis pas, s'il vous faut absolument de la pâtisserie.

—Croyez-vous que tous les deux réunis, nous vous remercierons beaucoup de nous avoir ôté à chacun un franc, pour ne vous en approprier qu'un.

—Mais, monsieur, le pâtissier ne gagne sur ce franc que ses profits.

—Vous n'avez sur le vôtre que vos profits ; mais je soupçonne fort que vos ouvriers et vos fournisseurs en ont le reste. Est-ce que, par hasard, l'ouvrier pâtissier vaudrait moins que l'ouvrier gantier ?

—Monsieur, vous ne nierez pas que je plaide la cause des ouvriers.

—Vous plaidez pour l'ouvrier gantier contre l'ouvrier pâtissier, en demandant une perte pour tous les ouvriers du pays en sus.

—Mais, comment cela ?

—Je ne sais si les ouvriers portent des gants ; peut-être quelquefois. Je ne sais s'ils mangent de la pâtisserie ; cela peut arriver. Mais ce que je sais, c'est qu'il y a beaucoup de choses dont ils font tous usage, et qui pourraient être obtenues à meilleur marché de l'étranger. Que

"I see the best of reasons. I am a man that wears gloves; and to make me pay for two pairs what the Frenchman would give me three for, is robbing me of one. If somebody steals my gloves, cannot I take him before a justice of the peace? And if the robber is transported, will he call out and say, 'It was nothing but gloves?' Have you got in your Ten Commandments, 'Thou shalt not steal, anything but gloves?' Why not say the same of the hat upon my head, and the shoes upon my feet? Where do you mean to stop telling me 'It is only this, it is only that?' I do not like to be robbed; and I do not mean to help to rob other people."

"Now that, Sir, is what is called *theory*."

"My friend, it is what I call *practice*."

"Sir, it is all a trick of the rich, to cheat the poor."

"There is no trick in it at all. You might as well go about to tell me that I ought to cut my wood with a blunt hatchet instead of a sharp one."

"I do not see how that applies."

"You, the English glover, are the blunt chopper, for you make me spend three shillings for what I could get done for two. The English wool-merchant on the other hand, is the sharp tool, for he does me my business for two shillings, and sends me to buy cheesecakes with the third. Do you think the cheesecake-man thanks you for taking away this shilling?"

"It may be not."

"Do you think *I* thank you for taking away my cheesecakes?"

"I cannot say; if you cannot do without cheesecakes."

"Do you think that both of us put together thank you for taking away from us a shilling's-worth a-piece, to get one of them yourself?"

"But the cheesecake-man, out of the shilling, gets nothing but his profits."

"You, out of yours, get nothing but your profits. But I guess your journeymen and the trades-people you employ get the rest. Is there any reason why a working cheesecake-maker is not as good as a working glove-maker?"

"I suppose, Sir, you will not go to say, that I am not taking the part of the working-classes."

"You are taking the part of the working glove-maker against the working cheesecake-maker; and calling for a loss upon all the working-classes in the country besides."

"How is that?"

"I do not know whether the working-classes wear gloves; some of them, it may be, do. I do not know whether they eat cheesecakes; sometimes, perhaps, they do. But I know that there are a great many things which they *do* use, and which they might get

pensez-vous, par exemple, du cognac ? N'est-ce pas qu'il vaut bien les produits de notre distillation anglaise ? Mon ami, lorsqu'au lieu de te demander un sou pour ton petit verre, on t'en demande six et que tu les donnes, réponds-moi, as-tu perdu cinq sous, oui ou non ? Et le charcutier à qui tu aurais acheté pour ta famille de la charcuterie avec ces cinq sous, n'est-il pas vrai que lui, ses ouvriers et fournisseurs, ont perdu cinq sous ? Et le marchand de laines qui t'aurait procuré ta goutte de cognac pour un sou, n'est-ce pas que lui et ses employés ont perdu ce sou ? Or, cinq et cinq font dix, et un fait onze. Voilà donc une perte de onze sous. Et, dans l'autre hypothèse, qui est-ce qui perdra ? ce sera le distillateur anglais qui perdra six sous parce qu'on n'aura pas voulu te forcer à boire sa mauvaise eau-de-vie ; crois-tu que dans ce cas le commerce anglais aurait à se plaindre ?

—Mais, il y a de la différence de l'eau-de-vie à mes gants.

—Pourquoi les autres n'en diraient-ils pas autant pour ce qui les intéresse ?

—Mais, monsieur, il y a une chose que vous oubliez ; il faudra payer le gantier français avec notre numéraire. Que deviendrons-nous si on nous prive de notre numéraire ?

—Mon ami, d'où croyez-vous que nous tirons notre numéraire ? Croyez-vous qu'on le trouve sous les choux comme on trouve les enfants ? L'or et l'argent ne s'achètent-ils pas comme toute autre chose, dans les pays qui les produisent ? Si l'on voulait acheter de l'étranger en lui donnant en retour du café Moka, iriez-vous vous écrier avec horreur, qu'on nous prive de notre café ? Vous diriez, au contraire, que c'est là du commerce ; que si le négociant entend acheter du fer en Suède avec du café, il importera cette quantité de café en sus. Personne ne s'est jamais avisé de dire que pour avoir du café, il fallait empêcher le transit du café en Suède.

—Mais vous concevez que le monnayage doit coûter. Voulez-vous laisser gaspiller cette dépense par le premier venu ?

—Lorsque notre grand fabricant de cirage envoie ses produits à l'étranger, en y mettant son image et son inscription, croyez-vous qu'il le fasse à perte ? le ferait-il s'il devait y perdre ? S'il ne retrouvait plus cette dépense sur le prix, ne préférerait-il pas exporter des matières de la même espèce dans leur état brut ? Mais un gouvernement qui donnerait l'argent monnayé, sans se faire rembourser les frais de division et d'empreinte, ferait une folie, et on n'est pas obligé de tenir compte des folies.

—Vous parlez à merveille, monsieur ; mais je n'en demanderai pas moins au parlement de prohiber les gants français.

—Demandez, mon ami, demandez ; mais pendant ce temps-là le bon sens va son train."

C'est ainsi que les choses se sont passées en Angleterre ; mais revenons à notre Enquête.

much cheaper from abroad. What do you think, for instance, of French brandy? Is not it quite as good as anything the English distillers give you? Now, when instead of being asked a penny for your glass of liquor, you are asked sixpence and you give it; tell me whether you think you have lost fivepence or not? And the sausage-maker with whom you would have laid out that fivepence for a relish for the children at home, have he, his journeymen and people he deals with, lost fivepence or not? And the wool-merchant, who would have got you your glass of liquor from France for a penny, have he and his connexions lost a penny or not? But five and five are ten, and one is eleven. Here then is elevenpence lost to somebody. And suppose things went on the other way, who would lose then, and how much? The English distiller would lose sixpence, through your not being obliged to drink up his bad liquor. Do you think that English trade would be much damaged by the alteration?"

"But there is a deal of difference between brandy, and my gloves."

"Why should not any other man say the same, of what he happens to deal in?"

"But there is a thing, Sir, you have forgotten. We shall pay the French glover with our circulating medium. What is to become of us, if we lose our circulating medium?"

"My friend, where do you think our circulating medium comes from? Do you think it is found in a parsley-bed, as little boys are? Are not gold and silver bought like other things, in the countries where they grow? If somebody wanted to buy things abroad and pay for them in Mocha coffee, would you run about crying, that they were carrying away our Mocha coffee? You would say, on the contrary, that it was only trade; that if the merchant intends to buy, for instance, iron in Sweden and pay in coffee, he will cause to be imported this quantity of coffee over and above. Nobody ever took into their heads, that for us to have coffee at home, we must stop the transit-trade in coffee with Sweden."

"But it is plain the minting of this money must cost a great deal. Do you mean that all this is to be thrown away by anybody that likes."

"When the great English Blacking-man sends his wares abroad, and puts his image and superscription on the same, do you think he would do so if it was to cause him a loss? If he did not in some shape or other recover it in the price, do not you think he would send his blacking abroad in bulk instead of stamping it in cakes? But if the government gives its coined money without being paid for the expense of coining and stamping, it acts like a simpleton, and there is no keeping account of all that may be done by simpletons."

"You talk fair, Sir; but for all that, I will go to parliament and ask to have French gloves prohibited."

"Ask, my good fellow, ask; but while you are asking, common-sense is going its gait."

This was the way things went on in England. But now again for our "Inquiry."

3. Le système protecteur a pour but d'assurer le marché du pays à l'industrie du pays; il favorise ainsi l'extension du travail national, moyen puissant de richesse et de repos.—*Chambre de Commerce de Lille. Moniteur du Commerce*, 15 *oct.* 1834.

3. Le système prétendu protecteur ne favorise l'industrie qu'en mettant dans une poche ce qu'il prend dans une autre; et il ôte en sus à tout homme, en sa qualité de consommateur, à l'industriel comme au non-industriel, à l'ouvrier comme au grand seigneur, une valeur égale à la différence du prix naturel des matières qu'il consomme à leur prix artificiel. Il peut bien se faire que tel ou tel individu trouve son compte à cet état de choses, comme le voleur de grand chemin à l'industrie du vol; il vole plus qu'il n'est volé; mais tout ce qu'il gagne est pris à quelque autre. Moi, homme aux quarante écus, qui ne vends ni charbons, ni fers, ni tissus de coton ou de laine; moi, qui suis tailleur, épicier, menuisier, notaire, imprimeur, artiste, médecin, homme de lettres, avocat, propriétaire; moi qui suis père des quatre cinquièmes des enfants qu'on voit dans nos villes, c'est moi qui dois payer tout cela, sans qu'on daigne même me dire *merci*. Croyez-vous que ce soit là un moyen puissant de richesse et de repos?

4. Ce système s'étend à toute industrie créée ou à naître, pourvu que le temps et la persévérance puissent l'amener à perfection et utilité, et qu'elle ne rencontre pas d'obstacles invincibles dans le sol ou le climat.—*Ib.*

4. C'est-à-dire qu'il promet à toute industrie créée ou à naître qui ne peut se maintenir qu'à perte, de la faire soutenir aux dépens des industries qui peuvent prospérer, en rejetant toujours la différence sur le pauvre consommateur.

5. Pour soutenir les industries créées, le système protecteur a recours aux prohibitions et aux droits;

Aux prohibitions, quand le droit est impuissant, c'est-à-dire, quand ce droit, établi de manière à protéger efficacement l'industrie, est assez élevé pour que la fraude puisse et doive se faire à un taux inférieur;

5. *La fraude*, dont parlent ces messieurs, c'est ce qui évite une perte à la France. Maintenir cette perte, en se procurant un bénéfice à eux-mêmes, c'est, avant tout, ce qui les occupe. Quand ils pourront arriver à ce but par les droits, ils se contenteront des droits; quand ils ne le pourront pas, ils demanderont la prohibition.··· Extrême bonté! civisme pur!

Aux droits, quand son chiffre protége efficacement l'industrie nationale, et que ce chiffre ne laisse plus ou presque plus d'accès à la fraude.

Pour les industries à naître, plus de prohibitions, mais un droit calculé de manière à laisser peu d'encouragement à la fraude.—*Ib.*

6. Le système protecteur conduit au bas prix par la libre concurrence intérieure; il garantit le consommateur de toute exigence outrée; il amène

6. Comment conduirait-il au bas prix, quand il a visiblement pour effet de le hausser? Comment, par la concurrence intérieure, quand on dit à l'industrie qui pourrait se soutenir sans que la nation en

3. The object of the protective system is to secure the market of the country to the industry of the country; it consequently favours the extension of the national production, which is a powerful means of riches and tranquillity.—*Chamber of Commerce of Lille. Moniteur du Commerce*, 15 *oct.* 1834.

3. The protective system so-called, favours industry only by putting into one pocket what it takes out of another; and it takes from every man besides in his character of consumer,—from the working-man and from the man that never works, from the day-labourer and from the peer of the realm,—the worth of the difference between what he pays for the things he consumes, and what he might have got them for. It may happen that a man here and there may find his interest in this state of things, just as a highwayman finds his interest in the trade and calling of a thief; he robs more than he is robbed. But all that he gains, is taken from somebody else. It is I the man with forty crowns a-year, who neither sell coals, nor iron, nor cotton nor woollen goods;—I who am a tailor, grocer, carpenter, clerk, printer, artist, doctor, writer, lawyer, householder;—I who am father to four-fifths of the children that are to be seen in the streets;—it is I that am to pay for all this, without anybody so much as saying Thank'ye. *Do you really take this for a powerful means of riches and tranquillity?*

4. This system extends itself to all kinds of industry existing or to exist, provided only that by time and perseverance they are capable of being brought to perfection and use at all, and that there are no invincible obstacles found in the soil or climate.—*Ib.*

4. That is to say, it promises to all kinds of industry existing or to exist that cannot be carried on but at a loss, to keep them at the expense of the kinds of industry that could support themselves, throwing the difference on the unfortunate consumer besides.

5. To support the kinds of industry already existing, the protective system has recourse to *prohibitions*, and to *duties*.

To *prohibitions*, when duties are of no effect; that is to say, when the duty that would be necessary to form an effectual protection, is so high as to enable the fraudulent dealer to undersell.

5. The *fraud* these gentlemen speak of, means preventing a loss to France. To keep up this loss, and make a gain out of it for themselves, is what is ever running in their heads. When they can get at this point by duties, they will be content with duties; when they cannot, they will have prohibition. How extremely kind! What disinterested citizenship!

To *duties*, when the rate of duty will be a sufficient protection to the national industry, and leave no, or almost no, room for the fraudulent dealer.

For the kinds of industry that are yet to be brought into the world, no more prohibitions, but a duty calculated to leave little encouragement to fraud.

6. The protective system leads to low prices by the free competition it establishes in the interior of the country; it secures the consumer against any ex-

6. How is it to lead to low prices, when its end is visibly to raise prices? How is it to do it by free competition in the interior, when it says to the kind of industry that can support itself without the nation paying

enfin nos produits a paraître sans désavantage sur les marchés étrangers.—*Ib.*

fit le frais: On t'ôtera à toi, pour donner à une autre? Comment garantirait-il le consommateur, quand il a pour objet de lui faire payer deux sous au lieu d'un? Comment amènerait-il enfin nos produits à paraître sans désavantage sur les marchés étrangers, quand il empêche le producteur de recevoir en paiement de ses produits, les objets dont l'importation lui serait profitable?

7. Il offre à toutes les parties du royaume, emploi des bras et des capitaux; en créant le travail, il crée des consommateurs et établit ainsi, avec la liberté de faire, une égalité d'aisance bien plus grande que celle résultant d'un système qui n'appellerait à partager ses avantages que quelques contrées privilégiées par leur position et le sol, plus encore que par l'énergie et l'intelligence de leurs habitants.—*Ib.*

7. A une partie du royaume, il ôte l'emploi des bras et des capitaux qui auraient été appliqués à la production des objets donnés en échange des produits étrangers; et à une autre, l'emploi des bras et des capitaux qui auraient été mis en action pour fournir aux demandes du consommateur spolié; et en sus, il vole le consommateur. Il ne crée le travail dans un lieu qu'en le détruisant dans un autre; il ne crée donc pas non plus des consommateurs. Il n'établit pas la liberté de faire, mais bien plutôt l'obligation de ne pas faire. Il n'ajoute à l'aisance d'un individu qu'en ôtant de l'aisance d'un autre dans une égale proportion; à quoi il faut ajouter la spoliation du consommateur par toute la France. S'il élève des châteaux dans le nord, c'est dans le midi qu'il en prend les frais, et moi, homme aux quarante écus, je perds la différence des prix, et comme moi je suis partout, j'appelle cela une égalité de gêne. Si tel homme a un champ privilégié "par sa position et le sol," je suis d'opinion qu'il doit en profiter; si tel autre en a un placé dans des conditions toutes contraires, je ne vois pas que le premier soit absolument tenu de lui tenir compte de la différence. Depuis la création du monde, il y a eu de bonnes et de mauvaises terres; mais on ne s'est jamais avisé d'établir un niveau de ce genre.

8. Il est progressif, puisqu'alors que l'industrie ancienne a suffisamment grandi, il la fait passer de la prohibition au droit, et l'industrie nouvelle, à mesure qu'elle se développe, d'un droit élevé à un droit moindre.—*Ib.*

8. Votre industrie est-elle de nature à pouvoir ajouter à la richesse, à la grandeur, à la gloire de la France? Vous avez suffisamment grandi; faites place aux industries qui ne procurent rien de tout cela. Vous avez une industrie qui consiste à tailler une paire de souliers sur une paire de bottes? Comptez que vous serez soutenu, et les porteurs de souliers par toute la France paieront la différence.

9. Dans le système protecteur, c'est pour l'industrie que les droits sont établis; ce sont donc ses

9. Ce n'est pas pour l'industrie, mais pour la non-industrie; c'est pour l'industrie qui consiste à faire une paire de soulie s

travagant demands; and finally it enables our productions to appear without disadvantage in foreign markets.—*Ib.*

the expense, "There shall be taken from you, to give to another?" How is it to secure the consumer, when its object is to make him pay two pence in place of one? And how is it to enable our productions to appear without disadvantage in foreign markets, when it will not let the producer be paid in the kind of goods whose importation would be profitable?

7. It offers to all parts of the kingdom employment of hands and capital: by creating labour, it creates consumers, and so establishes, along with the liberty to work, an equality of comfort much greater than would be the consequence of a system which confined its advantages to a few districts privileged by their position and soil rather than by any superior energy and intelligence in their inhabitants.—*Ib.*

7. From one part of the kingdom it takes the employment of the hands and capital which would have been applied to the production of the goods given in exchange for the foreign produce; and from another, the employment of the hands and capital which would have been set in motion to supply the demands of the consumer that is robbed; and it robs the consumer besides. It creates labour in no place but by destroying it somewhere else; and therefore it does not create consumers any more. Instead of establishing liberty to work, it does something much more like establishing liberty to go without. It adds to the comfort of one individual, only by taking from the comfort of some other to the same amount; to which must be added the robbery of the consumer throughout France besides. If it builds country seats in the North of France, it takes the payment for them out of the South, and I, the man with forty crowns a-year, must lose the difference of price; and as I happen to be everywhere, I call that equality of *discomfort*. If a particular man has a field "privileged by its position and soil," I had a notion that he had a right to be the better for it; and if some other has one quite differently circumstanced, I cannot see that the first man is bound to make up to him the difference. From the beginning of the world, there have been good fields and bad; but nobody ever thought of making a level of this kind before.

8. It is progressive; because as soon as the old established trade has grown enough, it makes it move down from prohibition to duty, and the newly established trade, in proportion as it gains strength, from a high duty to a lower.—*Ib.*

8. Is your trade of a sort that can add to the riches, the greatness, the glory of France?—you have grown enough, you must make room for the sorts that can do nothing of the kind. Is your trade one that makes a pair of shoes by cutting the tops off a pair of boots?—you may reckon upon being supported, and the wearers of shoes throughout France shall pay the difference.

9. In the protective system, it is for the benefit of trade that the duties are established; it is the in-

9. It is not for the benefit of trade, but the benefit of no-trade; it is for the benefit of such trades as consist in cutting a pair

besoins, et non ceux du trésor, que l'on consulte pour la fixation des tarifs. —*Ib.*

d'une paire de bottes. Vous promettez d'arriver un jour à rendre la chose profitable. Pourquoi ne pas commencer par encourager le développement des industries qui ont de la force et de la vie par elles-mêmes ; puis, à mesure qu'on avancera vers la saturation du marché dans les objets de première demande, vous verrez paraître successivement les autres en scène. Vous répondrez que cela ne fait pas votre compte, à vous, découpeurs de bottes. On le comprend ; mais cela fait merveilleusement le compte de la France.

10. Après avoir ainsi énoncé le système qu'elle entend adopter, la chambre de commerce, dans un mémoire développé, et en se renfermant dans le cercle des faits, établit ;

1° Que le droit ne saurait toujours remplacer la prohibition.—*Ib.*

10. Droit ou prohibition, qu'importe? C'est comme s'il s'agissait de savoir si un homme sera pendu pendant une heure, ou à perpétuité. Ce qu'il y a de plus clair, c'est qu'on veut le faire pendre jusqu'à ce que mort s'en suive. Ce point accordé, on sera coulant sur le reste.

11. 2° Que la levée des prohibitions en France serait duperie, s'il n'y avait réciprocité de la part de l'étranger.—*Ib.*

11. Moi, Français, je supplie mon gouvernement de ne pas permettre une opération qui infligera une perte collective à la France, et à moi un dommage individuel. L'étranger, de son côté, supplie son gouvernement de ne pas le grever d'une opération de la même nature, mais qui porte sur des matières différentes. Il est certain en outre que cette réforme étrangère, si elle finit par s'établir, procurera un avantage signalé au commerce et à la richesse de la France. La France doit-elle accepter le premier de ces bénéfices sans l'autre? Je pense que oui. Dans l'intérêt de qui conseillez-vous de le rejeter? Est-ce dans le mien? Je le nie, parce que je préfère obtenir *un* bénéfice à n'en point obtenir du tout. Est-ce dans l'intérêt de la France collectivement? Je le nie par le même principe. Est-ce que la réciprocité en question remédiera à la perte qui doit retomber sur votre industrie mal assise? Il n'en sera rien, croyez-moi. Au contraire, c'est à tout autre qu'à vous que ce bénéfice doit arriver. Je ne vois donc, dans tout cela, que l'intérêt hypocrite que vous, découpeur de bottes, vous pouvez avoir à mettre en avant le défaut de réciprocité comme raison pour qu'on ne se débarrasse pas de vous : voilà en quoi consiste le sophisme de la réciprocité. Je conçois qu'un homme d'Etat puisse se servir de l'argument de la réciprocité pour tâcher d'obtenir à son pays un bénéfice double en même temps qu'il l'offre à l'étranger. Je conçois qu'un gouvernement basé sur l'opinion puisse se trouver dans la nécessité de s'appuyer sur les intérêts particuliers de ceux qui vont gagner par la réciprocité nouvelle, pour résister à l'opposition de ceux qui vont perdre par la destruction de l'ancien monopole ; et je comprends que ce soit là une raison pour que les gouvernements sages se tendent mutuellement la main, en s'appuyant sur des concessions simultanées. Je conçois aussi un gouvernement qui dirait : " Nous ne voulons plus

terest of trade therefore, and not of the revenue, that is to be consulted in fixing the duties.—*Ib.*

of shoes out of a pair of boots. You say that some time or other you will be able to make the trade a good one. Why not begin by encouraging the progress of such trades as are able to stand by themselves ; and then, as progress was made towards the saturation of the market with the things in first demand, you would see the others appear one after another upon the stage. You will reply, that this would do no good to you, the cutters down of boots. People believe you; but you are going a strange way to advance the good of France.

10. After thus announcing the system it would think of following, the Chamber of Commerce in an extended memoir, and keeping always within the boundary of facts, lays down :—

1° That a duty cannot always supply the place of prohibition.—*Ib.*

10. Duty or prohibition, what difference is it to make ? It is like debating whether a man shall be hanged for an hour, or to all eternity. What is clear is, that it is intended to hang him till the life is out. This point secured, they do not mean to quarrel about the rest.

11. 2° That taking off the prohibitions in France would be only trickery, if there was not reciprocity on the part of foreigners.—*Ib.*

11. I, a Frenchman, beg my government not to allow of an operation that is to inflict an aggregate loss upon France, and an individual one upon myself. A foreigner, on his side, is begging his government not to aggrieve him with an operation of the same nature, though bearing on different kinds of goods. And it is certain besides, that this foreign reform, if finally brought about, will be of signal advantage to the commerce and riches of France. Ought France to accept the first of these advantages, without the other ? I should say, Yes. On whose account do you advise its being refused ? Is it on mine ? I protest against the refusal altogether ; because I had much rather have *one* benefit than none at all. Is it on the account of France in the aggregate ? I protest against it on the same principle. Is it that the reciprocity we are to stop for, will have any tendency to soften the loss that is to fall upon the misplaced trades you carry on ? Not a bit ; on the contrary it is to somebody quite different from you, that the benefit of it will go. In all this therefore I can see nothing, but the hypocritical interest which you, the cutter down of boots, may have in putting forward the absence of reciprocity as a reason for not getting rid of you. So much for the fallacy of Reciprocity. I can very well imagine a statesman making use of the argument of reciprocity, to try to procure his country a double benefit at once, by offering the foreigner the same. I can imagine a government of opinion, finding itself obliged to support itself upon the private interests of those who are to gain by the intended reciprocity, to be able to meet the opposition of those who are to lose by the destruction of the old monopoly ; which I see may make a reason why two sensible governments should lend a hand to one another, by each strengthening the other by simultaneous concessions. And I can imagine too, a government that should say, " We do not intend to be such fools as to refuse the advantage we

être assez insensés pour refuser les avantages que nous pouvons tenir de vous ; vous ferez de même de votre côté quand cela vous plaira ;" et ce gouvernement-là emporterait la palme de l'intelligence et des lumières, en donnant un exemple qu'il seroit impossible qu'on n'imitât pas un jour, quoique le moment ne soit peut-être pas encore venu. C'est parce que telle est ma conviction, que je vous demanderai, puisque vous paraissez vouloir en venir aux paroles dures, de quel côté serait la duperie, et qui vous prétendez duper ?

12. 3° Qu'admettre, moyennant un droit, les tissus étrangers, ce serait amener perturbation et catastrophe.—*Ib.*

12. Perturbation sans doute chez qui fait métier de confectionner des souliers avec des bottes ; catastrophe assurément à qui mange au râtelier de la France, et veut continuer à le faire. Oui, messieurs, je le soutiens, vous mangez au râtelier de la France et au mien. Au lieu d'ajouter à la richesse et à la puissance de la patrie, vous vivez à nos dépens, comme une armée de barbares en pays ennemi.

Il y a une industrie qui enrichit la France, parce qu'elle lui donne ce qu'elle ne pourrait avoir autrement. Il y a aussi une industrie qui nuit à la France, parce qu'elle lui ôte ce qu'elle pourrait garder ; et, cette dernière industrie, c'est la vôtre. Après tout, vous êtes des citoyens, quoique des citoyens très-nuisibles. On vous respecte beaucoup, quoique vous viviez de nos sueurs. On aura toute sorte de ménagements pour vous ; cependant vous aurez la complaisance de ne pas vivre à nos dépens plus long-temps qu'il n'est nécessaire. Vous serez bien traités ; on vous accordera des délais, et nous espérons vous prouver que votre situation et la nôtre ne sont pas aussi désespérées qu'on pourrait le croire. On trouvera dans le gain de la France collective de quoi en étendre une partie sur vous, ou tout au moins réduire vos sacrifices à la moindre somme possible. Mais vous ne continuerez pas à vivre aux dépens de la France.

13. Monsieur le ministre,

Votre circulaire du 20 septembre, publiée par tous les journaux, a jeté l'inquiétude dans nos ateliers.

Les prohibitions qui ont donné naissance à notre industrie manufacturière, vous voulez qu'elles soient levées ; vous voulez que les étrangers entrent en partage de notre marché national.

Mais ce marché n'est-il pas abondamment et convenablement fourni par l'industrie française ?—*Les fabricants filateurs et commerçants de la ville de Roubaix à M. le ministre du commerce.*—*Ib.*

13. Rien n'est abondamment et convenablement fourni, quand on peut avoir la chose à meilleur marché. Imaginez un traiteur de la rue Saint-Honoré qui prétendrait vendre à des prix plus élevés que les traiteurs de l'autre côté de la même rue, et qui demanderait ensuite, si ses mets ne sont pas abondamment et convenablement fournis.

14. Le bon marché de nos tissus n'atteste-t-il pas assez une concurrence qui doive rassurer le consommateur ?—*Ib.*

14. Rien ne rassurera le consommateur, si ce n'est la conviction qu'il reçoit les objets au meilleur marché possible. Demandez dans la rue Saint-Honoré si cela est vrai ou non.

Le consommateur est tout prêt à sacrifier son intérêt, si l'on peut

may have from *you* by taking your cheap goods; *you* may do the like on your side when you think proper;" and such a government would carry off the prize of intelligence and sense, and give an example which it is impossible others should not imitate at last, though perhaps the day may not be actually come. It is upon all these grounds I mean to ask you, since you seem disposed to come to hard words, *whose side the trickery is on*, and who it is you expect to make a fool of.

12. 3° That to admit foreign woven goods under a duty, would be to bring on disturbance and panic.—*Ib.*

12. Disturbance, no doubt, among those who follow the trade of cutting boots into shoes. Panic, most assuredly, among those who live upon the blood of France, and mean to go on. Yes, gentlemen, I stand to it; you live on the blood of France and on mine. Instead of adding to the riches and power of the country, you live at our expense, like an army of Cossacks in an enemy's territory.

There is a sort of trade that enriches France, because it gives her what she could not have without. There is another sort that injures France, because it takes away what she might have kept; and this last sort of trade, is yours. But after all, you are citizens; though desperately destructive ones. We have a great respect for you; though you live upon our marrow. You shall be treated with all sorts of moderation; though perhaps you will be so civil as not to live upon us longer than you can help. You shall be well-used; you shall have time given you; and we have hopes of showing you, that neither your situation nor ours is as desperate as might be thought. In the gain of France in the aggregate, there may be ways found to extend a portion upon you, or at all events reduce what you are to give up, to the least possible amount. But you will not go on, living at the expense of France.

13. *Monsieur le ministre*, Your circular of the 20th of September, published in all the papers, has carried alarm into our workshops. The prohibitions to which our manufacturing industry owes its origin, you are wanting to remove. You want to let in strangers to divide with us the market of our own country.

13. Nothing is abundantly and duly supplied, when it might be had cheaper. Fancy a keeper of a cook's shop in the Rue St. Honoré, attempting to sell at a higher price than the cooks on the other side the way, and asking if his eatables were not abundantly and duly supplied.

But this market, is it not abundantly and duly supplied by French industry? —*Address of the manufacturers, spinners, and traders of the town of Roubaix, to the Minister of Commerce.*

14. Does not the cheapness of our woven goods show, that there is competition enough to satisfy the consumer?—*Ib.*

14. Nothing will satisfy the consumer, but the conviction that he gets the goods the cheapest possible. Ask in the Rue St. Honoré whether this is true or not.

The consumer is quite ready to sacrifice his own interest, if it can

lui prouver que la France, lui compris, y gagnera. Mais il soutient qu'il y a perte.

15. En appelant l'étranger à partager notre consommation, voulez-vous nous forcer à abaisser encore des salaires déjà réduits? Et pour sustenter ceux de nos ouvriers que l'emploi des marchandises étrangères aura laissés sans travail, créerons-nous une taxe des pauvres?—*Ib.*

15. La question est d'abaisser les salaires des ouvriers dont l'emploi est opposé à la richesse et à la puissance de la France, pour augmenter d'une masse égale les salaires des ouvriers dont le travail lui est utile, avec soulagement en sus pour les consommateurs, parmi lesquels se trouvent les classes ouvrières elles-mêmes.

Prenons pour exemple les tissus. Tout ce qui sera diminué des salaires des tisserands par l'introduction des tissus étrangers, ne sera-t-il pas ajouté aux salaires des ouvriers engagés dans d'autres commerces, ce qui fait balance; et n'y aura-t-il pas gain en sus pour tout ouvrier consommateur, comme pour tout Français, par la diminution du prix des tissus?

Ou, si on le préfère, prenez le cas inverse. Imaginez qu'un tisserand dise: "Augmentez mon salaire en doublant le prix des tissus et en diminuant d'autant les salaires de divers autres ouvriers français; puis vous, et la France entière, vous aurez l'avantage de payer un tissu deux francs au lieu d'un." Effectivement, c'est ce que l'on a écrit au ministre.

16. Nos établissements, fruit d'un si long labeur, les condamnerez-vous au repos? *Nous ne voudrons pas essayer une lutte ruineuse et impossible.—Ib.*

16. Imaginez que les perruquiers disent: "Nos établissement, fruit d'un si long labeur, les condamnerez-vous au repos? *Nous ne voudrons pas essayer une lutte ruineuse et impossible.*" N'est-ce pas qu'on leur répondrait: "Messieurs, on ne veut pas de vos perruques; on ne vous en demande pas; on s'opposera à la confection d'une loi tendant à ce que tout individu porte perruque, ou en achète une sans la porter." On ne craindra pas par là d'appauvrir la France, parce qu'on sait bien que ce qui sera épargné en perruques, le citoyen le dépensera dans quelque autre genre d'industrie. On reconnaît la position malheureuse des ouvriers perruquiers, et on voit là une bonne raison pour ne pas trop hâter la disparition des perruques, mais non pas pour qu'on en porte à perpétuité. Quoique les perruques et les tissus ne soient pas identiques, l'application est exacte en ce qui concerne cette portion du prix qui sera épargnée au consommateur; et pour le restant, il y a balance avec la demande créée pour les objets qui seront exportés.

17. Le pain que les manufactures nationales assurent aux ouvriers français, est-ce dans la main des ouvriers anglais que

17. Le pain doit passer des ouvriers français qui ne peuvent pas fabriquer si ce n'est aux dépens de la France, dans la main des ouvriers français qui peuvent fabriquer en

be proved to him that France in the aggregate, himself inclusive, is to gain by it. But he maintains that there is to be a loss.

15. In calling in the stranger to share in supplying our consumption, do you wish to force us to lower still further the already diminished wages? And to support our workmen that the use of foreign goods will leave without employment, are we to introduce a Poor-Rate?—*Ib.*

15. The question is, whether we shall lower the wages of the workmen whose employment is hostile to the riches and power of France, to augment by an equal amount the wages of the workmen whose labour is useful to her, with a relief to all the consumers besides, among whom are the working-classes themselves. Take for example woven goods. All that can be taken off from the wages of any weavers by the introduction of the foreign article, must not it be laid on to the wages of the workmen engaged in some other branch of trade, which balances exactly; and will there not over and above this be a gain for every workman that is a consumer of woven goods, as for every other man in France, by the reduction in the price of woven goods?

Or, if it is preferred, take the opposite case. Fancy a weaver saying, "Increase my wages by paying double for woven goods and taking off the same amount from the wages of French labourers of some other kind; and then you and France shall have the benefit of paying two francs for a piece of woven goods instead of one." In fact this is what has been written to the Minister.

16. Our establishments, the fruit of such long labour, do you mean to condemn them to a stand-still? *We shall not attempt to enter into a contest that is ruinous and impossible.*—*Ib.*

16. Fancy the wig-makers had said, "Our establishments, the fruit of such long labour, do you mean to condemn them to a stand-still? *We shall not attempt to enter into a contest that is ruinous and impossible.*" Would not they have been answered, "Gentlemen, nobody wants your wigs; they are not asked for; and there will be strong objections to making a law to make every man wear a wig, or pay for one whether he wears it or no." There will be no fear felt that this will impoverish France; because everybody knows that what he saves in wigs, the citizen will expend upon some other kind of trade. There is no doubt of the unhappy situation of the journeymen wig-makers; and it will be held a good reason why too much should not be done to hurry the vanishing of wigs, but not why they should be worn for ever. Though wigs are not woven goods, the case applies exactly to the portion of the price which is to be saved to the consumer; and for the rest, there will be an exact balance made by the new demand created for the goods to be exported.

17. The bread the national manufactures give the French workmen, is it into the hands of the English

17. The bread is to go from the French workman who cannot manufacture unless France will stand the loss, into the hands of the French workman who can manufacture

nous le verrons passer ?— *Ib.*

ajoutant à la richesse et à la puissance de la France. Parce que les ouvriers anglais y gagneront aussi, ce n'est pas une raison pour que la France accepte une perte.

18 Tel fut pourtant le triste résultat du traité de commerce de 1786: alors aussi *la prospérité de chacun par la prospérité générale* nous fut promise: Qu'est-il arrivé ? Nous avons été deux ans sans travailler, deux ans sans vendre nos produits.

Est-ce un sort semblable qui doit nous être réservé ? —*Ib.*

18. Au contraire, de 1786 à 1792, même dans les objets les plus jalousés, c'est-à-dire les tissus de coton et de laine, la quincaillerie, les gazes, les articles de modes, il y eut augmentation de plus d'un million et demi de francs en valeur totale, et cela en face d'un impôt perçu en Angleterre, de plus de onze pour cent. Le montant n'est pas grand; mais il est diamétralement opposé aux allégations de Roubaix. De plus, de 1785 à 1789, l'exportation si importante des eaux-de-vie en Angleterre a été doublée, et celle des vins a augmenté d'un tiers.

19. Pour filer la laine, pour filer le lin, pour retordre le coton, nos voisins ont des machines que nous n'avons pas. Se laissent-ils aussi aveugler par un décevant système ? Loin de là. Leurs machines, avec quelle sévérité ne les prohibent-ils pas à la sortie ? Avec quel soin ne surveillent-ils pas l'exécution de la loi prohibitive ? Et cependant ce sont les produits qu'ils obtiennent de ces métiers perfectionnés, et contre lesquels vous savez bien que nous ne pouvons lutter, que vous voulez offrir à nos consommateurs.—*Ib.*

19. Si nos voisins ont de bonnes machines, c'est une raison pour que nous cherchions à nous en servir. On dit à tout Français: " Vous pourriez vous procurer ce qu'il vous faut, à moitié prix de l'autre côté de l'eau; gardez-vous-en bien !" Quant à la prohibition des machines, il est bien décidé par la majorité de l'opinion publique chez nos voisins, que toute prohibition, même dans la question délicate et difficile de l'exportation des machines, est une sottise; mais on ne détruit pas tous les préjugés en un jour. Leurs libéraux en matière de commerce, marchent toujours en avant, et cherchent en même temps de l'appui chez nous.

20. Un droit nous protégera, nous dites-vous ? Mais a-t-il protégé les filateurs de coton pour tulle ? Leurs ateliers si actifs que chaque année devait accroître, que sont-ils devenus ? Vous les verriez tous au repos: le coton anglais abonde, et son prix avili ne laisse plus de chance à la fabrication française.

20. Sans doute, c'est le contrebandier qui a produit ce résultat; c'est-à-dire que le contrebandier a donné aux consommateurs, qui sont la France, de bons cotons à bon marché, en augmentant en sus les salaires d'ouvriers qui peuvent servir la France; et cela, aux dépens de certains autres qui ne le peuvent pas. Grand grief contre le contrebandier !

Le résultat que nous signalons n'est pas l'effet de l'ordonnance, direz-

workmen we are to see it go?—*Ib.*

and add to the riches and power of his country. Because the English workman may gain too, is no reason why France is to court a loss.

18. Such however was the melancholy result of the Treaty of Commerce made with England in 1786. At that time as now, we were promised *the prosperity of everybody from the prosperity of the whole.* And what came of it? We were two years without having any work at all; two years without selling any of our goods. Is it the like lot that is to be prepared for us now?—*Ib.*

18. On the contrary, the truth and fact was, that between the years 1786 and 1792, even in the kinds of goods in which the competition of England was most feared, namely cotton and linen goods, hard-ware, gauzes, millinery, there was an increase of exportation to England of more than a million and a half of francs in total amount, and this in the face of duties against them in England, averaging more than eleven per cent on the value. The total amount is not a great deal; but it is directly in the teeth of the allegations proceeding from Roubaix. And besides this, between the years 1785 and 1789, the exportation to England of those most important articles brandy and wine, had been, the first doubled, and the other augmented by a third.

19. For spinning wool, for spinning thread, for twisting cotton, our English neighbours have machinery which we have not. Do we find them allowing themselves to be blinded by a deceptive system? Quite the contrary. What severity do they not employ to keep their machinery from being exported? With what jealousy do they watch over the execution of the prohibitory law. And yet it is the goods they make with these improved machines, and against which you know we have no chance of struggling, that you want to offer to our consumers.—*Ib.*

19. If our neighbours have good machinery, it is the very reason why we ought to take the benefit of it. What you say to every Frenchman is, "You might get what you want, for half price on the other side the water; therefore take care you do no such thing." As for the prohibition of exporting machinery, it is completely settled by the majority of public opinion among our neighbours, that all prohibition, even on the sore and difficult subject of the exportation of machinery, is silliness; but all prejudices cannot be got over in a day. Their liberals in commercial affairs, are moving forwards continually, and at the same time asking us to help them.

20. We shall have a duty for protection, you will say to us. But has a duty protected the spinners of cotton for *tulle*? Their factories that were so active and were increasing every year, what is become of them now? You would find them all at a stand-still, English cottons are everywhere, and the lowness of the price leaves no chance for the French manufacture.

20. Of course, it is the smuggler that has been at the bottom of this. That is to say, the smuggler has given the consumers, or in other words, France, good cotton thread and cheap, increasing at the same time the wages of the workmen who can be of use to France, and this at the expense of certain others who cannot. Great cause of complaint against the smuggler!

Will you tell us the effect we point to is not the consequence of the

vous ? A quoi donc l'attribuer ? Et si ce premier acte n'a pas porté ses fruits, pourquoi ne pas les attendre ? Pourquoi si vîte tenter de nouveaux et plus désastreux essais ? —*Ib.*

21. Monsieur le ministre, à vous sans contredit la gestion de nos affaires, à nous la résignation. Vous vouliez des faits, nous en avons cité d'anciens et de nouveaux : permettez-nous maintenant une dernière réflexion.

Si Napoléon fut aimé du peuple qu'il décimait par la guerre, c'est qu'il lui donnait l'aisance par le travail. Si les ordonnances de juillet trouvèrent une si prompte résistance, c'est qu'elles mirent sans emploi les ouvriers imprimeurs. Après tant de commotions politiques, le peuple a besoin de travail, le pays de repos. Au roi, que nous aimons, nous payons sans murmures d'assez lourds impôts. Nous ne refusons pas nos fils à la patrie. Nos moyens de travail, respectez-les. Que notre population si nombreuse, si calme, si bonne, mais effrayée encore par le souvenir du traité de 1786 et par l'état de nos filatures de coton fin, ne soit pas portée à la désaffection, et qu'elle ne puisse jamais nourrir la pensée que l'étranger va lui ravir l'aisance et le bonheur dont elle jouit depuis deux ans. Surtout, monsieur le ministre, souvenez-vous qu'un salaire abaissé a deux fois soulevé Lyon.

Nous avons l'honneur d'être, monsieur le ministre, vos dévoués serviteurs.

Roubaix, 5 octobre 1834.

(*Suivent 272 signatures.*)—*Ib.*

21. Une menace ! La France doit y répondre. Otez à vos ouvriers, dans quelque autre branche, leurs salaires pour nous les donner, avec perte générale pour la France collective en sus ; sinon, *la désaffection*. Spoliez les ouvriers qui peuvent être utiles à la France, à notre profit à nous qui ne le pouvons pas ; sinon, *soulèvement* comme à Lyon. Reste à savoir si la France se soumettra à tout cela.

22. *Demande.* Trouveriez-vous des inconvénients à remplacer la prohibition qui existe sur certains tapis, par un droit suffisamment élevé ?—*Réponse.* Oui. Quelque droit que vous mettiez sur les tapis de Turquie et sur les tapis de l'Inde, il nous sera bien difficile de soutenir la concurrence. Ces tapis sont à la mode. On les recherche aussi beaucoup, parce qu'ils sont chauds, bons et peu chers.—*Interrogatoire de M. Vaysen, fabricant de tapis, délégué par la chambre consultative d'Abbeville.—Moniteur du Commerce*, 1 *novembre* 1834.

22. Quel dommage ce serait que les Français eussent des tapis en même temps à la mode, chauds, bons et peu chers ! Les Français sont-ils faits pour avoir de bons tapis, ou pour payer des tapis qui ne soient ni à la mode, ni bons, ni chauds, ni bon marché ?

23. *D.* Exportez-vous ? —*R.* Un peu ; cette année j'ai été assez heureux pour vendre des tapis, en Angleterre, à un ministre qui a désiré avoir des tapis de ma manufacture, parce qu'ils ont une réputation de solidité que n'ont pas les autres.—*Ib.*

23. Quel fou, que ce ministre anglais qui désirait un tapis d'une solidité que n'ont pas les autres ! Ne concevait-il pas qu'il était de son devoir de faire fabriquer un tapis moins solide et plus cher ?

Ordonnance? What then is the reason of it? And if this first move has not yet had its effects, why cannot you wait till it has? Why be in such a hurry to make other and more disastrous experiments?—*Ib.*

21. *Monsieur le ministre*, there is no disputing, that it is your business to manage our affairs, and ours to find resignation. You asked for facts; we have given you both old and new. Allow us to add one more observation to conclude.

If Napoleon was loved by the people whom he thinned by war, it was because he secured their comfort by giving them work. If the Ordonnances in July met with such prompt resistance, it was because they threw out of work the printers' journeymen. After so many political convulsions, the people wants work, and the country rest. To the King, whom we love, we pay taxes tolerably heavy without complaint. We do not refuse our children for the service of the country. But our means of working, we beg you to respect. Let our population, so numerous, so quiet, so well-disposed, but frightened to this hour by the recollection of the Treaty of 1786 and by the condition of our manufactories of fine cotton, have nothing to induce it to disaffection, nor to encourage the idea that the foreigner is going to carry off the comfort and well-being it has enjoyed for two years back. Above all, *monsieur le ministre*, recollect that the lowering of a rate of wages has twice set Lyons in rebellion.

We have the honour to be, &c.

Roubaix, 5 Oct. 1834.

(Here follow 272 signatures.)—*Ib.*

21. A threat! which it is for France to answer. Deprive your workmen in some other branch, of their wages to give them to us, with an aggregate loss to France besides; or else, *disaffection*. Rob the workman who can be of use to France, for the benefit of us who cannot; or else, *rebellion* as at Lyons. What people wait to know, is whether France will put up with this or not.

22. *Question*. Would you see any inconvenience, in changing the prohibition which exists on certain kinds of carpets, into a duty of sufficient height?—*Answer*. Yes. Whatever duty you put on Turkey and Indian carpets, it will be very difficult for us to stand the competition. These carpets are the fashion. They are also much sought after, because they are warm, good, and not dear.—*Examination of M. Vayson, carpet-manufacturer, delegate from the Council of Consultation of Abbeville.—Moniteur du Commerce*, 1 *Nov.* 1834.

22. What a shame, that Frenchmen should get carpets that are at the same time fashionable, warm, good, and not dear! Were Frenchmen made to have good carpets, or to pay for carpets that are neither the fashion, nor warm, nor good, nor cheap?

23. *Q.* Are you an exporter?—*A.* A little. This year I have been fortunate enough to sell some carpets, in England, to one of the ministers who wanted to have some carpets of my manufacture, because they have the reputation of being more lasting than others.—*Ib.*

23. What a fool this English minister must have been, who wanted a carpet that would last longer than others! Could not he tell, that it was his duty to order a carpet, that should be of less last and higher price?

24. AU ROI DES FRANÇAIS.

Les ouvriers réunis de la fabrique de Saint-Quentin.

Sire, la voix des ouvriers malheureux va jusqu'à votre cœur.

Dans les anciens jours de privations et de peines, c'est aux chefs d'établissement que nous nous adressions.

Ils ne peuvent rien aujourd'hui contre le projet d'une réforme qui fermera les manufactures. Eux du moins pourraient souffrir dans leurs intérêts, dans leur avenir; mais pour nous, tout patients que nous soyons, pour nous qui vivons au jour le jour, l'avenir, c'est demain; et la levée de la prohibition, c'est la mort.—*Journal du Havre, 4 novembre*, 1834.

24. Il faut répondre avec beaucoup de modération à une population qui sans doute se trouve dans une condition très-pénible par suite de l'ignorance et des préjugés du passé.

La réforme ne fermera que les manufactures qui sont nuisibles à la France, pour ouvrir celles qui lui sont utiles et avantageuses. Dire que pour nous la levée de la prohibition c'est la mort, c'est dire que nous ne vivons que de la perte de la France, et que nous demandons que la France continue à faire cette perte, afin que nous en vivions et élevions des enfants pour en vivre après nous. La plus déraisonnable de toutes les prétentions, c'est de croire que la France éclairée, instruite, se soumettra à perpétuité à cet état de choses. Cela posé, reste la question de savoir la somme véritable de souffrance et d'intérêts particuliers qui peuvent s'opposer à la disparition de ce mal. On ne gagnera rien en l'exagérant. Il est de nécessité que les industries nuisibles soient réduites dans les limites de la justice; mais pourvu qu'on soit assuré de voir la fin de cet état de choses, la France consentira à beaucoup de sacrifices, pour amortir le choc à l'égard des intéressés que personne n'accuse. Premièrement, il y a le grand moyen de la gradualité. Secondement, comme l'augmentation positive des industries utiles marchera de pair avec la diminution des industries nuisibles, il y a dans cette source une occasion visible d'absorption progressive des industries mal assises. Troisièmement, comme tous les ouvriers sans distinction, en tant que consommateurs, recevront leur portion du gain qui arrivera à cette classe, il est clair qu'il doit rester un surplus de bien pour les ouvriers collectivement. Il y aurait absurdité, et même déception à dire que tous les ouvriers de toutes les industries opposées aux intérêts de la France, ne perdront individuellement rien; mais il y aurait aussi absurdité et déception à ne pas reconnaître que le danger des ouvriers, même les plus menacés, admet beaucoup d'atténuations qu'on pourrait ne pas apercevoir au premier coup d'œil. C'est le cas qui s'est présenté pour les copistes, lors de l'introduction de l'imprimerie. Il est évident que la faculté des copistes dut perdre; mais en même temps que les copistes diminuaient, les imprimeurs durent augmenter; voilà donc un moyen d'absorption pour au moins une partie des copistes et de leur postérité. De plus, les économies provenant de l'institution de l'imprimerie durent, sans nul doute, se placer quelque part, en augmentant diverses autres industries; voilà encore des moyens d'absorption pour la grande famille copiste. C'est ainsi que les choses se sont passées dans les autres cas. Où en serait la civilisation européenne, si l'on avait toujours persisté à se servir

24. TO THE KING OF THE FRENCH.

The United Workmen of the factory of Saint-Quentin.

Sire, the voice of the unfortunate workmen will go to your heart.

In the gone-by days of privations and distress, it was to the heads of establishments that we used to look for help.

They can do nothing for us now, against this project of reform, which will shut up their shops. They, perhaps, may only suffer in their present interests, or their futurity; but to us, patient as we may be, to us who live only from day to day, futurity, is tomorrow, and the taking off the prohibition, is death.—*Journal du Havre*, 4 *Nov.* 1834.

24. It is proper to be very moderate, in answering a population who there can be no doubt find themselves in an exceedingly painful condition through the consequences of the ignorance and prejudices of the gone-by time.

The reform will shut up no shops but those that are injurious to France; to open those that are useful to her and advantageous. To say that to you the taking off the prohibition is death, is saying that you live only by the loss of France, and that you demand that France shall continue to be at this loss, that you may live upon it, and have children to live upon it after you. The most unreasonable of all possible expectations, is to think that France enlightened, well-informed, will go on enduring such a state of things. This being taken for granted, it remains to find out the real amount of individual suffering and private interests which are opposed to the removal of the evil. There will be nothing got on any side by exaggeration. What must most assuredly come to pass, is that the destructive trades will be brought within the bounds of justice; but so long as there is a certainty of seeing the end of such a state of things, France will be willing to make great sacrifices to soften the shock to individuals concerned, whom nobody thinks of charging with it as a crime. In the first place, there is the great resource, of doing the thing gradually. Secondly, as the absolute improvement of the useful trades must march step by step with the diminution of the destructive ones, there is in this quarter a visible opening for the absorption of the misplaced modes of industry. Thirdly, as all the working-classes without distinction, so far as they are consumers, must receive their share of the benefit that arises to the consumers at large, it is clear that in the aggregate the working-classes must be better off than they were before. It would be absurd, and in fact dishonest, to say that none of the workmen in any of the trades that are injurious to France would individually lose anything; but it would also be absurd and dishonest not to allow, that the danger of the working manufacturers, even in the trades most affected, has a set-off in many ways that might not at first be thought of. It is exactly the case of the copyists at the introduction of printing. It is plain that the fraternity of copyists must have lost by it. But at the same time that copyists were being thrown out of employ, printers must have been in demand; here then was one way for the absorption of at least a portion of the copyists and their posterity. And further, the savings made by the public through the use of printing, must, there can be no doubt, have been laid out in some way or other, and so have freshened various other trades; which goes to make more room for taking up the

d'instruments mauvais et chers, au lieu d'en avoir de bons et à meilleur marché, par considération pour des intérêts surannés ?

25. Un droit protecteur nivellera les prix ; le consommateur ne gagnera rien au changement : une moitié de la population sera sacrifiée à l'autre moitié.—*Ib.*

25. Le moyen de dire que le consommateur ne gagnera rien ? Le citoyen qui achètera pour deux francs au lieu de trois, et consommera le troisième franc chez le pâtissier, ne réalisera-t-il pas le gain de sa pâtisserie ?

26. Tous les raisonnements en faveur des camarades les vignerons du Midi, ne pourront nourrir nos femmes et nos enfants voués à la misère : que de millions de bras courageux ne sauront plus à quoi se prendre, ne sauront plus à qui vendre leur utilité, leurs sueurs et leurs forces !—*Ib.*

26. Est-ce que les vignerons du Midi n'ont ni femmes ni enfants ? Est-ce que le consommateur de tissus n'a ni femme ni enfants ? Que sert-il d'alimenter des bras courageux dans le nord, en supprimant un nombre égal de bras courageux dans le midi, avec suppression d'un surplus de bras courageux dans la France collective en sus ? S'il n'est pas bon d'empêcher ceux du nord de vendre leur utilité, leurs sueurs et leurs forces, pourquoi serait-il mieux d'empêcher l'homme du midi de vendre son utilité, ses sueurs et ses forces, en infligeant en outre une perte à la France collective qui ne se compose que de consommateurs ? S'il y avait simple balance des intérêts, ce serait une injustice ; comme il y a en sus une perte collective, se serait de plus une folie.

27. Sire, votre gouvernement voulait éteindre la mendicité, il voulait éclairer le peuple par l'instruction et nous habituer à l'économie par les caisses d'épargne. La nourriture est plus nécessaire encore que l'instruction ; sans le paiement d'un salaire justement mérité, l'économie est impossible ; les Anglais et la réforme vont tout détruire, tout, excepté la mendicité qui s'étendra sur nos contrées comme un haillon déshonorant.—*Ib.*

27. Comment éteindre la mendicité, en faisant des mendians dans le midi pour en ôter au nord, avec perte collective pour les citoyens consommateurs en sus ? Un homme a le droit de se nourrir ; mais non aux dépens des autres et de sa patrie : c'est précisément pour cela que sont faites les lois.

28. Sire, les ouvriers ont aussi répandu leur sang pour votre cause, qui est celle de la nation ; et c'est parmi les populations laborieuses, que vous comptez un plus grand nombre de citoyens paisibles et dévoués. Vous avez pardonné

28. Il en est d'autres qui ont répandu leur sang, sans y voir une raison pour comprimer l'industrie d'autrui, en infligeant une perte à la France consommatrice en sus. Epargner les ouvriers qui respectent l'ordre, ce n'est pas en opprimer d'autres qui le respectent également, avec addition d'un dom-

great copyist family. It was in this way the thing was done in other instances. Where would the civilization of Europe have been by this time, if people had always persisted in using the instrument that was bad and dear, instead of what was good and cheap, through tenderness for superannuated interests?

25. A protective duty will bring prices to a level; the consumer will gain nothing by the alteration; and one half the population will be sacrificed to the other.—*Ib.*

25. Which way is it to be said, that the consumer will gain nothing? The citizen that buys for two francs instead of three, and lays out the third with the cheesecake-maker, will he not have made a substantial gain of his cheesecakes?

26. All the arguments in favour of our comrades the vine-growers of the South, will not feed our wives and children, who are to be doomed to starve. What millions of brawny arms, will not know what to turn themselves to, nor where to dispose of their services, their vigour, and their toil.—*Ib.*

26. Have the vine-growers of the South got neither wives nor children? Has the consumer of woven goods got neither wife nor children? Of what use is it to multiply brawny arms in the North, if it is to be done by extinguishing an equal number of brawny arms in the South, and a further number of brawny arms all over France besides? If it is not good to hinder the men of the North from disposing of their services, their vigour, and their toil, will it be any better to hinder the man of the South from disposing of his services, his vigour, and his toil, and at the same time inflict a further loss in the aggregate on France, where every man is a consumer whatever else he may be besides? If there was a simple balance on the two sides, it would be injustice; but as there is a loss upon the whole, it is silliness besides.

27. *Sire*, your government wanted to extinguish mendicity; it wanted to enlighten the people by instruction, and accustom us to economy by the formation of savings-banks. To get a living, is more urgent than instruction; without the payment of the wages he has a just claim to, it is impossible for a man to be economical; the English and reform will put an end to everything, except mendicity, which will spread over one part of our country after another, like dishonest tatters.—*Ib.*

27. How are you to extinguish mendicity, by making beggars in the South as fast as you take them away from the North, with an aggregate loss to all the citizen consumers besides? A man has a right to get his living; but not at the expense of other people and the country. It was for this very thing, that people invented laws.

28. *Sire*, the workmen too have shed their blood for your cause, which is the cause of the nation, and it is among the labouring classes that you count the greatest number of peaceable and devoted citizens. You have pardoned our

28. There are other people that have shed their blood, without seeing in it a reason why they should repress the industry of others, with a loss to France in her character of consumer besides. To spare the workmen who respect order, is not to oppress other workmen who respect it just

aux camarades que l'erreur (la détresse peut-être) avait jetés dans l'émeute ; épargnez donc les ouvriers qui n'ont pas de faute à expier, pas de repentir à connaître ; épargnez les ouvriers qui respectent l'ordre, les lois, et qui entourent votre personne de leurs nombreuses bénédictions.—*Ib.*

mage à la France collective en sus. L'*ordre*, c'est l'égalité.

29. Nés pour travailler et souffrir, esclaves de nos devoirs, nous accomplissons patiemment notre destinée. Le travail fait oublier les calamités, ne permettez pas qu'on nous en prive.

La faim, la honte et le désespoir sont là qui nous attendent le jour où nous ne travaillerons plus !

Nous avons l'honneur d'être, sire, de votre majesté, les plus humbles et respectueux serviteurs. — *Ib.*

29. Que répondrait-on à une femme de la Halle qui voudrait renverser la boutique de sa voisine, en disant : " Je vais accomplir ma destinée " ? N'est-ce pas que la voisine a aussi une destinée? Si la faim, la honte et le désespoir vous attendent le jour où vous ne travaillerez plus, ils attendent aussi ceux que vous empêcherez de travailler. Il y a là un mot, ancien, mais bon, c'est celui de *justice*.

Que les ouvriers examinent les grands mots dont on veut les bercer. Qu'entend-on par *concurrence ?* C'est la concurrence de vos concitoyens qui peuvent fournir avec gain à la France collective, ce que vous ne pouvez fournir qu'à perte. Qu'entend-on par *conquête?* Supposons qu'on soit arrivé à ce qu'on vous a nommé *conquête ;* c'est-à-dire qu'après une série de pertes pour la France, on soit arrivé à fabriquer certains objets au même prix auquel on les recevrait de l'étranger ; qu'est-ce que la France aurait gagné ? Rien. Elle aurait fait de grandes pertes, pour arriver à un résultat sans différence. Si l'on répond que le perfectionnement peut encore aller plus loin, pourquoi préférer un perfectionnement hypothétique et précédé de pertes, à un perfectionnement assuré, et sans pertes préalables infligées aux industries naturelles qu'on a sacrifiées ? C'est un fait avéré, que les industries protégées ne croissent pas, et que les industries naturelles croissent ; c'est ce qui résulte de la plus simple observation statistique. Répondrait-on qu'il est dans l'intérêt de la sûreté de la France qu'elle ait autant que possible tout en elle-même ? Ce n'est pas là de la sécurité, mais de l'insécurité ; c'est la sécurité des temps féodaux, où chacun voulait avoir tout en lui-même, parce qu'il devait être ennemi de chacun. Aujourd'hui comme alors, plus on se liera par les intérêts mutuels, plus on augmentera la sécurité de tous. Que vous a-t-on appris à appeler *tributaire ?* C'est comme si on se disait tributaire de la vache pour le lait.

30. *D.* Quelle est votre opinion sur la levée de la prohibition remplacée par un droit protecteur ? —*R.* La question ainsi posée ne peut être résolue. Je demanderai la permission de la présenter comme je l'entends. Je suis convaincu que la prohibi-

30. On ne voit rien ici qui réponde aux arguments opposés. *C'est une question immense*, c'est vrai, parce que la perte est immense. L'objection de la *réaction* pourrait être dirigée contre des changements subits, mais non contre les changements progressifs, que demandent tous les gens prudents. Sauf la question de gradualité, le *contre-coup*

comrades whom error (perhaps distress) had led into insurrection; spare then the workmen who have no fault to expiate, no repentance to acknowledge; spare the workmen who respect order and the laws, and surround your person with their numerous benedictions.—*Ib.*

as much, with a loss to France in the aggregate besides. *Order*, is doing equally by all.

29. Born to toil and to endure, slaves to our duties, we patiently accomplish our destiny. Working makes us forget sufferings; do not then allow us to be deprived of that.

Hunger, shame, and despair, are waiting to fasten on us, the day we cease to work.

We have the honour to be, Sire, your Majesty's &c.—*Ib.*

29. What would be said to a market-woman, that tried to overset the stall of her neighbour, and said "I am accomplishing my destiny"? Has not her neighbour got a destiny too? If hunger, shame, and despair are waiting for you the day you cease to work, they are waiting for those too that you hinder from working. There is a word upon this subject, old, but good;—*justice*.

Let the working-men only examine the big words with which they are deluded. What is it these people mean by *competition?* It is the competition of your countrymen who can supply with a profit to France in the aggregate, what you can only supply at a loss. What do they mean by *conquest?* Suppose they had got to what they have taught you to call *conquest*; that is to say, that after a succession of losses to France, they had got to manufacture certain goods as cheap as they could be had from the foreigner;—what would France have gained by it? Not a farthing. She would have made great sacrifices, to arrive at a result without a difference. If it is replied that the improvements may be carried further;—why prefer a contingent improvement and preceded by losses, to one that would be certain, and without previous injury to the natural kinds of industry which must be sacrificed? No fact is better ascertained, than that protected trades do not advance, and natural ones do; it is one of the simplest inferences from statistical observation. Will it be answered, that it is for the security of France that she should as much as possible possess everything within herself? This is not security, but insecurity; it is the security of the old feudal times, when everybody wanted to have everything within himself, because he meant to be the enemy of everybody else. Now, as then, the more people can bind themselves together by mutual interests, the more they will increase the security of all. What is it too, they have taught you to call being *tributary?* It is like a man talking of being tributary to the cow for milk.

30. *Q.* What is your opinion, as to removing the prohibition, and laying a protecting duty instead? *A.* The question so put, is impossible to answer. I must beg permission to put it in the way I understand it. I am quite aware that the prohibition cannot be

30. There appears nothing in all this, that is any answer to the arguments of the opposite side. *It is a question of prodigious magnitude;* which is true enough, for the loss is prodigious. The objection founded on *reaction* might be applicable to sudden alterations, but not to gradual ones, which are what all sensible people ask for. Sup-

tion ne peut pas être perpétuelle. C'est dans ce sens que nous nous sommes exprimés dans le mémoire que nous avons adressé à M. le ministre du commerce ; mais nous ne sommes pas encore arrivés au point où nos fabricants de tissus de laine puissent, sans un dommage immense, supporter la levée de la prohibition. Est-ce dans l'intérêt de ceux qu'on appelle les consommateurs que la mesure est proposée ; et, dans ce cas, atteindra-t-on le but qu'on a en vue ? C'est une question immense dans laquelle tous les intérêts de la France sont engagés, dans laquelle toutes les industries se tiennent ; on ne peut toucher aux deux plus grandes industries, celles qui produisent les tissus de laine et les tissus de coton, sans qu'il y ait réaction sur toutes les autres et surtout sur l'agriculture, car l'introduction des tissus étrangers équivaut, pour elle, à l'introduction de la matière première ; et, pour l'industrie, à l'introduction de la matière première dans toutes ses transformations, ce qui lui enlèverait tout travail. Il en résulterait donc un dommage incalculable.

Le contre-coup affectera toutes les autres industries et par suite la propriété particulière et les revenus publics.—*Interrogatoire de M Cunin-Gridaine, fabricant de draps à Sedan, délégué de la chambre consultative de Sedan. (Moniteur du Commerce, 2 et 3 novembre* 1834.)

dont on nous menace n'est qu'un épouvantail pour les ignorants. Il n'affectera d'autre industrie que celle qu'il est de l'intérêt de la France de voir affecter. Il augmentera toutes les autres, en répartissant entre elles les demandes de tous les consommateurs dégrevés.

31. Nous voudrions bien que lord Durham et tous les économistes radicaux nous expliquassent ce qu'ils entendent par *privilége* et *monopole*. En bon français, comme en bon anglais, sans doute ces mots n'ont qu'une valeur : c'est celle qui exprime la pensée de l'octroi ou de l'usage d'un droit particulier, auquel la généralité ne peut participer. Ainsi, pour appliquer cette définition fort simple ; l'exercice exclusif d'une profession ou d'une industrie est un privilége, un monopole ; mais là où chacun peut exercer librement cette profession, cette industrie, il n'y a pas et ne saurait y avoir ni privilége ni monopole : or, c'est ce qui arrive en France comme en Angleterre.—(*Moniteur du Commerce*, 5 *novembre* 1834.)

31. Pure confusion entre diverses choses auxquelles on a l'habitude d'attacher la dénomination de *privilége* ou de *monopole*. Si un certain nombre de tisserands français avaient l'exercice de cette industrie, à l'exclusion de tout autre Français qui desire être tisserand, ce serait là, dans un certain sens, ce qu'on appelle monopole, lequel peut coexister avec une absence totale, soit de prohibition, soit de droits sur les tissus de l'étranger ; mais si les tisserands demandent de plus qu'on fasse usage de la force publique pour empêcher l'introduction des tissus étrangers, voilà un monopole d'une tout autre espèce. En matière de monopole, comme en toute autre, il y a fagots et fagots.

32. *La propriété seule est un monopole*, puisqu'elle donne un droit exclusif sur la chose et sur sa jouissance à celui à qui elle appartient. Mais c'est un monopole sacré sur lequel la société entière est fondée, et nous ne pensons pas que lord Durham songe à réformer celui-là.—*Ib.*

32. Encore une confusion de mots. Que les privilégiés soient plus ou moins nombreux, il n'en résulte pas moins qu'*ils s'approprient* le bien de leurs concitoyens.

kept up for ever; and I expressed myself to this effect in the memorial I had the honour to address to the minister of commerce. But we have not yet got to the point where our manufacturers of woollen cloth can, without an immense loss, support the removal of the prohibition. Is it in the interest of what are called the consumers, that this measure is proposed; and if so, will it gain its object? It is a question of prodigious magnitude in which all the interests of France are concerned, and in which every kind of industry has a stake. It is impossible to touch the two great leading branches, those of woollen cloths and cotton, without there being a reaction on all the rest, and particularly on agriculture; for the introduction of foreign cloths is to agriculture the same as importing the raw material; and to manufacturing industry it is the same as introducing the materials in every manufactured form, which would amount to taking from it all employment whatever. The consequence therefore would be incalculable injury.

The recoil will affect all the other kinds of industry, and in the end both private property and public revenue.—*Examination of M. Cunin-Gridaine, cloth-manufacturer at Sedan, delegate of the Consultative Chamber of Sedan.* (*Moniteur du Commerce*, 2 *and* 3 *Nov.* 1834.

posing the question of graduality settled, the *recoil* that we are threatened with is only a bugbear for the foolish. It will affect no kind of industry but those it is the interest of France to see affected. It will improve all the others, by dividing among them the demand arising from the relief given to all the consumers in the country.

31. We should be glad if Lord Durham or any of the radical economists would tell us what they mean by *privilege* and *monopoly*. In good French, as in good English, these words to a certainty have only one meaning, which is that of the concession or enjoyment of a peculiar right, in which the rest of mankind are not allowed to share. Thus, by the application of this very simple definition, the exclusive exercise of a profession or trade is a privilege, a monopoly; but where everybody that chuses is at liberty to exercise the profession or trade, there is not and cannot be either privilege or monopoly. Now this is exactly what takes place both in France and England.—*Moniteur du Commerce*, 5 *Nov.* 1834.

31. A mere confusion between different things it is usual to call by the name of *privilege* or *monopoly*. If a certain number of French weavers had the exercising of that trade to the exclusion of any other Frenchman that should wish to be a weaver, this would be, in one sense, what is called monopoly; which may exist along with a total absence of either prohibition or duties upon foreign cloths. But if, going beyond this, the weavers demand to make use of the public force to hinder the introduction of foreign cloths, this is a monopoly of quite a different kind. In monopolies as everywhere else, the things are not all alike that go by the same name.

32. *Nothing but private property is a monopoly*; for that gives the exclusive right to the thing and the enjoyment of it, to the owner. But it is a sacred kind of monopoly on which society altogether is founded; and it is not presumable that Lord Durham means to go about to reform this.—*Ib.*

32. Confusion of words, again. Whether the monopolists be more or fewer, it does not the less follow that they are laying hands upon the property of their fellow-citizens.

33. Nous ne blâmons point, à Dieu ne plaise ! sa seigneurie d'avoir du charbon à vendre et d'en vouloir beaucoup vendre ; mais il ne faut pas faire de cela une affaire de sentiment et y mêler la civilisation et la liberté. — (*Journal des Débats ; 4 novembre* 1834.)

33. N'ayez pas de charbon ! Ne désirez pas du vin de Bordeaux ! C'est ce qu'on a crié des deux côtés du détroit. Ministres de tous les pays, pourquoi êtes-vous ministres ? Est-ce pour nous ôter notre charbon et notre vin de Bordeaux ?

34. Avant donc de lancer l'anathème contre les fabricants français, comment lord Durham n'a-t-il pas réfléchi qu'il ne pouvait pas les condamner sans condamner aussi les fabricants anglais ? — *Ib.*

34. Il veut les condamner tous en tant qu'ils s'attachent à la défense du monopole. Il n'y a pas grande difficulté à cet égard.

35. *R.* Vous avez parlé du public qui réclame ; quelle est donc la partie du public qui réclame, ou du moins qui a intérêt à réclamer ? — *Interrogatoire de M. Mimerel, filateur et fabricant de coton, délégué des chambres de commerce de Lille, Roubaix et Turcoing.* (Réponse de M. Mimerel.) *Ib. 7 novembre* 1834.

35. Ceux qui réclament, ce sont les deux espèces d'industrie qui perdent ce que vous voulez gagner, et moi sur qui frappe en sus la différence des prix.

36. Vainement dirait-on que l'Angleterre ne viendra pas jeter tous ses produits à bas prix sur nos marchés. C'est une erreur : quand un fabricant est dans la gêne et qu'il est obligé de faire des sacrifices pour satisfaire à ses engagements, c'est plutôt dans un pays étranger que chez lui, c'est plutôt dans un pays voisin que dans un pays éloigné qu'il les consomme. Il y trouve deux avantages, celui de conserver sa réputation et celui de ne pas déprécier ses produits sur le marché national. — *Ib.* 8 *novembre* 1834.

36. Si l'Angleterre s'avisait de jeter tout ce qu'elle possède sur les côtes de France, s'il nous arrivait une pluie de tissus anglais comme il y a des pluies de crapauds, qu'est-ce qu'on en devrait conclure ? Est-ce qu'on rejetterait ces tissus ? Dirait-on aux Français : " On vous conseille de n'en pas porter gratuitement ; cela vous ferait mal. Donnez plutôt les dix francs, que vous aviez destinés au charcutier ou au pâtissier." Mais c'est une supposition exagérée. Depuis quand est-ce qu'on a vu les Anglais jeter leur marchandise ?

37. Ce qui est arrivé à vos fils retors, a lieu pour nos numéros fins, sur la place de Tarare, où les filés anglais *écrasent* les nôtres. On nous a joué un mauvais tour, en fixant à 7 fr. par kil. le droit d'entrée, au lieu de 10 fr. que nous avait promis le ministre. Dans mon opinion, messieurs, M. Schlumberger s'abuse sur la nature du mal.

37. *Ecraser* c'est donner à meilleur marché. Est-ce à dire que le Français existe pour jouir, ou pour payer ?

33. God forbid we should blame his Lordship for having coals to sell and wanting to sell as many as he can. But he ought not to make a sentimental affair of it, and mix it up with the civilization and liberties of the human race. —*Journal des Débats, 4th Nov.* 1834.

33. Go without coals! Do not want to have claret! This is what has been called out, on both sides of the Channel. Ministers of all countries, wherefore are you ministers? Is it to hinder us from having coals and claret?

34. Before launching his anathema at the French manufacturers, why then did not Lord Durham recollect, that he could not condemn *them*, without condemning the English manufacturers too?—*Ib.*

34. He means to condemn them both, so far as they set themselves to defend monopoly. There is not much difficulty in settling that.

35. You have talked of the public that protests. What part of the public is it that protests, or at all events has any interest in protesting?—*Examination of M. Mimerel, spinner and manufacturer of cotton. Delegate of the Chambers of Commerce of Lille, Roubaix, and Turcoing.* (Answer of M. Mimerel).—*Ib. 7th Nov.* 1834.

35. The parts of the public that protest, are the two kinds of trade that lose what you intend to take, and I who am made to pay the difference of price.

36. There is no use in saying that England will not come and throw all her goods at a losing price upon our markets. It is all a mistake; when a manufacturer is in difficulties and obliged to make sacrifices to meet his engagements, he had rather make them in a foreign country than at home, and in a country that is near than in one a long way off. By this he gains two advantages; preserving his credit, and not bringing down the price of his own goods in his home market. —*Ib. 8th Nov.* 1834.

36. If England should take into her head to throw everything she has upon the coasts of France,—if it should rain English cloths, as it rains toads,—what ought to be the conclusion? Would it be that we should refuse the cloth? Would they say to the French people, "Do not wear these cloths for nothing. You will be the worse for it. Sooner give the ten francs, that you had meant for the sausage-maker or the cheesecake-man." But it is an extravagant supposition altogether. How long is it since the English began to throw away their goods?

37. What happened in the case of your twist, takes place in our fine numbers, in the market at Tarare, where the English thread *crushes* ours. They played us a sad trick, when they fixed the entrance duty at seven francs the kilogramme, instead of ten as the minister had promised us.

37. *Crushing*, means giving cheaper. Is it to be set down then, that a Frenchman lives to enjoy himself, or to pay money?

In my opinion, gentlemen, M. Schlumberger is quite out on the nature of the

et le droit serait à 10 fr., que les cotons anglais *écraseraient* encore les siens. Ou nous ne filerons plus de cotons fins, ou la prohibition sera rétablie.—*(Extrait d'une lettre.) Ib.*

38. Mais pour vous faire connaître en masse la différence qu'il y a entre le prix de revient d'une certaine quantité de pièces d'indiennes de même qualité fabriquées en France ou en Angleterre, dans les conditions respectives des deux pays, je vais mettre sous vos yeux le tableau suivant, calculé sur une fabrication de 50,000 pièces. *(Suivent les détails.)*

38. Sur quoi l'individu interrogé conseille que cette somme de 107,758 francs, continue d'être enlevée une première fois aux industries sur lesquelles elle serait naturellement dépensée si on la laissait aux consommateurs, et *une seconde fois en sus* à moi consommateur.

Différence entre le prix de la marchandise en France et en Angleterre: 107,758 fr.—*Interrogatoire de M. Henry Barbet, fabricant d'indiennes à Rouen, délégué par la chambre de commerce de Rouen.* (Réponse de M. Barbet.)—*Ib.*, 9 *novembre* 1834.

39. Il nous suffira de citer le Portugal, qui, avant le traité avec l'Angleterre, avait des fabriques de draps et de tissus de laine qui étaient en très-grande prospérité, et qui procuraient l'aisance à un grand nombre d'individus; maintenant elles sont détruites; vainement on chercherait la place où elles ont existé; la misère la plus profonde a remplacé l'aisance dont jouissait cette population. En Espagne, même résultat.

39. C'est que le Portugal a cessé de fabriquer de mauvais draps à mauvais marché, quand il a pu les acheter à meilleur marché avec ses vins, en augmentant de la différence la richesse peu considérable du Portugal. Si le système a changé, ce n'est pas par le fait de la finesse des Portugais, mais parce que les Anglais ont été trop fins pour boire le mauvais vin de Portugal, pouvant en obtenir du bon de la France.

Aussi, maintenant que ces états veulent reprendre leur prépondérance et n'être plus ainsi tributaires des étrangers, ils établissent un autre système; il en est de même en Russie, en Allemagne, en Prusse. Et, messieurs, sans aller chercher des exemples chez nos voisins, reportons nos regards sur notre pays; voyons ce qui se passait avant 1786.—*Ib.*

40. *R.* Nous regrettons beaucoup que les personnes qui, dans des écrits, ont attaqué le système qui existe aujourd'hui ne soient pas venues devant le conseil pour y soutenir leur opinion: si au lieu d'un système basé sur des probabilités, on nous avait opposé des faits, nous aurions pu y répondre, mais ce qui doit surtout nous étonner, c'est de voir que la presse qui se dit très-libérale, le prouve si mal dans cette circonstance; elle refuse d'enregistrer nos observations. (Réponse de M. Barbet.)—*Ib.*

40. Il n'est pas difficile d'avoir des faits. Pourquoi n'a-t-on pas demandé à la personne interrogée: S'il y avait liberté de commerce, croyez-vous que l'achat des tissus de l'étranger dût apporter un gain à quelqu'un, et jusqu'à quel point? Croyez-vous que l'application de la différence du prix par le consommateur dût apporter un gain à quelqu'un, et jusqu'à quel point? Croyez-vous que ces deux gains ensemble pussent égaler vos pertes? Croyez-vous qu'après cela, le gain des consommateurs, qui sont la France, restât net? Il serait dommage qu'il y eût à cet égard disette de faits.

evil, and the duty might be at 10 francs and still the English cottons would *crush* his. Either we shall spin no more fine cottons, or the prohibition must be restored.—(Extract of Letter.) *Ib.*

33. But to show you in gross the difference between the cost price of a certain number of pieces of muslin of the same quality in France and in England, under the respective circumstances of the two countries, I shall lay before you the following Table, calculated on the making of 50,000 pieces. (*Here follow the details.*)

38. Whereupon the individual under examination recommends this value of 107,758 francs to be taken once from the trades on which it would naturally have been spent if it had been left with the consumers, and *once more* from me the consumer besides.

Difference between the cost price of these goods in France and in England. 107,758 francs.—*Examination of M. Henry Barbet, manufacturer of muslin at Rouen, Delegate from the Chamber of Commerce of Rouen.* (Answer of M. Barbet). —*Ib.* 9*th Nov.* 1834.

39. It will be enough for us to refer to Portugal, which before the Treaty with England, had manufactories of cloth and woollens that were in very great prosperity, and gave a comfortable support to a great number of individuals. Now, they are destroyed, and it would be in vain to look for the places where they stood. The deepest misery has succeeded to the comfort this population used to enjoy. In Spain, exactly the same. And the consequence is that now, when these states are thinking of recovering their weight in Europe and ceasing to be thus tributary to foreigners, they are establishing a different system. It is just the same in Russia, in Germany, in Prussia. And, gentlemen, without going to seek examples among our neighbours, let us only look at home, and see what was the state of things previous to 1786.—*Ib.*

39. The fact is, that Portugal gave over manufacturing bad cloth at a high price, when she found out that she could buy better and cheaper with her wine, and increase the wealth of Portugal, which was not much to begin with, by the difference. If the system has been altered, it was not through any wisdom of the Portuguese, but because the English knew better than to drink the bad wine of Portugal, when they might get good from France.

40. *A.* We are exceedingly sorry that the persons who, in their writings, have attacked the existing system, have not come before the council to defend their opinion there. If instead of a system founded on probabilities and surmises, they had opposed to us facts, we could have answered them. But what astonishes us more than all, is that the press which calls itself so liberal, proves it so ill in the present case; for it refuses to note our observations. (Answer of M. Barbet).—*Ib.*

40. There is no difficulty about having facts. Why has nobody asked the witness under examination, "If there was liberty of trade, do you think that supplying the goods to be given for the foreign cloths would make a gain to anybody, and to what amount? Do you think that the expenditure of the difference of price by the consumer would make a gain to anybody, and to what amount? Do you think that these two gains put together might equal what *you* would lose? Do you think that after this, the gain of the consumers, who are France, would stand out as nett gain?" It is pity there should be any scarcity of facts.

41. Si la levée de la prohibition pouvait ouvrir de nouveaux débouchés à notre industrie, et augmenter la masse de la consommation que nos fabriques alimentent, je concevrais une telle mesure; mais si, comme je le crois, elle ne peut avoir pour effet que d'amener les produits étrangers sur notre marché pour y partager notre consommation, je dois regarder cette mesure comme désastreuse, et je la repousse dans l'intérêt général de mon pays.—*Ib.*

41. La liberté du commerce augmenterait la masse de la consommation collective, de toute la différence des prix; de même que la quantité de bois coupé serait augmentée par la liberté de se servir d'une hache affilée au lieu d'une hache obtuse.

42. Nous finirons par cette réflexion que firent MM. les manufacturiers en coton dans un mémoire qu'ils présentèrent aux Chambres en 1815;

" On ne peut révoquer " en doute le vif désir que " témoignent les Anglais " d'obtenir un traité de " commerce (la levée de " la prohibition). C'est la meilleure réponse à faire à ceux qui pressent de le " conclure : certes on peut les croire compétents pour juger ce qui leur est favorable.—En matière commerciale, on peut réduire en axiome : que *ce que les " Anglais désirent obtenir, les Français doivent craindre de l'accorder.*"—*Interrogatoire de M. Caumont, président et délégué de la chambre de commerce de Rouen.* (Réponse de M. Caumont.)—*Ib.* 10 *novembre* 1834.

42. Pourquoi le boucher de Paris ne craindait-il pas d'acheter du marchand de Sceaux? Pourquoi ne soutiendrait-il pas comme les mémorialistes, que ce qui est dans l'intérêt de l'homme de Sceaux, doit nécessairement être suspect à celui de Paris, qui par cette raison, ne lui prendra pas de son bétail?

FIN DE LA CONTRE-ENQUÊTE.

41. If the removal of the prohibition could open us new channels for our industry, or increase the total of consumption which our manufactories supply, I could imagine some use in the measure. But if, as is my belief, it would have no effect but to bring the productions of foreigners into our market to share in our consumption, I am bound to regard the measure as ruinous, and I protest against it in the name of the general interest of my country.—*Ib.*

41. The liberty of commerce would increase the aggregate total of consumption, by all the difference of prices; in the same manner as the quantity of wood a man cuts, will be increased by the liberty of using a sharp hatchet instead of a blunt one.

42. I will finish with this observation, which was made by the manufacturers of cotton in a memorial which they presented to the Chambers in 1815.

'No man can feel any 'doubt about the lively in- 'terest the English show 'to obtain a Treaty of 'Commerce (which would 'remove the prohibition). 'This is the best answer that can be made to those who want to have such a 'Treaty concluded; for the English must be supposed competent to know 'what is good for themselves.—In commercial affairs, it may be laid down as 'an axiom, that *what the English want to procure, the French ought to be afraid to 'allow.*'—*Examination of M. Caumont, President and Delegate of the Chamber of Commerce of Rouen.*—(Answer of M. Caumont).—*Ib. November 10th* 1834.

42. Why is not the butcher of Paris to be afraid to buy from the dealer at Sceaux [*the great cattle market near Paris*]? Why does he not maintain like the memorialists, that whatever is for the interest of the man at Sceaux, must necessarily be a suspicious business for the man at Paris; who consequently ought to have nothing to do with his cattle?

END OF THE COUNTER-INQUIRY.

The Roman sold the field the victor of Cannæ was encamped upon, as if nothing extraordinary had occurred. The commercial mission is going on, though the ground is temporarily occupied by the Hannibal of Mont Saint-Jean.

PROGRAMME to the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for 1 April, 1835.

THE prerogative has been tried, and has gone down very quietly ; as it would if the bolus had been greater than it was. The lesson to be learned, is the nothingness of the reed the people were taught to trust to, in the pretended power of stopping the Supplies. The difference between what cannot be used, and what will not, is a matter worth little contest. Placed as the people are, to act always at the short end of the lever,—for that is the English of what the Tories call "the ancient conduits and *strainers*,"—the stopping the Supplies may be classed among the things which never will be done for them,—and least of all by the shuffling, vapouring, fibbing old gentlemen, that figure among their representatives*.

And what, after all, would have been the peril ; if it is separated from prejudices and panic ? If an individual should say to his coachman, "John, I intend the supplies for the coach-horses to go no longer through your hands,"—and John

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* The nothingness of the broken reed of "Stopping the Supplies" has since been formally announced in the House of Commons ; where the minister of the day has said in distinct words, "Stop the supplies, and you dissolve the constitution" (See *Times* of 17 Jan. 1838). That is, "Stop the supplies, and we directly put an end to the rule of law, and turn loose on you the military forces which we have provided with your money." If the minister who gave utterance to this rampant treason does not answer for it first or last to the country, the country may as well be given over to the first despot that will ask for it.

The other pretended strong-holds of the people are equally delusions. We boast of the Habeas Corpus "when we've got it ;" which means any time but when it is of any use. For, the moment a period of that kind arrives, the Habeas Corpus is suspended by our masters as a matter of course. All other imagined popular securities are equally at their mercy. Let a minister give the word, and there shall be "established an authority which in the strictest sense of the word is despotic" (Lord Durham's Proclamation of 9 Oct. 1838; see *Morning Chronicle* of 6 and 7 Nov. 1838); "the constitution" shall be "suspended, all representative government annihilated, and the people deprived of all control over their own affairs." And this is not the description of an enemy, but of a *soi-disant* Liberal leader, glorying in being the agent, and whose followers of the same class are ready to eat us up quick, if we doubt his fitness above all men for directing the affairs of a free country. The trial by jury is ours, just so long as it can be trusted to do the work of the government. The instant it cannot, the ministerial organ shall announce that "the trial by jury is but ill adapted to promote the ends of public justice" (See *Morning Chronicle*, 15 Oct. 1838), and courts-martial shall be substituted, every member of which ought to hold up his hand for murder, as having put prisoners of war to death in cold blood, on pretence of an Act for preventing Mutiny and Desertion among his own troops.

The truth is, we want *A CONSTITUTION*. Not a constituted form of government ; for in that sense there is a constitution in hell, which is not what we mean. But we want a recognised rule, which those who are "the *tenants*, not the *owners* of the estate," shall not dare to transgress. The time will come, when the cry in Great Britain will be for "a constitution," as it has been in other countries of Europe. The delusion of the people under the belief that they had something of the sort already, is what has prevented its taking place before ; and we are blessed with ministers who, on this point at least, seem bent on drawing the truth from the bottom of her well.—*Added in Jan.* 1840.

were to reply, "Then, sir, your horses shall be starved; the oats shall be let run about the stable, and the hay-loft turned into the street,"—what fat timid gentleman would be found to yield for a moment to such a threat? What is there to do, but let John walk out, and Peter walk in, and all stable-concerns go on without interruption? If John attempts resistance, let him take the chances of the tread-mill that may follow; but the master must be an uncommon gull, that should see in John's threats a reason for giving way.

The House of Commons has the same irresistible power of putting a *veto* on the existence of a Ministry. It has only to say No, and the next hour affairs must go on under other hands. But there is a wide difference between its possessing this power, and the people's finding representatives who will put it into execution. Everything is calculated and prepared against the people. The whole machinery of the state is directed to their disappointment. Every conceivable intimidation and difficulty is thrown into their way during an election; and when that is over, the bait of a seven years' possession of power is held out to tempt the elected to begin the process of deceiving them.

The reforming pretensions of the Tory ministry, are pretty nearly exhausted. A wary hand at the helm might have eked them out a little longer; but it is difficult to repress the outbreaks of subaltern zeal. The displays of feeling have been curious and characteristic. The first symptom that broke out, was a proposal to check the multitude and middle classes from excessive riding in cabriolets and omnibuses. The next was an undertaking to make a perfect arrangement for firing on the people. After these came a Church Reform bill, ending in a demand for two more bishops. A bill for manning the Navy, aiming at the confirmation of a gross and unjust exercise of the prerogative, which it should have been among the first businesses of the legislature of a free country to remove. A plan for the Commutation of Tithes, directed to connecting the interest of the clergy with that of the landed tyranny, by making the commutation for a Corn Rent. The Church has had warning, that the Corn Laws will come down; and it would not pass the worldly wisdom for which she has a reputation, if she was to adopt something like Robinson Crusoe's plan for his gunpowder, and pray to have *half* the commutation invested in the funds. No man can expect to have everything his own way; and this would fairly make the clergy neutral on the question of the Corn Laws. The Dissenters are to have a Marriage bill, which the organs of the Tories tell them, is intended to mingle them with felons. They are not to be admitted into the English Universities; and they are not to

have a University of their own. The proposal of the French government for an exchange of literary works on the same basis on which governments regulate their demand of copies from authors, is rejected, and the insulting answer given, that the Tories will take 500*l*. worth of ultra-royalist publications if it suits them, and return as many. Ninety shillings per load on Timber, are to be taken from the consumer and from the tradesmen with whom he would have laid out the difference, that half of it, or 45*s*., may be given to a dishonest "interest" in return for votes in parliament. And as there can be no exclusive predilection for timber, the ministry must be supposed ready to offer the wealth of the community in all directions, for this sort of barter. It is for this that senates meet, and councillors are gathered together. A man would be a simpleton, in the actual situation of things, who sought to preserve himself from simple robbery; but there ought to be a resistance somewhere, to this system of robbing men of *two* shillings, to bestow *one* of them for votes in parliament, and throw the other into the sea.

If these symptoms are not enough, a little patience will give more. There has been great weakness, great folly, great fraud, in more quarters than can be described; but the brewing is working itself clear, and the course of nature is rapidly bringing forward the results which nothing can stave off.

Westminster Review, 1 April, 1835.

Art. I.—*The Princess; or the Beguine.* By Lady Morgan, Author of "O'Donnell," &c.—London; Bentley. 3 vols. 8vo. 1835.

LADY Morgan took such an unfair advantage of the masculine portion of the public, in chusing the moment when European freedom might say with the apostle "no man stood by me," to brave the alliance of despots abroad and monopolize the honours of the Quarterly at home,—that she cannot wonder at any quantity of spleen she may have since encountered. As the time however has come, when the accused before the ancient Nero frowns over Rome in marble from the loftiest of its palaces; so a shorter lapse of years has turned the tables on the modern autocrats in politics and in literature, and reversed the opinion of the world upon the merits of the opposing parties.

A novel or fictitious history, in these serious times, may be considered as an instrument on which the master has the right of discoursing any music, which may tend to excite the passions and create the feelings his purpose may select. The object of the earliest novelists appears to have been to amuse; for which

the world's freshness afforded them ample scope. The next, or early moderns, seem to have fixed on the joys and pains of successful and unsuccessful love; on which they so o'erwrought, as in some sort to bring fictitious history under the ban of the serious and the self-denying. The serious themselves, however, could not withstand the temptation of applying the seductive vehicle to their own purposes; and the authoress of "Cœlebs," in the intervals between the assaults of her two enemies "sin and bile," may perhaps be fairly stated as having opened the gates, never to be closed again, which let loose the novel on the whole range of human contests and pursuits.

The powerful and great have never wanted story-tellers to be pathetic on their magnanimity when they either abstain from evil, or consent to do any good like ordinary men. A kick from their loftiness is to be held most gracious; and the rudest insult is to be set store by, as if their Highnesses' rheum were amber. It is in human nature; and as long as the temptation is there, there is no help for it. But this only makes the obligation greater, to such as will put forward and adorn the working of those homely affections and familiar interests, which crush the pageantry of power whenever the two are brought into fair collision. A people may be kicked for a season, and their mouthpieces, if they have no better, call it gracious. But the hope of mankind is in the kick too much; and when that comes, it needs no curious research in history to tell the issue.

One of these outbreaks, the Belgian one, forms a principal part of the groundwork of the present story. It is true that the boiling over of the Belgian pot, was in point of time the consequence of the ebullition of the Gallic; but the boiling materials were there, or the phænomenon could not have taken place. Many lights are thrown by the novelist's true fiction or feigned truth, on the reasons why the people beat kings, when kings give the last blow too many to the people.

The following is from an English aristocrat's collection of revolutionary reminiscences in that rather dull smuggling town Ostend.—

'Meantime, I read and saunter away my time, in your own *poco-curante* way; and have already made an acquaintance with some of the natives that rather interests me in the Belgian Revolution: hitherto, I confess, the object of my indifference, at the least. I had been more than disgusted by its brawling and unsatisfactory details of inconclusive negotiations; having watched its progress and protocols, through the spectacles of the Holy Alliance, and under some certain social prejudices, for which, perhaps, our London coteries are answerable.'

'One of my approaches to the ramparts (where I actually live) is by a rope-walk, where an old *maître fabriquant de cordage* presents

such a perfect figure of one of Teniers' *drôles*, that I bought some pencils and drawing-card for the purpose of sketching him, (the first time I have taken up a pencil, by the bye, for eight years.) He saw what I was about, and lest he should be offended, I scratched in a bit of a ruined building, and asked him the name of the place. He looked at it, and sighed. "Ah, Seigneur Dieu!" he observed in excellent French, 'there is nothing now in this town worth making a picture of—it is a ruin. Some thirty years ago, there were still some fine things to be seen in it; but the *blocus continental* of the Emperor Napoleon gave the *coup de grace* to the prosperity of Ostend; and then, to make bad worse, we were given over to the king of the Dutch; and it was his cursed Dutch gunpowder that exploded in 1826, and completed our misfortunes. The government magazine, to be sure, went up along with it; that was some comfort; but the town was nearly reduced to ruins. The earthquake was felt at Brussels. The explosion took its course along the shore. The *Haze-gras*, the finest *place* in Flanders, became a heap of rubbish; and had not Notre Dame d'Ostende watched over us, our ancient city would have been the tomb of its inhabitants.'

"'*Apparemment*,' I said, as we walked on together towards the ramparts, '*monsieur n'est pas Orangiste?*'

"'*Comment, monsieur!*' he replied, '*je suis Belge, moi,—Saquer*!*'

"At that moment we overtook a young man, with death stamped on his pale but handsome face. He was leaning on the arm of a young girl dressed in the Flemish costume, and was supported by a crutch. He wore a blue linen blouse, with red worsted epaulettes; and his little casquet was ornamented with the Belgian tri-coloured cockade (red, yellow, and black), worn with something of a military smartness.

"'It is one of our *Blessés*,' said the old man, taking off his cap, and saluting him respectfully. *Bonjour, mon brave! comment va la santé?*'

"'*Pas mal*,' said the young man, with a faint smile, as he seated himself on a stone bench.

"The girl opened a little basket, presented him some biscuits and fruit, and laid a flask of wine and a horn cup beside him. After a short dialogue in Flemish, animated by a smile which could not be mistaken, she kissed her hand and turned away. I took my place beside the poor invalid, whose appearance affected me. I made some idle remarks on the sea air, and its salubrity to an invalid.

"'*C'est un de nos Blessés*,' repeated the old man, folding his arms upon his breast, and looking with pride on the young sufferer. 'He is a hero of the 26th of September, our great and glorious revolution.'

"'Did the revolution of Brussels reach to Ostend?" I asked.

"'Reach it!' repeated the old man indignantly: '*par exemple!* we did not wait for that; we met it more than half-way—*n'est-ce pas, mon brave?*'

* 'The Flemish pronunciation of *sacre*.'

" ' *Je crois bien!*' said the *Blessé*, either restored by the wine he had supped, or kindling at recollections which had their influence over his life—nay, his death! for his hectic cheek and flashing eye spoke of rapid dissolution.

" ' *He* can tell you something of our revolution, sir,' said the old man. 'You English gentlemen believe nothing, know nothing about us. I have talked to many of them on the ramparts, and they were all alike ignorant on the subject. *Eh, mon Dieu!* that poor lad there, who was *mitraillé* by the Dutch, was the first to plant the Belgian flag on our town. He can tell you better than I, whether we had a taste of the revolution of Brussels, or no.'

" ' I felt that I had shocked the self-love of the patriotism of Ostend, and hastened to acknowledge my ignorance and to desire information. The young patriot seemed flattered, and proud of the reference. After a little hesitation, a clearing of the voice, and a summing up of spirits, he almost burst forth,

" ' The cry of liberty, monsieur, had resounded through Belgium. It found no tardy echo in Flanders; for if *nous autres Flamands* are less explosive than the brave *Liegois*, we were not less sensible of our grievances. Our hatred of the Dutch was of long date. We had already had our political revolts, and blood had been spilt; the people of Ostend and its arrondissements having been irritated by the conduct of the Dutch *commandant de place.*

" ' *Bien, monsieur;* it was on the evening of the 26th of September, about six o'clock, (*I* ought to remember it, Monsieur Ernest, for I had come to make preparations for my marriage,) that the firing from Bruges was heard at Ostend. The people rose instantly; ill-armed indeed, but with the Belgian colours at their head, and with the brave Jean *de Bataille*, an ex-officer of marine, to lead them. We directed our steps to the *Grande Place*, and the guard was disarmed in a moment. The troops flew to retake the post; a *feu de peloton* killed nine of our bourgeois; and I had the honour to receive wounds, of which I am yet not quite cured!

" ' On the 27th, the troops of Bruges retreated on Ostend; and on the 28th, the popular movement recommenced, with more violence than ever. It was then that the Belgian soldiers separated from the Dutch, and joined the bourgeois. On the 30th, the troops capitulated; and surrendering the town to the Belgian military and the town-folk, sailed on the same day for Flushing.

" ' Our example,' continued the young *Blessé*, ' was not followed, but met by the towns of the neighbourhood. Each made its own little revolution. Furnes, Nieuport, Ypres, Dixmude, Courtrai, and the major part of the communes of the *plat pays*, had scarcely more than to disarm the *maréchaussée;* and by the 3rd of October, in the space of eight days, the Belgian flag floated on the belfries of all our villages, to the very verge of Flanders. *C'était une belle révolution que la nôtre!*'

" ' Nothing could be more animating than the countenance of the old man during this detail; and his ' *Voilà!*' ' *Pardie!*' *Je le crois bien!*' ' *Voyez donc, monsieur!*' formed an amusing running com-

mentary upon the text. We were still at our '*belle révolution*' when the pretty *fiancée* returned, for she was evidently the bride of the interrupted espousals. She reproved the *Blessé* for having talked too much, and drew him away; but not before I had apologized for a curiosity which might prove injurious to him, and obtained and taken down his address.—The young man slowly crawled away, supported by his mistress.

"The old rope-maker sighed, as he followed them, with eyes full of compassion.

"'She will soon be spared this trouble, *pauvre petite!*' he said. 'Every time I see him, *Jean* is a step nearer to his grave!'

"'She is of course his mistress?' I said.

"'She was his *fiancée*, monsieur; and was to have been married, when the revolution broke out. Jean was a poor lad, but of respectable parentage, and one of the best workmen in the hat-manufactory at Thourout. Marie is the daughter of a *garde-champêtre*. His cottage stands in the forest of Wynendale. She was sent here to learn to make lace; and everything was settled for the nuptials, when the 26th of September arrived. He has told you the rest, except that her father is an Orangeist, and will not now hear of their union.'

"It is astonishing how much this little romance has interested me. I intend to look to these poor people, and try whether better medical advice cannot be procured to save the young patriot from his impending fate.

"That *I* should become interested in the Belgian revolution, and at Ostend!—a partisan, too, on the wrong side! But the animated narrative of the unfortunate Jean, his youthful mistress, and her Orange father, have worked on my imagination; and this domestic episode has really excited a feeling concerning the political drama itself, not quite consonant with my habitual views of the subject. It is strange how a phrase—a word giving a tint, a colour, to events—operates this species of enchantment on the coolest auditors. The forest of Wynendale! Ypres, Courtrai, names associated with the glorious wars of our own revolution. Even the '*nous autres Flamands*' of honest Jean identifying the speaker with a national sentiment, wins one for a moment to an affection for his cause, and a belief in the possible permanency of its success, at variance with all preconceived opinion.

"Modern story makes but little part of our school and university education; and though one reads afterwards to a particular point, still there are few Englishmen sufficiently acquainted with the history of these countries, to feel their enthusiasm kindle at aught that concerns the present destinies of its people. Sometimes indeed, when one has 'to rise' upon a question of Lord Palmerston's protocols, or the treaty of 1815, and has to get up a hit for the debate, one sends to Murray for the newest and shortest book on the matter; but, the purpose served, the facts are forgotten.

"Since my arrival here I have been reading an old black-letter chronicle of the Low Countries, called *La Chronique de Nangis*,

which I picked up here, and which, as well as Meyer's history of Flanders, has all the interest of a romance. To that circumstance, probably, the story of the young *Blessé* is indebted for a portion of the seduction it has exercised on me. You must first warm to a people by their antecedents, before you can interest yourself for their actual position."

"P.S.—The packet is in. A letter from Harris's head clerk incloses me the sum I wrote for; but he waits the return of his *chef* from Mottram Hall, to proceed with the rest of my commission, instead of sending me my letter of credit at once. This is pleasant; for I have already expended a good part of the money he has sent me. Was there ever such an accumulation of bores! The *exigeante* Princess, moreover, has carried off all the post-horses left by the travelling hordes of English; so I start by the *treckschuyt* at two o'clock, where I shall be huddled in with other specimens of the animal creation, male and female, as in Noah's ark. But, at this moment, I really am so steeped in 'tender sympathies' for others, that my own annoyances sit lightly on me.

"I went an hour ago to see my poor *Blessé*. I found his humble dwelling in the upper story of an old edifice which probably escaped the siege by Spinola; for nothing was ever so antique or dilapidated.

"The chamber, No. 3, *au second*, was easily found: no door was closed against the intruder. As I approached, a figure in black, who appeared just to have left the apartment, drew up in the narrow passage to let me pass. I think it was a female; but the picture within occupied all my attention. On a sort of truckle bed lay the extenuated form of poor Jean. The few hours which had elapsed since we parted had made great ravages, and he was in the very agony of death, though scarcely paler than I had seen him the day before. His little cap with its tri-coloured cockade was placed beside him; and a priest was praying before a temporary altar at the head of the bed. Poor *Marie*, half prostrate on the floor, knelt, with her face buried in the counterpane; while the bluff old rope-maker knelt too, and was in the act of prayer. He caught a glimpse, however, of my figure, as I receded from the door, unwilling to disturb the solemn scene; and he followed me out. I had my purse in my hand; and as if in reply to my presumed intention, he said,

"'You are very kind, monsieur; but a good religious woman, *une bonne et charitable dévote*, has already provided for the wants of the invalid. But poor Jean has now no more wants!'

"'And Marie?' I said.

"'Marie has her parents and her own industry to support her; and though from a compatriot and a *bonne Belge* there is no degradation in the *Blessés* receiving assistance, yet from a stranger and the native of another land it is different. I thank you, however, in behalf of my countryman for your kindly intention—*vous êtes un brave monsieur!*'—and he shook my hand rather roughly.

"Mine host of the hotel has come for my English letters, to renew his apologies for having taken me for a suspicious character, and to announce the departure of the *treckschuyt*.

"Let me hear from you at Brussels; and so farewell." "F. M."

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If the laborious classes find their interests in popular freedom, the classes next above them in power and intelligence are not deficient in motives for aiding them in the pursuit.

'—the swampy banks of the canal near Ostend had been gradually exchanged for scenes of more broken and woody outline; the country rising into highly cultivated ridges on either side. As Bruges was approached, rural prosperity and beauty became more striking. Snug cottages and substantial farmhouses, deeply coloured, all in a Dutch picture, peeped through trees, and presented images of comfort and ease, which, throughout even this, the flattest part of Belgium, amply compensate for the absence of the more striking features of mountain countries. On some spots the hay was still making, and sent forth its perfume on the air; and wherever man appeared, his fresh colour and decent garb betokened the full suppliance of the first wants of life.

'A little further on, the *treckschuyt* drew up for a moment near a garden gate of an extremely neat *campagne*, and took in two gentlemen. They swept the decks with their hats; and their low bows were returned by salutes from the Flemish party in the boat with equal courtesy. One of the strangers took his place with his face turned towards the town, and his hat drawn down to shelter him from the oblique rays of the sun: he was of the middle age, Flemish-built, full and comely. His companion was a young man of lively and interesting appearance, and might have belonged to any country. Their conversation was carried on in French, which, by its context, revealed that they were evidently inhabitants of Bruges or its neighbourhood, and were returning at that early hour from a dinner-party, at the villa of a friend, to the town.

'There was something in all this, that recalled the social habits and rational hours of the middle classes of England of older times, almost refreshing to one *blasé* by the enfeebling and corrupt usages of his own class and day; and Sir Frederick, after an effort in his own shyness and reserve, was tempted to seek an opening to intercourse by asking the period at which the canal from Bruges to Ostend had been cut. The two Flemish gentlemen turned round, and, bowing as Flemings only bow, seemed eager to reply.

"It was constructed," said the elder of the two, "in 1613, and is a little monument of what even a transient peace of twelve years can effect,—a pause during that sanguinary period of European history, in the seventeenth century. You remember, doubtless, sir, the truce so long desired between Holland, Spain, England, and France?"

'Sir Frederick nodded an equivocal assent, and endeavoured to "rub up" his recent readings.

"Yes," said the young man; "it was a *trève de Dieu*, to give the despots of Europe time to breathe, and think of new modes of oppression and violence. A pretty set they were! Your James the First, monsieur, false to his allies, like a true Stuart! Louis the Thirteenth, or rather his minister Richelieu; Maurice of Nassau, who was mystifying the Dutch, and planning the murder of that glorious patriot Olden Berneveldt; and Philip the Third, of Spain, the worthy

successor of the monster Philip the Second, who then ruled over the blood-steeped and smoking ruins of Flanders and Brabant, in the person of his viceroys, the Archdukes (as they were called) Albert and Isabella ;—glorious times those !" A murmur of assent followed this speech.

" It was a great epoch for us," said the elder gentleman. " We were handed over, to be sure, from bloody Spain to leaden Austria ; but Albert and Isabella were like the princes of fairy tales, ' *de bons princes ;*' so we began to labour in this pause of peace in repairing the ravages of war : agriculture revived, roads were opened, canals were constructed ; and though our ancient city of Bruges had then no court, and had lost the early splendour of her commerce, still the minor operations of trade renewed their activity ; and the reviving prosperity of the country is yet visible in many monuments of utility and civilization."

" *Eh bien, monsieur,*" said the younger patriot, " I trust the five great powers of the present day will let us breathe a little now, and give us time to recover. Nations are always for peace when left to themselves ; but kings, and those who minister to kings, seldom leave them the choice."

' Sir Frederick, interested in the conversation, observed, " I believe England concurs fully in the wish for peace. All parties with us agree, that it is the interest of Europe to maintain it."

" To be sure," observed the young and animated Fleming. " Look around you, sir ; look at those lovely orchards and beautiful gardens ; they are the work of persevering Flemish industry, raised on artificial soils ! It would be a pity to see the labour of years ravaged by war, *n'est-ce pas, monsieur* ? Yet, sooner than forfeit our national independence, which we have so hardly conquered, we are ready to fight the battle over again to-morrow."

" *Jour de Dieu !*" said another Flemish gentleman, " you are quite right ! If we are to be free, we must be prepared for the cost ; for right is too often with the strongest. *Le bon Dieu est toujours pour les gros bataillons,* as Spain and Austria found in our unfortunate country, in other times."

' The setting sun now fell in showers of gold on the Gothic towers of Bruges, and were reflected in bright points from their golden fanes and moulded casements.

" What a splendid picture !" said Sir Frederick.

" Yes," said the elder of the two last arrivals ; " it is well calculated to make an impression on those who are not, like myself, deprived of the organs of vision."

' Sir Frederick started ; and looking under the broad hat of the last speaker, perceived that he was indeed deprived of sight.

" That high belfry," continued the blind gentleman, " is the *clocher de Notre Dame de Bruges,* one of the loftiest in Flanders. We see it at sea, and it directs the vessels into the port of Ostend."

" The view is indeed splendid," said Sir Frederick Mottram ; " but one always fears that the illusion will be dissipated, on entering these ancient towns. It generally is so in Italy, where the towns are perfect disappointments."

"Those of Flanders are the reverse," said the young Brugeois: "the domestic architecture of the middle ages in the Netherlands is the most perfect and picturesque of Europe. Flanders was the cradle of the arts; but though our national rulers, our *Comtes Grands Forestiers* and Dukes of Burgundy, were magnificent patrons, it was the merchants and tradesmen of Bruges who raised those beautiful edifices which, if you have any taste for such pursuits, you will be delighted to examine."

"The arts are almost the only subject that interests me very much," said Sir Frederick, with some emphasis.

"*Monsieur est-il artiste de profession?*" said the black-hooded lady, putting the card on which she had been drawing into her book.

"Only an amateur, madam," he replied, a little hurt at being taken for anything professional.

"*Eh bien,*" she continued; "look before you! There is one of those originals from which our Flemish painters might have taken their subject. There is the *chiaro oscuro* of Hobbima, in which he equals Ruysdael. There are his deep masses; and there is his setting sun, in which he rivalled Claude. Those trees have his feathery but firm touch; and the whole distribution of light and shade is his! Our Flemish painters all studied in the great school of Nature, and Hobbima most of all."

"*Madame a raison!*" said the young Brugeois. It is to that circumstance our school owes its immortal freshness, . . ."

"The absence of all mannerism," said the lady, "and the truth that belongs to all ages."

"To what, then," said Sir Frederick, "do you attribute the decline of your school?"

"To war, sir," replied the young man: "the restless wars of France, Austria, and Prussia stopped their progress in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. For thirty years, music was thus stopped in Germany; war rendered music stationary in France, till Rossini and the new Italian school were permitted to revive the art: nor would Belgium have been compelled to borrow from other countries that divine art in which she once herself excelled, had she not been always involved in contentions in which *she* had no interest."

"But you have had fifteen years of peace in Belgium," said Sir Frederick.

"Fifteen years of discontent and brooding vengeance," replied the young man, with fire. "The arts must have encouragement; genius must have its recompense. Genius, *qui marche à l'égal des souverains*, must still eat. But under the Dutch government, *figurez-vous!* William considers the arts merely as an inferior branch of industry. Painting and music!—bah! the Arcadia of William was a manufactory, and his Magnus Apollo *un bon gros fabricant*; the clacking of looms was his music, and the workshops of Ghent his Olympus."

There was a general laugh among the auditors, among whom there was not, it appeared, a single Orangeist or partisan of the Nassaus.

"Yes," said the blind gentleman, "we Flemish are all born artists, I believe, if circumstances favoured our talents. When Guicciardini visited us in 1567, he observed, (I beg pardon for quoting our own translation,) '*Les Belges sont les maîtres de la musique, qu'ils ont fait renaître, et qu'ils ont porté à un grand point de perfection. Ils naissent avec un génie heureux pour la cultiver.*'"

"Without that *génie*," said Sir Frederick, insensibly interested in the discussion, "a nation may buy artists, as England does, but she never will be musical. I am ashamed to say, that, until now, I was ignorant that the Belgians were a musical people."

"*Comment, monsieur!*" said the lady, brusquely. "Do you not know that the founder of the present musical system was a Belgian, who added the seventh note, and divided the scale into octaves—Henri de Put? And then there was our Roland Lassus, of Mons: the Italians call him *Orlando di Lasso*. Then there was *Tinturier de Nivelles;* besides Deprès of Antwerp, who invented counterpoint, in the sixteenth century. And, in modern times, have we not Méhul, Berriot, and the divine Grétry of Liège?"

'The Flemish lady then whispered something to the harpist, and she struck up "*O Richard, O mon roi.*"

"Bravo! bravo!" was echoed on every side.

"*La belle musique!*" said the blind gentleman, humming the air to the harp.

"*Oui, oui.*" said the younger speaker. *You* knew Grétry, Monsieur Rodenbach; and the amateurs of the day preferred him to every one. *Mais nous autres jeunes gens*, we prefer the *Brabançonne. Chantez-la, ma bonne amie.*"

The harpist struck a few chords, and then sang as follows:—

Qui l' aurait cru! de l'arbitraire
Consacrant les affreux projets,
Sur nous de l'airain militaire
Un prince a lancé les boulets.
C'en est fait! Oui, Belges, tout change:
Avec Nassau plus d'indigne traité!
La mitraille a brisé l'Orange
Sur l'arbre de la liberté.

Et vous, objets de nobles larmes!
Braves, morts au feu des canons
Avant que la patrie en armes
Ait pu connaître, au moins, vos noms!
Sous l'humble terre où l'on vous range,
Dormez, martyrs! bataillon indompté
Dormez, en paix, loin de l'Orange,
Sous l'arbre de la liberté!

'The enthusiasm produced by this national hymn was a proof how far constitutional phlegm may yield to the excitement of circumstances. In the plaudits which followed, there was more of the mercurial temperament of the French, than of the supposed sobriety of the Flemish character.

'It was remarkable that, during the performance, the Italian exile sat with his face buried in his hands, and alone gave no outward token of sympathy with the cause. *He* was haply comparing the revolution of Belgium with the fruitless struggles for Italian liberty of which he was a victim. He had a brother in the dungeons of St. Angelo, and he was himself dead in law,—in poverty and in banishment. For Belgium, circumstance had done much; while every chance had turned against his own country. The blood of many of the best sons of Italy had stained her soil; while others, dispersed and lonely, brooded, like himself, beneath the chilly skies of the north, over the disappointment of their patriot hopes. How then could he sympathize where all was triumph, activity, and hope, and success!

'The little bark was now passing through the *Franc de Bruges*, whose every inch of ground recalled the unsubdued spirit of the Flemings of the middle ages.

"It was here," said the young Belgian, "that the tree of liberty was planted and nourished in the fourteenth century. When the Comtes de Flandres endeavoured to extend an unmixed despotism over the people, the cities, to strengthen themselves, endeavoured to obtain a mastery over the surrounding country: but the population of the *Franc de Bruges* threw off the yoke of both, and obtained for it great privileges: it was ruled by its own magistrates, according to its own laws; and took a place among the *Etats de Flandres* as an independent power.

"Let us hope," said another passenger, "that the spirit of the ancient times is not extinct."

'It was now very evident that the Flemings were desirous of impressing their English fellow-travellers with a conviction of the perfect success of their revolution and its consequences; and Sir Frederick Mottram was slowly yielding himself to a cause for which he had hitherto felt no interest, through the medium of his imagination. The arts were mixing themselves with his political opinions; Hobbima, and Grétry, and the *Brabançonne*, presented a neutral ground, where Fancy, like Archimedes, might fix her levers, to move the world of prejudice in which he had hitherto lived. He was beginning to feel for Belgium; and feeling is a powerful step to conviction.'—vol. i. pp. 300—312.

The course of the story is full of illustrations of the small chance the petty sentiment of personal attachment to sovereigns, which under the name of loyalty means little more than an interest in existing wrongs, has of maintaining its ground against the substantial feelings of a people, when once directed by a certain degree of intelligence and information.

"When I was at Brussels, in the year Twenty-nine, it appeared to me that the Dutch King was popular."

"With those with whom you lived, monsieur, he probably was so. In all communities there are castes whose interests are bound up with those of the ruling power, be that power what it may; and it has been generally observed, that the aggregate of English travel-

lers are drawn, by a sort of natural affinity, towards them. Brussels, sir, has its Faubourg St. Germain, as well as Paris."

"I judge rather from my own observation," said Sir Frederick, dryly. "William of Nassau was at least calculated to be popular by his unceremonious and accessible manners. His exterior was that of a *père de famille;* and he moved through your streets like a private gentleman. In exterior, at least, he was the *beau idéal* of a citizen king."

"Nevertheless," said the gentleman, "he was an absolute king, after the most approved model of the Holy Alliance. Affecting to be his own minister, he set all the forms of constitutional government at naught. He made his will the sole law; and that will was dictated by the local prejudices and narrow views of religious bigotry. Besides, he received Belgium as a dependency on Holland, as an increase of its territory; and he has governed exclusively in the Dutch interest. He has violated our consciences, enslaved our education, silenced the press, corrupted the law, imposed arbitrary and unequal taxes, and loaded us with debt. He has imposed his language on our tribunals; he has promoted Dutchmen to all places of trust and emolument; and, in one word, has made us aliens in our own cities, and set a mark of reprobation upon every thing that is Belgian. How then could he be popular?"

"We, in England, have been accustomed to regard these accusations," said Sir Frederick coldly, "as enormously exaggerated."

"That is a question of fact; and facts will speak for themselves," said the Belgian gentleman, with equal pertinacity of manner. "But as you have taken the trouble to come amongst us, and do us the honour to say you are interested in our cause, you will, I trust, inquire and judge for yourself. All we ask of strangers is to throw off their own prejudices, and not to adopt those of any fraction, or category, which is not the nation. Something, too, of our story should be known. We have always been a restless people. Through all our records, it is obvious that a sentiment of public justice is deep-rooted in our hearts; and that there is nothing so galling to the Belgian spirit as *le joug de l'étranger.* Centuries of suffering have not hardened us to its bitterness; for so strong is our feeling of national independence, that it has sometimes degenerated even into municipal jealousy."

"You think, then, that there is no chance of restoration for the House of Nassau?" asked Sir Frederick, interested by the warmth of the speaker.

"None whatever," was the firm and simultaneous reply of the two ardent Belgians. "From the moment when its expulsion was voted in our national congress, its fate was decided. Even that indeed was but a form: the family had already been expelled by public opinion."—vol. ii. pp. 9—11.

It is only fair to give something on the opposite side; and it is given accordingly.—

'Something more than half-way between Bruges and Ghent, a

little chaise came toddling down a green lane, and drew up on the canal. A brisk young man bounded out of it, and took his place on board. He had a packet of papers, tied with red tape, under his arm. His toilet was more Parisian than Flemish; and a slight expression, not absolutely of self-importance, but an indescribable something in demeanour, stamped him obviously a provincial *employé*, a demi-official, or government man. A universal sweeping of the deck with hats, indicated that he was known to all; and he had a *poignée de main* from one, a punch in the side from another, and a tickle in the ribs from a third. His arrival seemed to animate the conversation: questions and answers flew about in quick succession: here and there, the more significant words were dropped in French; and by degrees that language was substituted for the Flemish, which had been hitherto preferably spoken. The conversation turned, as usual, on politics; and the young *Employé* soon found himself exposed to the good-humoured railleries and epigrams of his interlocutors.

'A remark by Sir Frederick, on the peculiar fertility of the scenes through which they were gliding, drew the attention of the *Employé*, who pointed out to his notice a farm to the left of the road, as an evidence of the fact; and he entered into a disquisition on the general prosperity of the people.

"No one," he said, "can give you better information on such subjects than myself: it is in my special department."

'He took off his hat, and bowed to the ground; and Sir Frederick returned his courtesy in kind. After this mutual introduction through the agency of their hats, he continued—

"From my official position, I can speak to the flourishing state of the fertile province of Flanders: let the other provinces answer for themselves. From this spot to Antwerp, through the Waesland (once a rank and splashy marsh,) it is the same scene of abundance, the Canaan of the Netherlands: and when people have wherewith to eat, drink, and make merry, they will surely be contented with the free order of things under which they thrive and enjoy; though particular interests, under temporary disadvantages, may lead a few discontented individuals to propagate feelings of dislike among those who have no cause to complain."

'This was a palpable hit, and was returned by the droll of the party, a fat, fair young man, the very type, in dress and figure, of "*mon petit Charles qui aime les plats sucrés*," in the French farce of the "*Rendezvous*."

"What is most miraculous in this state of prosperity, monsieur," observed *mon petit Charles*, addressing Sir Frederick, "is, that we are all starving in the midst of plenty."

"You must not cite yourself as an example," said the *Employé;* and the laugh was again with him.

"*Ma foi*," replied Charles, "I live upon my means; and it is not under the present regime that I grew fat. Though our soil be fertile, (which it is, in spite of all government, good or bad,) our manufactures and commerce are in ruin. The markets, open to us under the old regime, are now closed; our ports are inundated with British

goods; and the manufacturing interests are sacrificed to the agricultural; while our looms are silent, and our trade at a stand."

"So much for the *matériel*," said a sturdy-looking cotton manufacturer, in whose firm the late King was supposed to have a large share; "and now for the *spirituel*. The country is governed by the priests; and there is not an *aubergiste* in all Flanders who will dare dress you to-morrow (being Friday) a mutton cutlet, or a *cuisse de volaille*, under penalty of excommunication. The black beetles are creeping back into our houses, and getting round our wives and daughters, just as in the old Spanish and Austrian times."

"Oh! as for the priests, I give them up, Monsieur Van B———, to your castigation," replied the government champion; "but remember, that their present influence is but a reaction on the intolerance and persecution of the late government; which forced the clergy into the ranks of political opposition, and, in making them partakers in our glorious revolution, bestowed upon them a well-merited popularity. The present government, moreover, is not answerable for the bigotry of our villages. Liberty of conscience (liberty the fullest for every possible religious opinion) is a fundamental condition of the Belgian constitution; and if the priests have power, it is the free gift of the people. The government do no more than administer a liberal dispensation in a liberal spirit."

"Liberal enough," reiterated Monsieur Van B———, shaking his fat sides; "for they leave us the liberty to beg or starve."

"Or even to attempt a counter-revolution," said the man of office, dryly; "or accept of missions from the Hague."

'Here the conversation was interrupted for a moment by the ascent, from the cabin below deck, of a tall, dry, Spanish-looking person, buttoned up from head to foot in a grey great-coat, with a casquet on his head and a cigar between his teeth. He was evidently a person *d'importenza*, and was in fact a great landholder, the descendant of a Spanish family; as the Brussels merchant whispered Sir Frederick in broken English: interrupting for the first time his imperturbable silence. He was, he said, a great favourite with the hated Dutch minister Van Maanen; an ex-burgomestre of * * *; and had held a handsome situation under the abdicated government.

"*Eh bien, monsieur*," said the Ghent manufacturer, addressing the hidalgo, "you have come on deck to smell your orchards and hop grounds *en passant:* they are really teeming."

'At this moment the boat was passing an extensive and very elegant villa, with ornamented grounds.

"Yes, sir," he replied with Spanish gravity; "they are mine to-day, but whose to-morrow? Every month now, it seems, must have its revolution; and where there is no security, property has but few charms for its proprietor. Besides, when a population of four millions is compelled to support an army of more than a hundred thousand men, the hops and orchards teem in vain; they belong less to the nominal owners, than to the tax-gatherer."

"That comes of the vicious policy of the great European powers," muttered the Brussels merchant.

"But who exposes us to them? The European powers were with

us when the House of Nassau occupied the throne," replied the *Ex-employé*. We had then the Bourbons for friends, Prussia for a kinsman, and the sister of the Emperor of Russia for our future queen, living in our capital and walking in our streets."

"*Ah! parlez-moi de ça,*" interrupted the Brussels wine-merchant, starting on his legs: "If we had no other reason for the Four Days, the getting rid of the Russians would be enough. What did we want with the barbarian Autocrat's sister? That Russian alliance was the *bête noire* of the Belgians. What liberty could be expected under a connexion, which made Belgium a kitchen-garden to Petersburg, and brought Brussels within sound of the despot's knout? But, thank God! we are '*quittes pour la peur*;' and there is no danger now of hearing a Greek priest celebrating mass in the palace of our hereditary prince!"

"*L'un portant l'autre,*" said *mon petit Charles,* while all seemed to smile at the Russian terrors of the good Bruxellois; "I think a Greek priest saying mass in the chapel of the Princess of Orange, is not worse than a Roman priest governing the cabinet of the King of Belgium, and commanding a majority in the Chambers."

"And is that the case?" demanded Sir Frederick, amused by the discussion.

"To be sure it is, monsieur," said Monsieur Van B———. "In the rural districts the franchise is so low, that the electors are in the hands of the peasantry; who implicitly follow the directions of the priests, and return their nominees, to the exclusion of the informed and civilized part of the community. If things are to go on thus, we may expect a return to the awful times of the Philips and the Alvas; and our children may live to see the Inquisition restored in the Grand Sablon of Brussels, and the fires of an *Auto-da-fé* blazing on the site of the Recollets in the Rue du Soleil at Ghent."

"Then," said the Bruxellois, "they will see restored what was never suffered to exist in Belgium! for our priesthood never permitted either the one or the other to be established."

"I should suppose that, with a protestant king," observed Sir Frederick, "you have little to fear on that ground."

"*Cela ne fait rien, monsieur,*" said Van B———; "the king may be a protestant, and his ministers *esprits forts;* but we shall not the less be the most priest-ridden people of Europe. We are all good catholics, sir, and we respect our priests at the altar; but we know that Ghent never flourished, since the middle ages, as it has done under a protestant king. William of Nassau never let an enterprising merchant stand still for want of a round sum to forward his speculations."

"*Eh! tant pis,*" said the Bruxellois. "William was a sleeping partner in almost every concern that promised a profit; and both as prince and merchant, he clung to the false system of what is called encouraging trade: that is, giving unfair advantages to particular individuals, at the expense of the community; ruining the favoured, and forcing them into absurd speculations, by giving them a too facile command of capital."

"I cannot understand," said the Ex-burgomestre, "what the de-

mocrats of Brussels would have in their king. William was the very model of themselves, a pattern of economy; walking about the streets in a thread-bare coat, and a weather-beaten umbrella under his arm *. Why, he sat for Monsieur Gobaud in an old pair of military boots under his royal robes, for want of a second pair to change them. Then he was always accessible; he talked and walked with his subjects, without form or etiquette. He listened to their complaints, entered into the details of grievances, and redressed them at once *de vive voix*, or by immediate interference with the ministers."

"Woe to the nation where such things can be done!" exclaimed the Bruxellois; "where the king's cabinet is turned into a monkish confessional! The substitution of one man's private judgment, for the determinations of responsible advisers, or for the established laws, smacks rather too strongly of the paternal despotism, as it is called, of Vienna. It is too clap-trap a virtue in royalty for less than a divine-righted autocrat; and shows either that William did not understand, or was not willing to perform his duty, in the spirit of a representative government."

'This *boutade* produced a momentary silence.

"All this talks well," said the Ex-burgomestre sulkily; "but the king you have chosen, monsieur, is not a bit the more popular for being a *roi constitutionnel*. There is no getting at him; or, if one does, *il ne cause pas, lui, comme l'autre—allez!*"

"The most popular of your princes," said Sir Frederick, smiling, "was Guillaume le Taciturne!"

"But who wants a talking king?" asked the Bruxellois petulantly. "We chose our king as an expediency; and, as yet, he has not disappointed us. *Il a du tact, le Roi.*"

"*Eh! Diantre! oui—du tact!* But, with all his tact, his government has reduced the country to bankruptcy; and the manufacturers of Ghent are about to enter into a resolution to close their looms, and to turn adrift some thousands of their unfortunate workmen.—*Son tact, pardie!*"

"That is a dangerous experiment," observed Sir Frederick. "The resistance thus raised against all government, by starving your dependants into riot, will fall heaviest on your own heads; and the effects of combination will be ruinous to yourselves, long before it reaches the objects of your discontent and aversion."

'All further discussion was now cut off by the arrival of the *treck-schuyt* in port; which was crowded with porters, wheel-barrows and trucks, and was noisy with family meetings and friendly welcomes. The courtesy of the political partisans was superior to the influence

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* 'On this point, the testimony of an English aristocrat is somewhat different. Speaking of William's reception at Ghent, the Duchess of Rutland, in her "Tour," observes—

"That popularity is scarcely worthy to be boasted of, the sum of which consists in not having been pelted with rotten eggs. The fact is, that the catholic city of Ghent was called upon to take the oaths to the protestant king of the Pays-Bas. The bishop of Ghent preached against the measure, and the consequence has been the dismission of the bishop; but the city has not yet taken the required oath."—*A Tour through part of Belgium and the Rhenish Provinces*, 1822.

of a difference in opinion. All offered their services to the English stranger. But his young official acquaintance, being the only *garçon* of the party, made that circumstance a claim for taking him under his especial guidance; and they proceeded to the Hôtel de la Poste, entering the faubourg of the ancient capital of Flanders in the last dim twilight of a sultry summer's evening.'—vol. ii. pp. 32—43.

It may be explanatory of some parts of the above to observe, that Belgium under the Dutch government presented in one respect the precise converse of the state of Great Britain. The manufacturing interest robbed the agricultural, just as the agricultural here robs the manufacturing; and the only way in either country to bring the contest to a permanent conclusion, will be to give the plundering parties a taste of submission to the opposite regime. Whenever the time of popular strength arrives, such retribution must be made with a moderate hand, but with a firm. A twenty years taxation, gradually introduced and gradually removed again, on home-grown corn, for the benefit of the manufacturer with whose goods corn is to be bought abroad, commutable however for a tax on rent,—would probably be such a lesson, as would diminish the chances of any marauding interest again taking advantage of the corruption of the representation and the leanings of the arbitrary branch of the Government, to establish itself on the pillage of the residue of the community. The connexion between the evil of the injustice and the evils in the Government, appears to be thickening daily; an excellent omen that probably more than one may come down together. In Belgium however, another element of bitterness was added, which is fortunately absent here. The manufacturers were for the most part distinguished by Protestantism, as well as by Dutch protection; the oppressed agriculturists were of the ancient and Catholic church.

A letter from the English aristocrat under his process of conversion, recounts many circumstances which though old, have a new light shed on them by the analogies of later times.

"The formation of the kingdom of the Netherlands, I am now satisfied, was no better than a mere *coup d'état;* and whether such violences are nipped in the bud, or are allowed to drag on through years of impunity—whether they induce a prompt reaction, or await the maturity of a tardy revenge, the consequence is ultimately the same.

"That, however, which the Holy Alliance commenced in force, the Stadtholder was compelled to continue in cunning. The fusion of the two populations being a moral impossibility, nothing remained but to subordinate one of them to the other; to make one portion of the territory a kingdom, and the other a dependent province. But William was a Dutchman: accordingly, in framing a constitution, he adopted the fundamental law of Holland as his basis; and such considerations only were offered to the Belgian notables as were rep-

dered indispensably necessary by the addition of the new provinces to the Dutch territory.

"The constitution, such as it was, was however necessarily presented to a Belgian assembly, to go through the form of acceptance*; and as the majority turned out to be against the government, the text of their vote was taken with a royal commentary, as sophistical as it was arbitrary, and their decision virtually set aside by an interpretation. Here, then, was a second *coup d'état;* and as things ill begun make themselves strong by ill, all possibility of equal and constitutional government was overthrown. Injustice accordingly followed injustice in quick succession. The Dutch language was imposed on the Belgian tribunals, and the Belgian advocates stricken with an incapacity to pursue their business; while the people could not follow their own law proceedings.

"Then came the interference of the government with the public instruction; an interference which we at home regarded as enlightened and philosophical, but which I now see clearly was fanatical and sectarian—a counterpart of what has been attempted by the Orange party in Ireland. That it was good policy to break down the power of the Catholic priesthood, may be true; that a better education of the people was necessary than the priests would willingly concede, must be admitted: but the hasty and foolish manner in which these reforms were commenced, stamped William's government with a fatal character of violence and bigotry.

"Another consequence of a proconsular government of Belgium was the exclusion of the Belgians from place and honours†. The proportions of the Dutch and Belgian representatives to the respective populations, were stamped with a similar inequality; and the fiscal and financial arrangements uniformly showed a consequent leaning to Dutch interests. The trial by jury was also arbitrarily abolished, to make way for a criminal procedure, which was a simple return to the ancient code of Holland. If, then, there was no one especial act to compare with the royal ordonnances of Charles the Tenth, there were fifteen years of galling tyranny, subjecting four millions of subjects to the sway of two; and that minority unsupported by superior instruction, and undignified by the *prestiges* of a military occupation.

"It has been said, that the physical condition of Belgium being prosperous, the people were without excuse for separating from Holland. I confess I do not see the force of this consequence. The beast of the field is driven by hunger; the civilized man is influenced

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* 'On this occasion 796 deputies voted against the constitution, 527 for it. It was, therefore, virtually rejected. But of the 796 opponents, 126 had, in voting, declared their opposition to have been founded on religious grounds; and about one sixth of the Belgian notables did not attend. William accordingly declaring the motived votes to be in reality affirmative, and the absentees to have given a *silent approval*, pronounced by proclamation the constitution to have been accepted.'

† 'There were 2377 Dutch officers in the military service, while 200 only were Belgians. To make this injustice more crying, it was arranged that in the colonies, where the service was fatal and the civil influence of the soldier nothing, the proportions should be directly reversed.'

by higher motives. Admitting the fact, prosperity could not have abided under a regime which submitted the agriculture * and manufactures of the south to the commercial interests of the north. But were the long series of arbitrary proceedings against the press nothing? —the direct and scandalous evasions of the charter?—the illegalities in the dispensation of justice?—and the excitations of the religious feelings of the people? These, if they do not excuse rebellion, will sufficiently explain it."—vol. ii. pp. 146–150.

The Dutch royal mode of taking votes upon a constitution, is only a somewhat exaggerated case of what has been lately witnessed among ourselves. When the King of England was made to talk of having made "an appeal" to his people, there was no more intention of abiding by the result of that appeal, than in the case of William the Dutchman; and the means intended to be used, were the same in the two cases,—"an *interpretation.*" Tory gentlemen stood up in the Lords and Commons, and declared that if they had not had a majority in the elections, they ought to have had; that all the wise and good were with them, by the token that all who were not with them were neither; and upon this evidence, as in the case of the Dutchman's absentees, the majority was declared no majority, and the Dutch precedent was followed in the consequences. The ministers had manifestly put into the King's mouth, what South with nicest accuracy defines to be an "outward signification of something contrary to, or at least beside, the inward sense of the mind; so that one thing is signified or expressed, and the same thing not meant or intended." It is pleasant to be able to bring up the vigour of past times, to the assistance of modern refinement.

The novelist has done well to give circulation to the monument of royal or loyal degradation concealed in a "deep and umbrageous *bas fond*," but to other eyes a froggy-looking splash in what might seem an antiquated gravel-pit, in the park at Brussels.

"*Petrus Alexiowitz, Czar Moscoviæ, Magnus Dux, margini hujus fontis insidens, illius aquam nobilitavit, libato vino, horâ post meridiem tertiâ, die* XVI *Aprilis, annì* 1717 †."

'But the time was gone by, when such loyal futilities, such mementoes of brute despotism, might have possessed a classical charm for the English partisan of divine-righted sovereigns. This base and servile reminiscence of the imperial centaur, half man, half beast, Peter the Great, the murderer of his son, the victim of his own fierce

* 'In point of fact, a tax on flour, and a tax on the slaughtering of cattle, which pressed with crushing severity on the lower classes, were among the immediate causes of that casual violence which caused the explosion.'

† "Peter Alexiowitz, Czar of Muscovy, Grand Duke, sitting on the edge of this pond, conferred the rank of nobility upon its water, *after libation of wine*, at three in the afternoon of the 16th of April, 1717."

passions, served only to recal Siberia and the knout, on the spot where the Dutch soldiers had retreated from the victorious arms of an outraged people.'—vol. ii. p. 175.

The lapidary Latin is not over and above perspicuous; but the tradition of Brussels which comes in aid of the sculptor, is that Peter ennobled the place by falling in, *being drunk*. Such is the *nobilitavit*, that comes by such "fountains."

A conversation on the state of Germany, is worth a multitude of what men call state-papers.

"Hasn't Nassau something of a little constitution of her own?" asked Lord Aubrey. "I think somebody said so in the House, the other night."

"Oh, yes," said the Princess, sneering; "a little house of commons in the village of Beiberick, close to the Duke's country-house; and prettily he has been paid for it. One of its members chose to oppose the budget. The Duke naturally turned him out, and all who voted with him. The *frondeur* refused to pay the tax, all the same; was thrown into prison, and died. The son, following in the father's steps, had his property in Wisbaden seized, when two pictures, amongst other things, were put up for sale: the first, the portrait of the *frondeur*, sold for four hundred francs; and the second, the Grand Duke's own, was knocked down for three kreutzers."

"Well, if they will give constitutions to nations who are not fit for them, they must take the consequence," said the Marquis.

"True, Milord," said the Count. "Germany is essentially aristocratic. The people are well fed and contented; and provided the press be kept quiet, and a few turbulent spirits curbed, all will go the better for it."

"That is just the reverse with us," said Lord Allington: "our people are better taught than fed; and that's the reason I have *mangé ma fortune*, before the radicals rise to eat it for me."

"Not," said the Count, "that our people are ignorant. The King of Prussia, for example, has taken the national education into his own hands; and, improving on Napoleon's catechism, has determined, not only what the nation shall believe, but what they shall know. By his benignant despotism, in educating the youth of his land to be useful and submissive subjects, and preventing them from educating themselves in the school of French jacobinism, he has done one of the greatest things that has been effected since the foundation of the Jesuits."

"I prefer the Emperor of Austria's plan," said the Princess: "plenty to eat, and no press; pleasures for the obedient in Vienna, and fortresses for the refractory in Hungary. Your king—for I believe, Count, you are a subject of Prussia—has put thoughts into his subjects' heads, and arms into their hands. Not but that the Prussian system would do very well for England and France; and I am happy to see that the *juste milieu* ministry in France are trying to import it, and that your English Tory writers, my Lord, and reviewers, are preaching German metaphysics and German criticism, and German institutions, to their countrymen. One way or other, the press must

be put down. You must dog the heels of miscreant publishers, and incarcerate revolutionary authors in dungeons as deep as those of Spielberg, or as high as those of Marksberg, if you do not mean to merge your hereditary honours in a universal democracy."

"You are quite right, Princess," said Lord Alfred.

"I saw two statesmen in Marksberg, the other day," said the Count, while the vehement Princess paused for breath: "they are shut up, the one for forty, the other for two-and-twenty years, for some inflammatory publication."

"You will see the romantic fortress," resumed the Princess, penning the route with her pencil, "where these erring mortals behold from their grated windows the glories of the Rhine beneath. The late affair at Frankfort will people the towers, and fill *oubliettes* long untenanted."

"It is all the fault of the Whigs," said Lord Montressor, yawning.

"From the very first attempt to abolish the patriarchal Leibeigenschaft, I augured the worst results," said the Count.

"Why, Count," said Lord Allington, "you and the Princess seem to anticipate the restoration of the secret tribunal! What do you call it in German?"

"The *frei gericht*," exclaimed the two mediatized potentates together."

"My own castle," said the Count, "was a *frei stuhl*, or seat of the tribunal. Margrave Rodolph II., from whom I descend in a direct line, was the last *stahl graf*, or supreme judge; and all the principal vassals of the family were *frei schöppers* for many generations."

"How very nice!" said Mrs. St. Leger. "I do so love the German language!"

"But the whole magnificent system," continued the Count, "was overset by the short-sighted policy of Charles the Fifth."

"Or rather," said the Princess, "by the innovating spirit of that reforming age to which Charles was obliged to yield."

"The very word 'reform' makes me sick," said Lord Alfred.

"What really was that secret tribunal," asked Mrs. St. Leger, "one reads so much about in German romances?"

'Lady Frances Mottram and Claude Campbell were meantime engaged in the window apart, muttering over a bouquet of flowers and some toys he had brought in: Lord Aubrey was leaning over Lady Montressor's couch, catching, as he might, the feeble murmurs of her lisping accents.'

"The *frei gericht*," said the Count and the Princess, speaking in a breath, but the Princess maintained the *parole*—"The *frei gericht* was a mysterious tribunal which spread throughout Germany, selected from princes, nobles, and citizens; for all who could, were anxious to be the agents, rather than the victims of its terrific but necessary denunciations. The *wissenden*, or initiated, knew each other by secret signs."

"A sort of despotic carbonari, I suppose," said Lord Allington, a sly look of mingled humour and surprised curiosity passing over his countenance.

"The accused knew neither his accuser nor his judge," said the Count.

"That was pleasant," said Lord Allington.

"The oath," said the Princess, "was to spare none—(and what beautiful poetry!) none that the sun shineth on, or the rain wetteth, or that floats between heaven and earth. Is not that fine? How very sublime!"

"Very!" said Mrs. St. Leger: "what Lady Agnes would give for it, for her traditions of the Rhine, which will now have such an interest, when everybody is going there!"

"And such novelty!" said Lord Allington.

"Lady Agnes is a twaddle!" said Lord Alfred.

"I think her charming!" said Mrs. St. Leger. "But go on, Count, about your tribunal."

"The proceedings were summary," said the Count. "The culprit was summoned: if he refused to appear, he was surely found dead, with the executioner's knife sticking in his breast."

"And if he did appear?" said Lord Allington.

"Why, he was brought to one of our castles, let fall through a trap into the *oubliettes*, and there was an end to him," said the Princess, carelessly. "But pray read Goëthe's divine 'Goetz Von Berlichingen.'"

"Oh! I remember," said Lord Allington; "his extravagant heroine was a victim of the secret tribunal."

"Should such an institution be again required," continued the Princess, "in these most innovating times, I believe, Count, that many of our castles are still *in statu quo*."

"One of mine," said the Count, "has its range of dungeons perfect, with dark vaulted chambers, stone doors, instruments of torture fixed in the walls, and *oubliettes*."

"How very nice!" again exclaimed Mrs. St. Leger: "I wonder all the romance writers in the world don't come to Germany, to visit these castles on the Rhine."—vol. iii. pp. 162—168.

The novelist is acuter than some who believe themselves to approximate to statesmen; in surmising that Prussian royal education, and Tory reform, are matters deserving nearly the same degree of confidence from honest people.

After settling the fate of the principal characters, who are neither married nor given in marriage after all, the real conclusion of the novel is political.—

'Belgium meantime, and her affairs, continued to advance in prosperity and stability, in illumination and in wealth. Every successive event proved that her revolution had been, not an accident, but a necessity; that it was a step forwards for the great family of Europe, and (as far as it has gone) a successful experiment in self-government. Thoroughly democratic in its principles and tendencies, the career of the new government has been blotted by no excesses, and stained by no legislative extravagances. A perfect and absolute freedom of conscience, unattained either by France or by England, has left the true interests of religion on a basis firmer and wider than established monopoly could ever boast. A total overthrow of aristocratic privileges has left property undisturbed even by a

momentary alarm. The authority of reason is respected in the Chambers, and that of the laws prevails in the tribunals; and, maugre the political preponderance of a Catholic hierarchy, and the lingering endurance of much deep-rooted popular prejudice, the diffusion of a steady and beneficial intellectual light is gradually manifested even in the smaller cities.

'At the aspect of so much moderation coupled with so much firm resolve, foreign states have begun to feel the importance of the stand made by the Belgians under the banner of national independence. The old cabinets of Europe, which had kept back their envoys on the confines of despotism, waiting at Frankfort upon events, have at length discovered in the 'bloody and needless revolution,' a power and a permanence worthy of respect; and Brussels, which, in 1833, had no diplomatic residents save those of France, England, and the United States, has since received the representatives of the other great powers, and their dependant followers.

'Fertile, laborious, commercial, and rich, Belgium has entered boldly into the question of free trade, and is hourly rising superior to prejudices which belong neither to the age nor to her equitable government. Pressed on one side by the hostility of Holland, and on the other by the uncalculating jealousy of the French miners and manufacturers, she does not seek protection in reciprocal restrictions; but has sent commissioners to Paris, to join in that greater commercial revolution, which is the destined supplement of the political regeneration of constitutional Europe. This is worthy of her intelligence, and of the frank and manly character of a people formed for freedom.

'The industry and commercial spirit thus announced, afford the strongest guarantees for the beneficial influence of the new government on the peace and prosperity of Europe. Admitting that the independence and political existence of a nation consisting only of four millions of people, must in some degree repose on the will of the neighbouring powers, which have as many million of bayonets under their command, still, in the rapid progress of civilization, the dominion of force is hourly declining; and it may be hoped that the well-understood interests of all the limitrophe states will range them on the side of Belgian integrity. A general war may again deluge the fields of Belgium in blood, and subject its cities to the law of the strongest; but, if the lessons of the past have not wholly been given in vain, it will be long before Europe will again be visited by a calamity so dreadful. It is not therefore too much to augur a protracted and a brilliant existence to this infant state, or to look with confidence on its future destinies, reposing as they do on the same foundations with those of French and English liberty, and the future prosperity and intelligence of the great Germanic body. Of this, however, Belgium is sure—that it can never be worse than it would have been, under the Mezentian embrace of Holland, and bound hand and foot to the will and pleasure of the three great bulwarks of ignorance and slavery.'—vol. iii. p. 380.

Whatever the novelist may be elsewhere, it is clear that as long as to have propped rising states can give a claim to the title, she must be a "stateswoman" in Belgium.

ART. II.—*Letters from India; describing a Journey in the British Dominions of India, Tibet, Lahore, and Cashmere, during the years* 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831; *undertaken by order of the French Government.* By Victor Jacquemont, Travelling Naturalist to the Museum of Natural History, Paris.—2 vols. 8vo. London; Churlton. 1834.

THE remarks of an intelligent foreigner on India, are necessarily interesting to all in Great Britain or in any other portion of the world, to whom India is a subject of curiosity or of concern. What the English are doing there and likely to do,—what is the state of the country and of society, arising out of the unprincipled conquests of a few mercantile adventurers, but which have ended in letting in the knowledge and improvements of a more advanced portion of the human family upon a less,—are questions which are not so completely and indubitably answered by the lions that are uppermost, as to preclude all possibility of light been thrown on them by an indifferent spectator. And though it should not be predicable of the actual traveller, that he had carried to the examination all the illumination which France could furnish, it would be difficult to prevent many rays of scattered information from piercing by means of his intervention. In fact France was not responsible for the traveller as a statesman, a military authority, or a philosopher, but only as a "Travelling Naturalist;" and as the views of a travelling naturalist upon what lay out of his immediate line, his statements are to be estimated.

There are two great divisions of critics among the public,—those who want the truth to be known, and those who want it not. There is no wonder, therefore, that the last of these classes should make a set at a writer whose information is scattered under the not very favourable form of letters to his familiars, and those written in a way which evidences that the conveyance of information touching his own personal well-being and *manière d'être*, was more before the writer's eyes than speculations upon the deep things of India. Add to this, that the writer was of a nation where general opinion on many subjects runs in different courses from those it occupies here; in courses too, peculiarly hostile to the combined mental and bodily tyranny with which the English people is at this moment struggling with varied success;—and there will be no difficulty in comprehending how his communications may have excited great wrath here, among those whose enmity is the measure of the progress of the general good.

M. Jacquemont, it appears, was a zealous republican,—of that class which republicanizes in a *coterie* of equals, and pulls men by the pigtail when it can be practised with impunity. The

description of his politics is complete. His religion, or if the word be better, irreligion, avowed as openly and with as much confidence of acceptation from his correspondents and acquaintances as if he was a good Hernhuter writing in the style of his society to Hernhut, is an example to established churches, of what a church may bring things to, by a certain degree of perseverance in persuading mankind that it is a machine for drinking up the good things of this world, rather than for having any demonstrable bearing on another.

The writer's remarks on Brazil, are valuable for the assertion that Saint Domingo has made greater progress in civilization than that country; and it is plain enough that this is not said from any speculative partiality for the negro race. M. Jacquemont is only a republican for the pot,—that is to say, for his own pot; he never republicanizes further, than men of what he thinks his own class are to have the benefit.

'I have spoken to you of Saint Domingo—undoubtedly I did not give you a very brilliant picture of it; well! in my opinion Saint Domingo has made greater progress in civilisation than Brazil. I here saw, for the first time, negro slavery, on an immense scale, forming the key-stone of society. In twenty days, I saw several vessels arrive from the coast of Africa, loaded with these miserable creatures, a prey to frightful diseases, heaped together on landing, and penned in like animals; and side by side with these horrors, the most refined luxuries of European civilisation. The Portuguese, like the Spaniards, feel not the contempt, the physical repugnance towards negroes, which few English or French can resist. They have not instituted against them, that system of refined humiliation adopted by the colonists of Jamaica and the Leeward Islands; but they are not less violent and merciless masters. Under their whip, the negroes live a few years, and die without issue. The character of this unhappy race must be very mild, innocent, and timid, for revenge and crimes not to be more common at Rio, than they are. The masters, with their polished, even elegant, European exterior, are, in many respects, as much debased by slavery as the brutalised negroes. I saw them with their golden key on their coat, with their diamonds, their ribands, their titles, their ignorance, baseness, and dishonesty, and I was disgusted. I sought a middle class—laborious, thrifty, honest, respectable—I found none. Beneath this gilt-edged rabble, I found only black slaves, or free men of colour, who are slave-owners, and the worst of all. Is that a nation? And is it not the portrait of all the new independent states, dismembered from Spanish America? The Spanish and Portuguese races are not more progressive in the New World, than in the Old. They possess liberty only in name. But what is liberty?—is it an end or a means? You will see, my friend, what inter-tropical America will become with its liberty; it will be what it was before—a country without inhabitants, and without riches, because it is without labour. Labour and eco-

nomy are all that are required; and liberty is precious only when employed in working, and in laying by. An admirable use is made of it in the United States; because the English race, by whom the whole of the North of the New World was peopled, is eminently industrious and orderly. I have told you, how the North Americans crushed us French by free competition. What will their neighbours, the Mexican Spaniards, do beside them?'

'The colonial despotism which still exists in Canada, though much tempered, cramps the English population on whom it is imposed, in the developement of its industry and tendency to improvement, and opposes an obstacle to its increase and strength. In Brazil, the oppressions and vexations, preserved by the monarchical form of government, but feebly defend the country against a contrary principle of decay and weakness.'

'In Brazil, all labour is performed by negro slaves. Stop the traffic, abolish slavery, and there will be no work at all. Shoot or depose the emperor Don Pedro, dismember his monarchy into several confederated republics,—and anarchy will break forth every where; it will favour the revolt of the blacks, and the whites will, in many places, be massacred. There is no escaping from this alternative, except by maintaining the present order of things. It is most melancholy!'

'Perhaps you will have learnt, ere you receive this letter, that Bolivar has made himself king: I wish it may be so, for the sake of his country. Our friends will exclaim "treason!"—people will cruelly repent having compared him to Washington, because he will have violated the name of a vain and useless liberty; and they will not understand, that a despotic chief is a thousand times preferable to the frightful anarchy which now desolates the new American republics. Liberty is a superfluity for nations in want of food and laws.' —vol. i. pp. 28—31.

It is valuable to the world to know,—and flattering to the small community of poets besides,—that the songs of Béranger are sung by the French navy in chorus.—

'Béranger may reckon upon a dozen leaden bullets if, on my return to France, they should take it into their heads to make me a *rey netto*. Figure to yourself, my dear friend, some fifty officers and sailors, singing together, each in his own key, and without even sticking to it, what we liberals call the *odes* of that great poet. This abominable Dutch concert, of which Béranger has furnished the first materials, makes me have a horror of him.'—vol. i. p. 35.

Another account of Brazil is equally descriptive with the last.—

'Brazil is the abomination of desolation. Imagine some hundreds of viscounts and marquesses, with the gold key on their coat, five or six gold, silver, or diamond stars, of all sizes and colours; ignorant, cowardly, and subservient to the emperor's pleasure; and under them, no middle class of respectability, nothing but a rabble of retailers and rogues, nearly white; then a terrific number of negro slaves almost

naked, who live a few years and die, commonly without issue. They are driven to labour with the whip : a small portion of their labour feeds them, and they receive a belt and a pair of trowsers : the rest goes to find the carriages, cambric shirts, and silk stockings of the 300 marquesses. Depose Don Pedro, and all the provinces will separate into federative republics. Anarchy will burst forth every where : then, soon after, will come the revolt of the negroes, and there will no longer be any European rule in Brazil. Keep the emperor, but abolish the slave trade, and there will be no more labour, no income for any body ; all must decamp if they would not starve ; and you will see all the 300 fashionables, with their stars and gold keys, arrive at the hells of Paris, Cadiz and London. The *statu quo* is the only thing possible. The emperor, though sincerely devoted to the constitutional theories of M. Constant, is convinced of this, and governs accordingly. He lives from day to day, not caring for the future. Don Miguel is much loved at Rio Janeiro, as it was he who consummated the separation of Brazil from Portugal.'

'What few political journals there are here, are edited by foreigners, mostly French. The emperor cannot give his subjects, his *macaucos*, as he calls them—for he often tells them, they are a set of mischievous apes—the liberty of the press. He has established it by law, but the manners of the country are opposed to it. Several journalists have been knocked on the head, in the streets, at night, for telling the truth. This disgusted the rest, and they do not say a word more. Besides, no one would be at the cost.'

'Scenes of violence are frequent. I was near being struck by a pistol shot, fired by a robber, who was escaping, at his pursuers. He was taken, pinioned, and conveyed to the palace guard-house in the emperor's vestibule. There he was examined quite after the Turkish fashion. The police deliberated whether they should release, beat, or kill him ; the officers looked calmly on, smoking their cigars, with their hands behind their backs. He was beat with such severity, as to break one of his arms, and then imprisoned. The same evening, I saw one black beat another to such a degree, that he killed him on the spot. I was told it was a father who had killed his son, the latter having attempted to assassinate him. He was not apprehended. Besides, the law scarcely ever condemns to death, even slaves ; and when by chance there is an execution, there is a general consternation throughout the city ; and the devotees have mass performed for the salvation of the culprit. Almost all crimes and misdemeanours lead indifferently to the galleys : and they are frightful. Figure to yourself, that the administration of justice does not even order a regular distribution of provisions in the prisons. The prisoners live entirely on alms : when these fail, they die of starvation, unless the chancellor sends them some bananas.'—vol. i. pp. 37—39.

If this *statu quo* is the only thing possible, it is a very ugly possibility. It would be a strange argument, in anything else than politics, which should maintain that because a thing was detestable, therefore alteration was impossible.

The author's general sketches of the state of things in India, are often incorrect; though not to such a degree as to raise the suspicion of voluntary exaggeration. On the contrary, they are generally the effect of taking the first impression of what was novel and out of the habits of Europe, without examination. For example, the author's description of his intended style of journeying in India, is a pretty accurate picture of the ordinary *ménage* of a lieutenant of infantry, of either the King's or Company's service, on a march. The most doubtful item is the price of the horse; on whose qualities certain sneers are subsequently bestowed. The price of horses in the different parts of India varies considerably in a few years, and there is hardly time to send for a price current of 1829 from Calcutta; but the suspicion may be, that the sum mentioned (1000 francs, or 370 rupees) would bear a considerable proportion to the price of a horse for the Company's cavalry, and consequently the animal need not be so very bad.

'In another week I shall begin this journey of six hundred leagues to the north-west. A bamboo cart, drawn by oxen, will carry my luggage. A bullock will be laden with the smallest tent in India. Your humble servant, devoted to white horses, will ride on an old steed of that colour, which will cost him only a thousand francs (a good horse costs from 3000 to 3500 francs), at the head of his six servants; one carrying a gun, another a skin of water, a third the kitchen and pantry, another with the horse's breakfast, &c., without counting the people with the oxen.'—vol. i. p. 119.

But the statement which follows, that "an English captain of infantry would have five-and-twenty servants instead of six," may be considered as at least double the reality; and the twelve men to carry a palanquin, may be set down as nonentities, unless where the said captain carries about with him "a sister or a wife," or somebody who is neither. The representations of civil luxury, are also liable to similar deductions; the fact with respect to European residents in India, being that all the different grades have no more than on consideration of the obstacles to contend against in climate and in manners, makes the maximum of economy, or the minimum expense for which decent people can be got to perform the duties. When it is announced that a private European dragoon in India, has men to cook for him, and to help to feed and clean his horse; the explanation of the whole is, that this is the cheapest way of having and preserving European dragoons in India. What was gained by the contrary practice, would not pay for the wear and tear as displayed in the importation of recruits, or in the substitution of a worse class of men. And the same reasoning, *mutatis mutandis*, holds good with the higher ranks both military and civil.

In addition to these sources of inaccuracy, the author sometimes does not appear to have understood very clearly the relative ranks of the individuals he cites. For example, [p. 154, vol. i.], he speaks of a "collector" he found at Rogonatpore with his wife and child, who had an elephant, eight cars, &c. and to whom, "finding him a good-natured fellow," he condescended to communicate "who he was;" without apparently the slightest surmise that this "collecting" personage, was a man of about the standing of a French *sous-préfet*, and that his mode of travelling, the circumstances of the country taken into account, was in no way more inordinate, than if the French civil dignitary had been found travelling from one well-furnished inn to another with his family and servants in two *voitures de poste.*

The progress of European establishments in tropical countries, particularly in Africa, has been much impeded by the want of this knowledge of the economic maximum. Sierra Leone, for example, is not intrinsically more untenable than a new and not first-rate establishment in India; but the want of the appliances and means of health, makes all the difference. If anything could cause Sierra Leone to be occupied in force by the civil and military myrmidons of the East-India Company, in half a dozen years it would be a crack settlement for healthiness.

The most unfortunate part of the author's representations of India, is where he describes himself as having learned from the English residents the practice of kicking, bambooing, and pulling by the pigtails, the aboriginal inhabitants of Asia. He must have had models other than he tells of. There may be no doubt that a drunken subaltern might be occasionally discovered in some such fact; but for a foreigner to represent himself as having copied the general manner by adopting it, is as unhappy as if an Englishman should announce that he had contracted similar habits in France through association with the officers of the French army. The whole position of the English among the Indians, is opposed to such habitudes. They rack-rent them, and make fortunes out of them; but they have vastly more sense than to add kicks, in a country where a man will bear the spoiling of his goods, but run *a-muck* on the threat of being touched by a bit of pig-skin. The probability is, that the "Rajpoots and mountaineers" who were beaten by the French naturalist, took him for a strange animal and dealt moderately with him accordingly.

The account of the reception of the Revolution of the "Three Days" in India, is characteristic of the tone of British feeling in that country. Whatever may be the cause, it is certain that liberalism is there always in advance, rather than arrear, of its state at home.

'This news had been brought to Calcutta by an English ship,

which had sailed from Southampton on the 2nd of August. Since then, another has arrived from Bordeaux, having left that city : it entered the Ganges with the tri-coloured flag, which was immediately hoisted by all the other ships of our nation moored in the river. I was at Meerut, the largest military station of the English in India, when the flood of news which she brought, arrived there. Friends and strangers all came to congratulate me on being a Frenchman ; I defy M. de Lafayette, in America, to have shaken more hands in one day than I did. My host, a cavalry colonel, who was the only one of his regiment that escaped at Waterloo—not without a ball through his body—wept for joy as he embraced me. Enthusiasm had put the rigid etiquette of English manners to the route ; the *sauve qui peut* still lasts ! I might throw my passports, and letters of introduction, into the fire, change my name, and preserving only my French nationality, set out for Cape Comorin—there is not a European in India that would not receive me with open arms. These enjoyments are new to me ; I cannot describe them. All shades of political opinion among my hosts are confounded in the same feelings of admiration, love, and gratitude to the French name ; and as I am the only one that bears it, I receive proofs of these feelings from all sides.'

'All the civil and military officers of this province joined in giving me a fête on the last day of the year just ended. Of course, a constitutional and moreover an English *fête* was a banquet, and you may guess that I did not escape from this enthusiasm without a speech ; but I was wound up to the same pitch as my hosts, and words cost me nothing.'—vol. i. p. 336.

The traveller, though not always complimentary to the English, is not averse to giving them the credit he thinks their due.—

" How deplorable is the condition of the human species in this vast East ! The British Government in India, though it calls for some reforms, merits nevertheless many eulogiums. Its administration is an immense blessing to the provinces subjected to it ; and I have only fully appreciated it since I have been travelling in this country, which has remained independent : that is to say, it has remained the theatre of atrocious violence, and continual robbery and murder. Society in the East is fundamentally defective. The first of its elements, a family, scarcely exists. In the upper classes, which afford an example to those below them, polygamy impedes the affection of a father for his children, on account of their large number, and awakens jealousy and fierce hatred among brothers. The wife is an impure creature, whom her husband scarcely considers as being of the same species with himself. Children, as they grow up, soon imbibe this abominable contempt for their mother ; and it drives them from her, as soon as they can dispense with her services. Can sympathy, when banished from the domestic hearth, exercise itself more ardently abroad ?'—vol. ii. p. 90.

The simple truth on the subject of the British Government in India is, that in everything which relates to its political conduct, or that which takes place between state and state or their rulers,—its behaviour is detestable to an extent of which the

worst violences of Napoleon in his worst moments afford but an impotent and inexpressive type. Yet for all this, there is no doubt of the fact, that the middle class of ruling English carry out with them and preserve so much of European justice and integrity, as makes it perfectly true, that to the portions of the population over whose heads the storm of political injustice flies harmless, their administration is in the words of this foreigner, "an immense blessing." An individual Englishman is *not* hated in India; on the contrary, the natives rather gather round him, as one about whom there is an atmosphere of security and justice. The transgressions of the civil servants, in their character of dispensers of justice, have been almost null; and those who have seen Sir John Malcolm in communication with a native agent, know best whether it is by the "kicking" system the military chiefs secure the services of the Indians. There is evidently a secret, in 30,000 English troops keeping possession of a country with a hundred millions of people and an army of 250,000 natives; and here it is. *Bating political enormities*, the government of India is creditable to the nation that conducts it; and stands in fact a monument of the virtue and intelligence of the middle classes of British society from which the immediate agents are supplied.

Though the French naturalist did not profess statesmanship, he sometimes makes observations which may be worth a statesman's eye.—

'Domestic manners in India, which are the greatest source of its misery, seem to me to be susceptible of no amelioration so long as this country preserves its present religious institutions; and perhaps it is generally believed that these are unassailable. All the direct attempts at religious conversion made by the English, in Bengal especially, have entirely failed. The Indians, upon whom the experiment has been made would in no case change Mohammed or Brahma for Jesus Christ and the Trinity; but, within the last few years, the Government has wisely (and courageously too, for it requires courage in the Company to provoke the stupid and hypocritical wrath of Parliament), withdrawn its support from the missionaries, and opened gratuitous schools at Calcutta, Benares, and Delhi, whither it attracts, by every influential means in its power, children of the middle ranks, to instruct them in the languages and sciences of Europe, without telling them of any of our follies.'

'I have visited these schools, at Calcutta in particular, where they reckon the greatest number of scholars; and I have conversed with many young people in the higher classes, Brahmins and Mussulmauns, whose European education had naturally converted them from Mohammed and Brahma to reason. Several of them, indeed, complained that this treasure made them but the more miserable, in cutting them off from the rest of the nation, and making them conceive and desire happiness under forms interdicted by their caste; and none of them have yet had the courage to surmount this barrier.'

'Nevertheless, if there be any hope of ever civilising the East, it must be by these means alone. The English Government would accelerate its action immensely, by substituting, in the courts of justice and all public transactions, the use of the English language instead of the Persian, introduced by the Mogul conquerors, but the knowledge of which has remained quite foreign to the mass of the people, and has only continued in certain hereditary professions. Ten years would suffice to effect this change: for the Indians require English much more than Persian; and the latter is only of use to those acquainted with it, in the routine of their employments; whereas English would be a key for them to the whole circle of European knowledge.'

'There are not wanting narrow-minded individuals, foes to this generous project; but I doubt not that, in a few years, it will be adopted by the Government. It will spread the light of Europe throughout the country, and qualify it some day to govern itself.'—vol. ii. p. 91.

Without the smallest desire to refuse protection, still less to persecute the followers of any religious faith, there can be no doubt that this is the true policy in India. Teach men European knowledge, and then, if European creeds are reasonable, they may be expected to adopt them.

The traveller appears to have been seized at Jummoo with a desire to come home and be a Deputy; and his discussions on this subject to his father are such as may be read with advantage in England in the actual state of the parliamentary chaos.—

'My letters last winter expressed the enthusiasm with which the revolution inspired me, and the bitter regret I have sometimes felt at being so far from France at that memorable period. Since then my opinion concerning those great events has much changed. It has been modified, like your own, in proportion as I saw so many base, absurd, and ignoble consequences proceed from so noble a principle. I see many people speak in the tribune of the events of the great week, as being their handy-work, as if they had fired a gun in the streets with the working mechanics, and as if it was not solely by the muskets of these mechanics that the revolution was achieved. The hostile tone of all parties in the chamber is a deplorable error. Shall I tell you, my dear father, that I sometimes regret not being a deputy? I know not whether I am strangely deceiving myself; but it appears to me that an honest man, who would play the part of mediator, without art or craft, and simply by showing the acute pain he suffers from these bitter dissensions between men so long united, and the misfortunes with which they threaten the country, would not speak in vain. The artifices of logic in what is termed the eloquence of the tribune, are too far-fetched: they almost always wound the self-love of those against whom they are exercised. Too great pains are taken to convince, and not enough to persuade. Some aim at oratorical display; I wish they would aim at touching the feelings: this is what I should try to do, if I were in the chamber under present

circumstances. Can what is easy in a *tête-à-tête*, or in a small company, be so very difficult in a numerous assembly? Mistakes and differences may arise between honourable men; but they must be very blind, and their advisers very bad, if these quarrels are not soon terminated by a sincere reconciliation, and the mutual friendship and esteem of the parties rendered more firm than ever. All parties have wrongs to complain of from one another, and these wrongs are daily aggravated by the deplorable obstinacy with which each shuts himself up within the circle of his own peculiar views. Rather than be the impotent witness of these fatal dissensions in our own country, I prefer being at the extremity of Asia, removed from them by space and thought.'—vol. ii. p. 193.

These extracts are sufficient to show that the French traveller has not displayed all the absence of discrimination and the higher qualities of judgment, attributed to him by the organs of ecclesiastical bigotry in England. His melancholy end alone, should have secured to him a greater portion of the courtesy which ordinary men bestow upon the dead.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW for 1 April, 1835.

ART. XVI.—*Specimens of the Table-Talk of S. T. Coleridge.*—London, 2 vols. 12mo.

THERE is something in the circumstances of an individual who, after engaging in early life in the popular cause, has gone over with a sharp turn to the opposite array, exceedingly inimical to the preservation of sound judgment and good discretion in his after course. It is in fact very difficult for him to be a dangerous enemy; because he is almost sure to attempt to be too dangerous. The mere fact of the renegation, at least in what the Scottish tongue calls the "ordinar" of cases, is proof of a soft place existing somewhere, either before, or after, or at the time of turning; and the inherent weakness is certain to be sorely tried, by the ill-judged flatteries of new associates, who invariably fall into the snare of considering their recruit a prize. When, therefore, a political party chuses to fix on an individual of this complexion, and elevate him, like the skin of Zisca, to be a sign and a banner to its followers; it is not even the circumstance of his having just submitted to the common lot of all men, fertile though it be in reasons for sheathing acrimony and eschewing violence, that can bar the right to sift the merits of the legacy thus transmitted to the world.

If the testator had confined himself to matters within his own compass,—to things which he had studied impartially, or even had studied at all,—on which, in short, he had acquired that rough and practical portion of knowledge which they "whose talk is of bullocks" generally think it proper to acquire of the subject of their discourses,—he might have

passed for an authority, to the extent that authority is due *in suâ cuique arte.* But it is precisely when he eschews this safe path,—when he forsakes poetry to struggle with the harsh realities of the national debt,—abandons Ennius whom he understands, to run a tilt at Malthus whom he does not,—volunteers a defence of Negro slavery, and propounds bad jokes and vulgar puns against popular education and its promoters,—that he provokes a sarcastic examination of the flights the shoemaker has made beyond the limits of his last.

First, take his coarse, indecent attack on Malthus,—couched in language which is banished by common consent from all society above the lowest, as conveying only the bitterness of hostile opinion without its energy.

'Is it not lamentable—is it not even marvellous—that the monstrous practical sophism of Malthus should now have gotten complete possession of the leading men of the kingdom? Such an essential lie in morals—such a practical lie, in fact, as it is too! I solemnly declare that I do not believe that all the heresies, and sects, and factions, which the ignorance, and the weakness, and the wickedness of man have ever given birth to, were altogether so disgraceful to man as a Christian, a philosopher, a statesman, or citizen, as this abominable tenet. It should be exposed by reasoning in the form of ridicule. Asgill or Swift would have done much; but, like the popish doctrines, it is so vicious a tenet, so flattering to the cruelty, the avarice, and sordid selfishness of most men, that I hardly know what to think of the result.'

This is the way in which a deserter from the popular cause thinks it decent to speak of "a Christian, a philosopher, a statesman, and a citizen," an individual of spotless reputation in both public and private life, for the crime of having asserted, that men cannot live to a greater extent than they are fed. Did it never occur to the puffed-up partisan, that what had "gotten complete possession of the leading men of the kingdom," might by possibility bear about with it some inward marks of truth, even though one who undoubtedly thought himself a *casus omissus* of the "leading men," happened not to know a word about the matter. It may be true that Malthus had only half wrought out his own discovery;—that he had rested in the portion of it which apparently bears hard upon the masses of mankind, and left to others the displaying of the light his principle ultimately throws upon the wrongs of the numerous classes, and their origin. But it is clear he is not dragged through the kennel of Mr. Coleridge's vulgarity for this. It is for what he has done, not what he has left undone, that he is honoured with the enmity of the ignorant champion of darkness and abuse.

Colonization affords the poet another occasion of showing his

"Georgian ignorance" of the common interests of man. The vulgar oppression of the landlords, is metamorphosed into "God holding out his finger to us over the sea." Why are men to allow their own country to be made untenable, for the sake of gratifying a visionary with a "colonization of hope" beyond the ocean?

Machinery presents to him another opportunity for floundering in inaccuracy far below the ordinary standard of an "Apprentices' Society."

'The wonderful powers of machinery can, by multiplied production, render the *arte facta* of life cheaper, but they cannot cheapen, except in a very slight degree, the immediate growths of nature, or the immediate necessaries of man. A coat and a pair of shoes are as dear now as ever they were, perhaps dearer, and no discoveries in machinery can materially alter the relative price of beef and mutton. Now the *arte facta* are sought by the higher classes of society in a proportion incalculably beyond that in which they are sought by the lower classes; and therefore it is that the vast increase of mechanical powers has not cheapened life and pleasure to the poor as it has done to the rich. In some respects, no doubt, it has done so,—as in giving cotton dresses to maid-servants, and penny gin to all. A pretty benefit truly!'

Machinery, it seems, cannot make *all things* cheaper. Has it been tried? Is not the making an honest use of the produce of machinery, prohibited by law? Do we not live in a country where commerce is illegal, and trade put down by Act of Parliament: and was not the propping of this state of things, one of the immediate objects of the writer? Where machinery *does* make things cheaper, as in the case of the dresses of the working classes, there the wisdom of the poetical philosopher is to declare it to be no benefit all: and where it *might* make other things cheaper, there the application is to be prohibited.

But the passage on the "National Debt" is the one on which the state of information of the Tory great man, is with most advantage to be compared with the standard of illumination among the laborious and necessarily imperfectly-educated classes.

'What evil results to this country taken at large from the national debt? I never could get a plain and practical answer to that question. As to taxation to pay the interest, how can the country suffer by a process under which the money is never one minute out of the pockets of the people? You may just as well say that a man is weakened by the circulation of his blood. There may, certainly, be particular local evils and grievances resulting from the mode of taxation or collection; but how can that debt be in any proper sense a burden to the nation, which the nation owes to itself, and to no one but itself? It is a juggle to talk of the nation owing the capital or the interest to the stockholders; it owes to itself only. It is really and truly nothing more in effect than so much money or

money's worth raised annually by the state for the purpose of quickening industry.'

Here is manifestly a man who does not know the difference between the mischief of throwing away the substance of the debt, and the inutility of attempting to remedy the mischief afterwards by refusing to pay the interest. What would be said of an individual in the humbler classes of society, who should display such an absence of information? What use, in fact, *could* be made of it, except to employ it as an argument against Universal Suffrage? And here is the Tory philosopher, the *welt-weiser* as he would be called in German, struggling with the same paltry piece of darkness. These be your gods, O Israel! and these the calves to which you are invited to bow down. There needs no other type or exposition, of the system of flat deception of which Toryism is constituted, than the putting forth the meagre fraud that the contracting of a debt is no loss or evil to a nation, because "it is really and truly nothing more in effect than so much money or money's worth raised by the state *for the purpose of quickening industry*." How poor must be the intellect of a people, upon whom such a plea could be attempted with success! How imperious the necessity for union and education, in a country where such raw delusions still constitute part of the stock in trade of the governing authorities!

What may be the precise drift of the following dictum concerning Landlords, it is not so easy definitely to say; but there can be little danger in believing, that in some way or other it is "miching Malhecho" and means mischief.

'When shall we return to a sound conception of the right to property—namely, as being *official*, implying and demanding the performance of commensurate duties? Nothing but the most horrible perversion of humanity and moral justice, under the specious name of political economy, could have blinded men to this truth as to the possession of land, the law of God having connected indissolubly the cultivation of every rood of earth with the maintenance and watchful labour of man. But money, stock, riches by credit, transferable and convertible at will, are under no such obligations; and, unhappily, it is from the selfish autocratic possession of *such* property, that our land-holders have learnt their present theory of trading with that which was never meant to be an object of commerce.'

What is visible upon the face of this, is that there is a misstatement of the foundation of the right to property. It might as well have been said that the right to property was *religious*, and therefore was only inherent in bodies ecclesiastical. The right of property rests simply on the fact, that it promotes production; and the time is not far off, when the invasions of the right of property created and maintained by the unjust dis-

tribution of the legislative influence in the community, will be more than any form of unsound words will be able to protect.

On the greatest of all invasions of the right of property, Slavery, the unhappy individual is found opposed to all the intelligence and virtue of his age and country. He might be able to extract poetry from moonbeams; but all the glorious fabric reared by industry and freedom in the modern world, is to him evidently only a pestilential congregation of vapours. If he cannot make the "artisans of Manchester" and the "workmen in London" labour by "servile compulsion," it is plain he hotly lusts to use them in that sort.

'It is very strange that men who make light of the direct doctrines of the Scriptures, and turn up their noses at the recommendation of a line of conduct suggested by religious truth, will nevertheless stake the tranquillity of an empire, the lives and properties of millions of men and women, on the faith of a maxim true only, if at all, of England or a part of England, or of some other country—namely, that the desire of bettering their condition will induce men to labour even more abundantly and profitably than servile compulsion,—to which maxim the past history and present state of all Asia and Africa give the lie. Nay, even in England at this day, every man in Manchester, Birmingham, and in other great manufacturing towns, knows that the most skilful artisans, who may earn high wages at pleasure, are constantly in the habit of working but a few days in the week, and of idling the rest. I believe Saint Monday is very well kept by the workmen in London. I think tailors will not work at all on that day, the printers not till the afternoon, and so on. The love of indolence is universal, or next to it.'

The days of representative government, it appears, are numbered. *Will* the community learn and see, how absolutely impossible it is to remain in a state of political rest or equilibrium, and how irrecoverably they are pressed between the two horns of the dilemma, of either going back to the arbitrary power and prerogative of barbarous ages, or going forward towards the liberty with which the most highly-favoured countries have been made free?

'I have a deep though paradoxical conviction that most of the European nations are more or less on their way, unconsciously indeed, to pure monarchy,—that is, to a government in which, under circumstances of complicated and subtle control, the reason of the people shall become efficient in the apparent will of the king. As it seems to me, the wise and good in every country will in all likelihood become every day more and more disgusted with the representative form of government, brutalized as it is and will be by the predominance of democracy in England, France, and Belgium. The statesmen of antiquity, we know, doubted the possibility of the effective and permanent combination of the three elementary forms of government, and perhaps they had more reason than we have been accustomed to think.

'You see how this House of Commons has begun to verify all the ill prophecies that were made of it,—low, vulgar, meddling with everything, assuming universal competency, flattering every base passion, and sneering at everything noble, refined, and truly national! The direct and personal despotism will come on by and by, after the multitude shall have been gratified with the spoil and the ruin of the old institutions of the land.'

The next quotation demonstrates, that the knights of the extinguisher feel anything but safe. It is joy to hear, that "a revolution of a most searching and general character is actually at work," and yet so wholesome is the operation, that people sleep and gambol, perfectly secure.

'Thirty years ago and more, Pitt availed himself, with great political dexterity, of the apprehension which Burke and the conduct of some of the clubs in London had excited, and endeavoured to inspire into the nation a panic of property. Fox, instead of exposing the absurdity of this, by showing the real numbers and contemptible weakness of the disaffected, fell into Pitt's trap, and was mad enough to exaggerate even Pitt's surmises. The consequence was a very general apprehension throughout the country of an impending revolution, at a time when, I will venture to say, the people were more heart-whole than they had been for a hundred years previously. After I had travelled in Sicily and Italy, countries where there were real grounds for the fear, I became deeply impressed with the difference. Now, after a long continuance of high national glory and influence, when a revolution of a most searching and general character is actually at work, and the old institutions of the country are all awaiting their certain destruction or violent modification,—the people at large are perfectly secure, sleeping or gambolling on the very brink of a volcano.'

It is natural and in course, that such meditations should be found accompanied with vulgar tirades against the "New-Broomers or Broughamers," the "Penny Magazine sages and philosophers," and Infant and Village Schools. The real state of the case appears to be, that the Tory sophist was a man of little soul, whom chance in his earlier days threw into the way of liberal opinions, and a not uncommon idiosyncrasy of attraction towards the possessors of wealth and power speedily carried over into his proper place. He has had his reward; and "his works follow him." The serious use to be made of the whole, is to mark, learn, and inwardly digest, the profound ignorance and barbarism, the remoteness from useful truth and the clinging to all harmful darkness, which characterize the party who boast that to them the deceased poet did belong;—to compare the quantum of their knowledge, and adaptation for public rule, with that of the humblest and poorest collection of democratic elements it would be practicable to frame;—and then judge of the situation of a great country with high and complicated interests, if it were possible to conceive it to be

really the design of an overruling Providence, that with men so dark, so untaught, and so rootedly unjust, the power of the state should finally remain *.

PROGRAMME TO THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW for July, 1835.

THE publication of the present Number has been delayed through the absence of the Editor.

The chief subject of interest at the present moment, is the assurance that the Conservatives meditate a second demonstration of the nakedness of the monarchical principle, in the manner of last November's display. There is nothing like having an enemy who will do his own work and his opponents' too. Meanwhile the *registrations* are understood to have gone very generally in favour of the liberal party; so that the Conservatives, who for some time have concentrated all their thoughts upon the registration, must start the new hare, of trying to pull down the King.

In all this the Whigs, or middle body, will see only an increased necessity for cultivating the assistance of the popular party. A free government is like a gun-vessel with its gun amidships; the *juste milieu* is always the operative point. But the farther the head can be pushed, and the farther the tail can be dragged, the farther will that middle part be carried, from which actual operations must proceed. (*July* 31, 1835.)

WESTMINSTER REVIEW for July, 1835.

ART. I.—*Philanthropic Economy; or, the Philosophy of Happiness, practically applied to the Social, Political, and Commercial Relations of Great Britain.* By Mrs. Loudon, Author of "First Love," "Fortune Hunting," and "Dilemmas of Pride."—London; Churton. 1835. 8vo. pp. 312.

MRS. LOUDON is no lesson-player, but draws directly on the resources of her own genius for success. In this consists her great distinction from the lady Economists who have preceded her; for, without contesting with them the perfection in which they have acquired the doctrines of their respective pastors and masters, or their talents for familiar and quiet illustration, she goes far beyond them in the courage with which she appeals to the practical good sense and honesty of the public against existing evils. Military observers have noted

* It is unpleasant to reiterate what has been denied. It has been denied that Mr. Coleridge was a Tory pensioner. What bore upon that point has therefore been withdrawn; and had the circumstances been fully known before, the point would not have been attacked. It is hoped the language applied to Mr. Malthus, by which the observations, right or wrong, on Mr. Coleridge's pension were provoked, will on a corresponding opportunity be withdrawn in return.—*Added in March* 1840.

the alteration made since the time of the ancients, in the relative value of young troops; dependent probably on the importance under the old regime, of individual skill in the use of weapons. Mrs. Loudon is *a new regiment;* and will carry everything before her by the unpractised innocence of her attacks. She walks among the landowners crusted over with the misery of their countrymen, in an impassibility to fear, like Retzsch's vision of Margaret in the meeting of the sorcerers. If anything could move the very mean and odious oppressors to a sense of shame, it would be the cool unassuming indignity here poured out upon them by a feminine hand. There are degrees of impudence, which beat man's practice; but words from a woman, sometimes burn, for the very reason that they prove the agitation has gone far, and is likely to increase.

The change of title from "Political" to "Philanthropic" Economy, is only a spirited version of the definition that has been often given of the former, as being "the art of preventing ourselves from being plundered by our betters." *Political,* means what relates to the interests of "the many;" and nothing but this having been said in Greek, could have left room for the stupid solecism which tries to persuade the feebler fragments of the public, that what is all men's business, belongs therefore to none.

'The efforts of the pious and the benevolent, (and in Great Britain these constitute a great majority of the educated classes) had, it is probable, been long since so directed, had not very many amiably enough disposed persons been deterred from approaching almost any subject connected with the general weal, by the too common opinion among otherwise well (or at least elegantly) educated people, that the science of political economy is something quite distinct from religion, morality, or philanthropy, something too speculative to be practical, too intricate to be understood, or too dull to be endured.'

'How many, in short, of those who in their hearts believe themselves to be the friends of justice and the poor, carelessly dismiss topics on which depend whether all those who have their bread to earn by honest industry shall be prosperous or miserable, by merely declaring that they "hate politics."—*Preface,* p. v.

Mrs. Loudon is not so strong in Ethics as in Political Economy. Which it is only justice to herself to note; because many most desirable readers might take alarm at what they might consider the discrepancies of her introductory remarks. The first line of the "Introduction" proposes a view of the "system of morals traceable in the works of God;" yet the next page has a crow to pull with the "Utilitarians," for declaring such words as "*right* and *wrong*, *ought* and *ought not*," to be [often, though they should not,—for *this*, whether the authoress may have remarked it or not, is the proposition of the Utilitarians,]

mere *ipse dixits*, to be confuted [that is to say, which anybody may confute that pleases] with a "*why?*" If morals are "traceable in the works of God," surely it may be permitted to ask a moralist who propounds, for instance, the duty of eating one's father with bread and salt—the question Why?; in other words, in what portion of all he sees among the works of God, he "traces" that duty. Again, when the authoress speaks of a "moral sense," she means the very thing which those she apprehends she is siding with *do not* mean, and those she apprehends she is opposing *do*. The "moral sense," considered as the thing "whose existence is yet matter of dispute" [p. xi.], means nothing like "the result of the elementary ideas we derive from the impressions received through the senses, and their combinations under the education of natural and artificial circumstances, superintended by cultivated reason" [p. 11.]. It means nothing half so good. It means that the moralist is prompted by something in his inward man, calling out to him distinctly, "Eat up your father before he gets any older;" and which he is to obey, not for any reasons he sees why it is for the advantage of anybody that his father should be eaten, but simply because he hears the voice within exhorting him to the meal. If the motive be once allowed to solve itself into a persuasion, right or wrong, that it is a kind action to an old gentleman to kill and eat him,—this is mere Utilitarianism, erring it may be and ill applied, but still at total variance with the thing ordinarily demanded under the name of "moral sense." The Utilitarians can have no quarrel with the authoress on these points; for the simple reason that she has in reality no difference with *them*. She insists on the very thing which *they* do; only, as it happens, under the name which has been chosen by their adversaries to be used for something opposite and hostile.

It is not till after the ethical questions have been to a great degree disposed of, that the real character of the book breaks out. The following appears to be among the earliest passages from which its veritable tendency would be surmised.

'The mere fact, however, of God's having bestowed reason on all men, is in itself a sufficient revelation of his will that all men should cultivate their reason.'—[p. 42.]. 'If it be argued that the labouring many have not time to render this "reasonable service" to their Maker, and that they therefore must be told the sum total of their duty by the few who study it for them, it is asked: Are the few to be trusted with this office? Will they not frame what they choose to call the duty of the many, to suit their own purposes? Will they not instruct the many that the whole duty of men in their humble station is to pay rents, taxes, and tithes; to work hard, though for the benefit of others; to suffer no extremity of want to tempt them to demand higher wages, or cheaper food, or by any other means, however legal or peaceable, seek to recover any particle of the

luxurious stores of superabundant comforts, which, though created by themselves, have, by the operation of mysterious causes into which they have no business to inquire, been transferred to the few; and though, in consequence, they should be without food, shelter, or raiment, to be perfectly contented with their lot, and believe the glorious British Constitution faultless?'—p. 45.

'Did the many, however, know how to choose happiness, in other words, did they reason on their own nature and natural circumstances, and thence inferring the will of God, and tracing the coincidence between that will and their own happiness, perceive what artificial circumstances their free-will was called upon to choose; it is manifest that, they having the physical force on their side, the few could not compel them to choose poverty, degradation, sin, and bloodshed, in preference to peace on earth and good-will among men, with the enjoyment of the fruits of their own labour, that labour lightened by the judicious co-operation of the whole family of man, and of every climate and soil upon earth, together with the use of every discovery in machinery, and in all the useful arts and sciences. It is, therefore, by subtlety only, that the many could ever have been induced to sacrifice themselves to the unjust desires of the few. Yet, that they have so sacrificed themselves, from the creation of the world to the present hour, is a fact known to the whole world. If it be clear, then, that they could not have been compelled to do so, and have done so, therefore, only through ignorance, it must be equally clear that the only way to prevent their doing so in future, is to furnish them with knowledge.'

'On that frightful topic, war, for instance, how have all the nations of the earth, from time to time, drunk deep of the maddening draughts administered to their helpless ignorance by the subtlety of the selfish few, seeking aggrandisement, extent of territory, or fancied fame for cruel and wicked exploits, at the expense of the peace and lives of thousands. Or, when the frenzy of devastating conquest is not the motive, how inexpressibly more abhorrent to human nature, are the cold-blooded calculations of the demon-hearted statesman who intrigues for war, and, sitting in his closet, moves the fatal spring that sends forth peaceful nations to massacre each other; solely that the minds of the many may be too much occupied to discern the rights of man in the will of God, and that, therefore, oppressive taxes may be paid without a murmur.'—p. 47.'

'Could these things be, if all men reasoned? Could any of these things be, if all men reasoned on their own nature and natural circumstances, and so learned to perceive the will of God, and the coincidence between their own best interests, and that will?'

'Yet, as what calls itself education is now conducted, the few are diligently made worse than ignorant; being from their cradles imbued with forced false associations, but too welcome to selfishness; and sent into life, blinded by deep rooted prejudices, teaching them to believe the monstrous and blasphemous falsehood, that for them, the few, and their children, from generation to generation, to prey upon the many, and their children, from generation to generation, is a part of the order of nature, as prescribed by its benevolent author.'—p. 49.

The extracts that next follow, point at a hard truth, which the authoress has been among the first to throw out for public elaboration. And that is, the total fallacy of what has been hitherto called "governing by *interests*." The clue to this is in the fact, that the interests meant are always, unless by pure accident, *dishonest* interests. Fancy a state of the law courts, where every man should unblushingly advance his own claims, on the mere evidence that it would be for his interest to win his cause, and where neither judge nor jury should have ever thought of setting up anything like a standard of general right, policy, or justice;—a state of things, for instance, where a highwayman should present himself to say that a post-chaise from Lombard-Street would pass at such an hour by Shooter's Hill, and it would be highly agreeable to him to have the assistance of a beadle of the court in stopping it;—and where the court should have no idea of resisting this application on any other ground, than, possibly, the counter-application of the banker for a similar exertion from the court in favour of the other side, any aggregate decision being left to be determined by the two parties counting kin and clan, and impressing the worshipful deciders with the ideas of their respective power and importance. Imagine a state of municipal law like this, and it will be a type of the existing struggle carried on before the thing called the "government," by the things called the "interests." The greatest novelty the world will witness, will be a statesman backed by the ordinary powers at the disposal of a minister, who shall proclaim his determination to follow a certain course of action because it is *just*,—that is to say (on being expanded according to the Utilitarian formula), because it presents the same relation to the augmentation of the general welfare by *political* decisions, that the course implied by justice in reference to the law courts, bears to *legal* ones.

'Wherefore is it, that with a population of twenty-five millions of people, we have hitherto had no effectual public opinion? Because, hitherto, each particular class, order, trade, manufacture, etc. has thought only, of what it has been artfully taught to consider, its own particular interests. Thus, in the wretched scramble of self-defeating selfishness, absurdly denominated the nice balancing of interests, while the rights of all are being trampled beneath the feet of the struggling competitors for more than justice, and every portion of the public clamours for that which to grant would be injustice to every other portion, their conflicting claims can but resemble the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel, and operate to defeat the purposes of all.'

'No wonder this nice balancing of every other interest, which, during the triumphant reign of the interest of dishonesty, so long enabled the enemies of the people, and therefore of God, to turn, if not with a feather, literally with a ribbon or a garter, the great scales

of truth and justice into a lie, no wonder this convenient, this easily upset balance, this paralysing of every influence in the nation but that of corruption, constituted, and constitutes, in the eyes of both the corrupted and the corrupting, a glorious constitution! Let us hear no more, then, (from honest men at least) of nicely balanced interests; but let the standard of public morality be raised to that of equal justice; in short, let all unite with all, in requiring justice for all, and no more than justice for themselves, and the sovereignty of public opinion shall be established, and the voice of the people become, without a paradox, the voice of God. For, be it remembered, that it is only while public opinion is itself misjudging, misinformed, or not informed at all, that misrule obtains. May legislators, then innocently await the formation, and manifestation of a uniform public opinion, before they have any duties to perform? Certainly not. If the question could be answered in the affirmative, such answer would pronounce legislators useless encumbrances, and the machinery of legislation, a vast expenditure of the public money without a legitimate object.'—p. 58.

This is all very spirited and bold; not altogether perhaps what may be called "in pipe-clay order," but showing great capabilities for trying the weak points of the adversary.

The next question, which is why should "the misery of want be the peculiar portion of those whose daily occupation is the creation of wealth," goes straight down upon the mark which all the honest and good should join in aiming at; though it may possibly admit of some observations by the road.

'Wherefore, is it then that the creators of all wealth are the poor? That poor man, and labourer, which is wealth-creator, are synonymous terms? That those whose labour first causes the earth to yield its produce, and then converts that produce into every necessary, every comfort, every convenience, every luxury, and every means of enjoyment, live themselves without comfort, without luxury, without enjoyment, and yet, though thus consuming next to nothing of all the riches they create, and still continuing to create riches, still continue to be, proverbially, the poor?'—p. 64.

'The distress of the labouring classes is a phrase so commonly in use, that we hear it without surprise; yet, when translated into the language of literal truth, what a strange anomaly does it convey—the poverty of the creators of riches!'—p. 65.

It does not seem to be correct to the fullest extent of the words, that the creators of *all* wealth are the poor. When a poor man begins to save and to grow rich, the probability is that he does not cease to apply his riches, or a considerable portion of them, to the creation of wealth. Only he does the head-work instead of the hand-work. There is no doubt that he finds this pleasanter than the other. But it is part of the just reward of his previous industry; and the interest of the society, the poorest included, is, not that he should be prevented from

the enjoyment of getting richer, but that the way should be kept open for other people to get rich by industry too. And if such lucky labourers are supposed to vest their wealth, or as it is technically termed *capital*, in land, it is plain that in a territory of limited surface, all the land must in course of time come to be occupied by somebody, and thenceforward no more land can be occupied by any new people, except by voluntary exchange on the part of the previous holders. With all this there is not the smallest ground for quarrel; there is not an individual among the most depressed and ignorant of the laborious classes, who conceits he has any quarrel with it; or if there is, he is a monster worthy to be preserved in spirits for his rarity. But what there *is* a quarrel on,—and one that will be wrought out in the shape of reform or revolution, before existing boys have hair upon their chins,—is that as soon as the lucky landowners got into possession of all the land, and had assured themselves of the acquiescence of society in the permanence of their tenure, they set themselves upon a course of piracy against the classes by whose consent they held their wealth, and organized a direct conspiracy to cut off the labourers at large from the disposal of their labour. It is *this* which the labouring classes and their friends are bound to suppress, quietly if they can,—but to suppress. Every advantage will be taken, as might be expected, of the ignorance and divisibility of the laborious classes; but the time cannot be far off, when the scattered grains of quicksilver will rush together into union, and fearful will be the pressure of the mass.

"Every man," says Adam Smith, "is rich or poor according to the degree in which he can afford to enjoy the necessaries, comforts, and conveniences of human life."

'To secure these to industry, is the one thing needful to national prosperity. The legislator who has effected this, having, like the great Ruler of the universe at the first creation of the world, adapted causes to the production of good by their own unavoidable consequences, may rest from his labours—his great work is done.'

'But how is this great work to be accomplished?'

'By rectifying the false measure already mentioned; that is, by suffering the produce of land, and the produce of labour, to adjust themselves, in markets free from all restrictions. This alone, would ensure at once, not only abundance of food, but such an extension of trade, as would relieve the labour market from ruinous competition, and increase national wealth, till public burdens should be no longer felt as such. Yet, we, in the face of principles so simple, so self-evident, with insane policy, frame deliberate acts of parliament, making all raw produce, by law artificially scarce, and therefore dear, and labour relatively cheap; and again, by the operation of a further consequence, namely, the contraction of trade, becoming in its turn a

cause, render even this cheap labour a drug in the labour market, and so prevent its following the price of food, and finding its own level, as would be the case, if labour were also, relatively to the intensity of demand scarce. These acts of parliament, which operate as taxes upon, or additions to the cost of bread, meat, butter, cheese, beer, cottage rent, and the raw material of house building, ship building, and all manufactured goods, these are the true causes of that most unrighteous of all anomalies—the poverty of the creators of riches; in common parlance, "the distress of the labouring classes."—p. 71.

'We measure our horses' oats to them, in return for their labour, by the feed, not by any money price, which circumstances may put on their services. Why are we thus just to them? Because they are our property; if they die, we lose money. But if we can cheat the poor operative with nominal wages, while we put such a price on corn, and all other necessaries, that he can buy but half a feed when he should have had a whole feed, we let him take his chance, put himself on short allowance if he chooses, or work the harder; should he die in the effort, we lose nothing, we do not even suffer inconvenience; there are other labourers waiting in the market place, who will do our work as well.'—p. 73.

'We ought to be independent of all foreign countries for our supplies of food, say the landlords. But can we make this country also independent of all foreign countries for markets for all its manufactures? If not, we cannot, without crying dishonesty to the labourer, use means (affecting the exchangeable value of labour) to make this country independent of foreign countries for its supplies of food. We have hitherto talked of reciprocal protection, (that is reciprocal robbery,) and "all the same thing to the labourer," etc., and attempted to legislate, as though we had the power of realizing an equal pressure in the artificial scale of prices.'—p. 75.

The real question with the usurpers who have confiscated the property of two-thirds of the country in the hope to raise their own, is, whether foreign trade and navigation are to be prohibited when they are for the benefit of any man except a landlord. The decision depends entirely on making the suffering classes comprehend the nature of the case, and getting the co-operation of those who have hitherto stood aloof. The root of the matter lies in the demonstration, that in all cases of "protection," there is a double loss of the difference of price;—that there is *one gain* to the protected so-called, and *two losses*, each of equal amount with the gain, viz. one to the consumer, and another to the tradesman with whom the consumer would have spent the money if he had not been forced to give it to the "protected" without return. Nobody denies that a shilling given perforce to the protected traders, does them good; but nobody can deny that the same shilling given to that other set of traders with whom the consumer would have expended it if he had been let alone, would have done just as much good to

this second set, and therefore they lose it, and the consumer loses a shilling's-worth besides. It is curious to see how nearly Adam Smith has come upon this verity, (particularly in the Chapter on Restraints upon Importation), without discovering it. He descants at large upon the folly of restrictions in which the difference of price given to the favoured trade is manifestly taken away from the consumers; but he never hits upon the fact, that it is taken a second time over from some other trades too, to wit from those trades which would get it in the shape of custom from the consumers, if the system of restriction were put an end to*. Whenever this principle can be made to penetrate to the concerned, there must be an end to the plunder of restrictions, in all directions.

The first result from this explanation of "protection," is that "reciprocal protection" to two trades is a joke, a fraud, consisting at best in telling them to hold their tongues and eat their pudding in concert at the expense of the community. But when applied to two classes which, between them, comprehend the whole community,—as, for instance, to the landowners and the bread-eaters,—it becomes something still more painfully absurd. The trumpery position is, that the landlords are to have high prices, and the manufacturers and labourers high wages too, and so it is to be "all the same thing to the labourer." Now what is it the landlords want, if it is not that they are to get more value for their corn? If it was to be all the same thing to the labourers, what would the landlords get by it, and why should they push it at the risk of being hated through the country-side? Can there be manufacturers so simple as to believe, that the object of the landowners in desiring 80*s.* a quarter for their corn instead of 40*s.*, is merely that they may have the pleasure of paying a manufacturer 8*s.* a day for his day's-work instead of 4*s.*, and so make it "all the same thing to the labourer." The thing would be incredible, if there were not the evidence of fact, that simpletons are actually being brought up from the manufacturing districts by the landowners to say that they believe this to be the case and are content with it. But a manufacturer with a head of more value than a pin's, will know that the object of the landowner is simply and solely to make *him* (the manufacturer) give a greater number of day's-works for a quarter of corn, or accept a smaller quantity of corn for a single day's-work. Nobody that understands the terms, will be gulled by the bald trick of asserting, that

* For a popular elucidation of the principle, see the French pamphlet, with translation, entitled *Contre-Enquête. Par l'Homme aux Quarante Ecus* (Counter-Inquiry. By the Man with Forty Crowns a-year,) in the Westminster Review No. XLIII for January 1835, and p. 177 of the present Volume.

"if corn falls, wages must fall." He knows that they will fall, but that they will not fall in the same proportion. If the price of corn is raised by diminishing the quantity (as is done by keeping out foreign corn), it is clear that no possible rise in wages can make the manufacturers get as much corn for a day's work as they did before; for this would be saying there could be as much corn eaten when it was not there as when it was. They will, therefore, get a *less* quantity for a day's work; that is to say, wages will *not* rise as much as corn. And by the same argument, when corn falls, wages will *not fall* so much as corn; for if they did, the working classes, who are the numerous ones, could only buy the same quantity of corn as before; and it is plain they must buy and consume *more*, otherwise no additional quantity of corn would continue to be brought in. The working classes will not endure the wrong that is put upon them, a twelvemonth after they can be got into general acquaintance with the facts; and for this it is that men toil, and printers are gathered together.

'As well might legislating landowners levy their arbitrary demands at once, as our ministers of peace and love do their tithes, by the point of the sword, as, like Brennus of old, fling the sword of power into the scale, to enhance the weight of the gold demanded! A majority of a house of landlords, throwing out a bill for the abolition of the corn laws, is merely a modern repetition of the insolent Gaul's "*Væ victis**."—p. 76.

Some of the paragraphs in Chapter III, 'On the sources of National Wealth,' admit of some remark.

'If a nation devote its soil to the production of an article which, in the market of the world, would not sell for the cost of production, does its land continue to be a source of national wealth?'

'Certainly not. On the contrary, it becomes a cause of national loss, by inducing an outlay of capital and of labour which are never replaced.'—p. 77.

If a nation is unwise enough (as the English nation does through subjection to the existing tyranny), to grow corn within its own limits when the same quantity could be obtained more cheaply from abroad in exchange for manufactures, the consequence is a national loss, to be estimated by the actual production of all kinds prevented. The case is like that of a walled town, where instead of the manufacturers who reside in it being allowed to purchase corn from the surrounding country, they should be limited to the corn grown in flower-pots upon the roofs of certain houses. It would be in vain for the owners

* "Woe to the conquered."

of the flower-pots to pretend to say, that they were the richer by all that the rest of the society were the poorer. The actual diminution of food, manufacturing employment, population, and wealth, which such an idiotic system would produce;—the difference, in short, being between what London would be if confined to what could be supported on the corn grown in flower-pots on the house-tops, and London with liberty to buy the corn of all the world;—would be the amount of the public loss.

'What wealth is lost to the whole nation?'

'That accumulation of the creations of labour, which goes in artificial prices to a foreign monopolist, whether in the shape of a greater quantity of printed calico, Birmingham hardware, or gold pieces.'—p. 79.

This is not quite lucid. The consumers, and the honest traders who *would* have furnished the goods given for the cheaper foreign commodity if trade had been free, lose together the exact amount of what is enjoyed by the dishonestly-protected traders, making so far a balance; and besides this, an amount equal to the difference between the monopoly prices and the honest, is lost by the honest traders who *would* have had the custom of the consumers if these last had been allowed to keep the difference and spend it for their own advantage. The difference, therefore, between the monopoly and the honest prices, is gained by one set of people, and lost twice over by two other sets; just as would be the case if a man, instead of having his wood cut by one workman at a shilling a-day with a sharp axe, was obliged by law to have it cut by two workmen at a shilling a-day each with blunt ones. The craft of wood-cutters would gain a shilling, the owner of the wood would lose one, and the trader with whom he *would* have spent that shilling if he had been let alone (suppose a gardener to produce him cabbages) would lose one also. If anybody objects that the wood cutter will spend the money as well as his employer;—so would the gardener too. It can manifestly make no difference to trade in general, whether the shilling is given to be spent by a gardener or by a wood-cutter; but there is this huge difference to the employer, that in one case he has his shillings-worth in cabbages, and in the other nothing. This kind of objection therefore is a hocus-pocus. A mathematician would perhaps describe it, by saying it consisted in confounding different *orders* of recipients; the gardener and the wood-cutter are of the same *order*, the employer and the wood-cutter are not. In the question of foreign produce, there is a new element, which is, the interest of the trade that would supply the goods given in exchange for the foreign commodity. And this is, in Mrs. Loudon's words, "transferred unjustly" from the said trade to

the monopolist, and makes a portion of the monopolist's interest in the wrong; the expenditure with him of the difference between the foreign and monopoly prices, making the remainder.

After this, the next question and answer are perfectly transparent.

'What wealth is utterly lost, not only to the nation in which the error is committed, but to the whole world?'

'Whatever is the surplus cost of any forced production, over and above what the same production could be procured for, from any other country.'—p. 79.

A question and answer that follow soon after, appear to be also incomplete.

'When protection screens the unwise producer, from the loss incurred by his imprudent production, on whom does the loss fall?'

'Most unjustly on the consumer, who, however wise or prudent he may be, has no means of escaping the consequences of the folly of other people, but by entering into a league with the smuggler.'—p. 79.

The loss does not only fall on the consumers, but it falls over again on those trades which would have been employed by the consumers with the difference of price, if the consumers had been let alone. Only half the loss therefore has been stated. Men might go on in the misery of protection for ever, if all that one man lost another man gained. It is because "protection" is an invention for taking a shilling from the national fund to give a sixpence, that the whole system will be blown at the moon as soon as the public can find out the truth. If Adam Smith had perceived this fact, he would have spared his anticipation, that "to expect that the freedom of trade should ever be entirely restored in Great Britain, is as absurd as to expect that an Oceana or Utopia should ever be established in it*;" for even without it, he saw good reasons for a change.

'Does the artificial price, paid to the home monopolist, take wealth out of the kingdom? No; it only, like any other fraud, or breach of the principle of good-will to all, transfers wealth unjustly from one portion of the community to another. In its immediate consequences therefore, it neither increases nor decreases the existing national fund. But we must look at its remoter consequences.'—p. 81.

The answer seems to leave out half. By "taking wealth out of the kingdom," must be supposed to be meant "diminishing the wealth of the kingdom;" for when a commodity is bought

* Wealth of Nations. Book iv. Chap. 2.

of the home monopolist, there is nothing like taking anything out of the kingdom in the literal sense at all. The monopoly not only, like any other fraud, "transfers wealth unjustly" from one portion of the community to another, (say, for example, from the man who would have supplied the goods to be exchanged for the foreign article, and from the man with whom the consumer, in a state of freedom would have expended the difference of price, to the monopolist, who pockets precisely these two amounts);—but it robs the consumer to the amount of the difference of price besides. It is this last fact,—that there is a perfect balance of gains and losses to the traders, exclusive of the consumer, and therefore a pure unbalanced loss to the consumer to the amount of the difference of price besides;—or if it be preferred to take the loss to the consumer and set it off against the gain arising to the monopolist from the expenditure on him of the difference of price, then the loss to the trader whoever he may be, who is deprived of the custom which the consumer in a state of freedom would have bestowed upon him by the expenditure of the difference of price, stands an unbalanced loss to exactly the same amount;—*this* is the condemning fact which has escaped both Mrs. Loudon and Adam Smith, and which will put the monopolists at the mercy of the first President of the Board of Trade who shall have courage to propound it at the risk of a serious struggle with the public enemy. Names are only valuable, as they explain, or impress; and this has been named the *double incidence* of the difference of price,—meaning that it falls twice over, on two different sets of people, in the shape of loss, for once that it is gained by the monopolist. If this was not so, it would follow that to cut all the wood of the public with a blunt axe instead of a sharp one, would be no public loss; for as much as is lost by the employers, is given to the wood-cutters. But it is manifest there must be a public loss, and therefore there must be an *item* left out. And this *item*, is the loss of those traders who would have had the custom of the public if the public had been allowed to cut its wood its own way.

The gigantic instance of this anti-national policy, is the monopoly taken for themselves by the owners of land; through a power procured and supported by methods which would damn any meaner peculators with the stamp of vulgar fraud and low personal dishonesty. A parish vestry which, having a rate to lay upon the parish, should pass a rule that none should be of the vestry who had not a professional interest in the rate's being laid, or not laid, on certain things or in certain ways,—would be scouted by every pretender to character, as a shabbi-

ness with which no decent man could hold communion. If decent men, despite the rule, were found on it, their first operation would be to refuse to vote on any question where the influence of the rule was concerned. It is inconceivable how any man with a regard to the conventional decencies of society, can sully himself by voting on a question, where however honest his own vote and determination may be, he is conscious of having been dragged through the indignity of making a declaration on oath that he has a pecuniary interest in the matter for decision. What petty juryman for instance would be found to serve, if a declaration on oath were required from him, that he had an interest in one of the parties? It is not the temptation, but the personal indignity, which is the thing to be resisted. But wonderful is the difference between the sense of virtue and of shame in the humbler orders, and in those who have undertaken to occupy the management of their concerns. The mean immorality of the upper classes, is the hinge on which the success of revolutionary reformations will always turn.

To what an extent must the consciousness of the evil have gone, when people are found declaring, that if God in his mercy had covered the land of England with a pavement of flagstones, it would have been a great accession to the happiness of the community. Yet there can be no doubt that this is true; and that a natural phænomenon, like a volcanic eruption, which should cover the soil of England with irremediable barrenness, would probably double or treble her importance in the scale of nations, and add in the same proportion to the wealth and comforts of the community.

'Great Britain not only derives no real rental from her land, but a portion of her labour, and of the profits of her capital, are mortgaged to her landowners for the payment of a nominal rental; and her land, thus rendered not national property, but a tool of national oppression; not an addition to her national income, but an addition to her national debt. All that her landowners are justly entitled to receive as rent, and which, had it any existence, would thus constitute a portion of the wealth of the nation; namely, the surplus value of the produce of the land, after the cost of production, being sunk by devoting the land to a losing use; all that her landowners do receive as rent becomes nothing more, neither less, than an unjust transfer to landowners, of the creations of the labour, and the profits on the capital of other classes; so that, in fact, for agricultural purposes, the whole of the land of Great Britain is thus rendered, in the present state of the European markets, worth, to the nation, less than nothing. The grinding oppression, therefore, to all other classes, of unjustly enhancing the price of grain, is such, that the condition of

every inhabitant of Great Britain, save only the landowner, would be improved if every corn-field in the empire, if not devoted to some produce other than corn, or cultivated on some plan other than the present, were flagged from hedge to hedge; for then, Parliament could no longer forbid the importation of cheap food, and while the labourer could procure a double share of food in exchange for his labour, it matters not to him where that food was grown.'—p. 87.

The case of the miserable men who are to be seen in every street perishing with want, because the landowner has robbed them of the proper produce of their hands, is described in eloquent terms, which may perhaps reach some of those who are rolling in carriages on the injustice. The war of the poor against the rich, was a dream, a farce, a figure of speech, till the landed interest chose to embody the mass of their countrymen into one great anti-*unjust-property*-union for the abatement of their nuisance.

'Suppose a labouring man, who, from the want of profitable employment, occasioned by the contraction of foreign trade consequent upon corn laws, spends a day making a card-paper puzzle, or some other "catch-penny," as the rich unfeelingly call those practical evidences of a misery, the thus palpable offspring of injustice: the sufferers, in such cases, giving a proof that they are not only willing, but anxious to work for an honest livelihood. But our poor man, having spent one day in completing the said card-paper puzzle, spends a second day hawking it from door to door, and at last sells it to some fine lady, for perhaps sixpence. The lady laughs at the ingenuity of the toy, flings it on her table, and forgets it; while the poor man, having thus got for his two days' labour sixpence, instead of five, ten, or twenty shillings, goes home and buys a sixpenny loaf of bread for his family, of half the size it ought to be, even for the sixpence. But, suppose the trade in corn and all things else free, and consequent full employment to be had, by means of our manufactures being taken in exchange for corn, &c., the poor man spends his two days in manufacturing some useful articles, on which he gets, as wages, five, ten, or twenty shillings, besides the accompanying advantages of being able to purchase first necessaries at reasonable prices. The comforts of the poor man and his family are thus, it is manifest, increased incalculably; while the only privation incurred by any one is, that the fine lady must either do without card-paper puzzles, or, if she still wishes for such sources of aristocratic felicity, she must give a larger portion of her superfluous wealth in exchange for them. Multiply this instance of the relief, which the opening of trade would bestow, by millions, and what is become of the distress of the labouring, or wealth-creating classes? It no longer exists; while the sole set-off against so much good, would be that, like the lady and the card-paper puzzle, the very rich would, in general, be able to command fewer of the quite unnecessary luxuries, they now buy, as they say themselves, for charity.'—p. 90.

Could the incubus of the landed aristocracy be thrown off, scarcely the emancipation of the Negro would present a scene of greater triumph for justice and humanity. The Negro has been emancipated, by agencies other than his own; and the British Negro, the operative Helote, with all the interests and intelligence that should war upon his side, is still as hopeless as the day after the confiscation of his right to his own labour was pronounced in 1815.

'In fact, were the importation of food freely permitted, in return for value added to raw material by manufacturing labour, not only each factory workman, but each poor factory child, who could thus, by certain movements of its tiny fingers, fill, as by enchantment, our granaries with the rich harvests wafted from the fertile vale of the Mississippi, would become a sort of modern representative of the fabled old Aladdin himself, with his Wonderful Lamp, who, by the simple friction of his hand on the magic talisman, could summon his attendant Genii around him, and cover the festive board with supernatural abundance. For, inasmuch as the movements of the child's fingers, give to the raw cotton the surplus value it acquires when wrought, whatever corn that surplus value purchases, which did not grow on territory belonging to the nation, is, as far as the nation is concerned, as much the absolute creation of those movements, out of nothing,—that is, without territory to be produced upon,—as though the sheaves of wheat came in obedience to a supernatural summons, wafted on fairy wings, from a world of enchantment.'—p. 92.

Twenty millions were given, needlessly and disgracefully enough, as the Whig sop to the slave-holding Cerberus in the West Indies. Ten times that amount *annually*, is probably sacrificed to the system of home slavery; and the heads of this commercial country falsely so called, lie quietly under the infliction.

'Let us simplify the subject on which we are about to enter, by looking at the whole resources of the nation, whether public or private, as one fund. The nation or common wealth furnishes the revenue, independent of local taxation, with about fifty millions per annum, including all taxes, direct and indirect. We murmur at this, and talk of saving a thousand here, and a million there; but we scarcely seem to remember that the nation, or same common wealth, is out of pocket, over and above this fifty millions paid to the revenue, a large indefinite sum not less than perhaps one hundred and fifty millions, possibly two hundred millions per annum, paid by the consumer, that is, by us all, in artificial prices, exclusive of the share of artificial price caused by the indirect taxation which produces revenue, but additional artificial prices, forming no part of the revenue, and the greater portion of which is utterly lost, in merely replacing the useless cost of forced production, and the remainder appropriated by monopolists home and foreign.'—p. 94.

The opinion of the *Times* (of the olden time) is oddly introduced on the subject of the Corn Laws.

'This monopoly is defined by the Times newspaper: "An extension of the pension list, to the whole of the landed aristocracy of Great Britain."

'Many a proud cheek, of those accustomed to believe themselves the independent nobles and gentry of the land, will burn with indignant blushes on viewing the subject in this light. Yet the definition is, it is to be feared, but too just. The sole difference is, that such pensions, instead of being paid out of the Treasury, are advanced to the landlord by the farmer, who is repaid again by the consumer, and thus a tax levied on the whole community, not for the purposes of defraying public expenditure, but for the private emolument of the landowners.'—p. 105.

'The following is an admirable condensation, by one of the London Journals, of Sir James Graham's defence of corn laws, when acting the part of foreman to the special jury, who on the said 6th, 7th, and 8th of March 1834, tried their own cause, and gave a verdict in their own favour.'

"We, the landed aristocracy, must live, but, were we to be just, we could not live!"

'And will the landed aristocracy of Great Britain persist in justifying, by their conduct, those who speak for them thus? The argument, however, seemed to be conclusive, for three hundred and twelve, out of four hundred and sixty-seven, of the said landed aristocracy, voted, though not in these precise words, to this effect, that, as they could not afford to live, as they liked to live, on the fair market price of their land, the deficiency must be made up to them, whatever it may cost the rest of the nation, out of the wages of labourers, the profits of farmers, the incomes of annuitants, and the ruin of thirteen millions of people dependent on manufactures. And this, although in thus compelling the consumer to give them a boon of two millions, they oblige him, at the same time to cast away, as has been already shown, twenty-seven millions and a half, which benefit no being on the face of the earth;—nay, which but partly repay the farmer his loss on forced production, a loss which, but for the interference of unjust laws, had never been incurred.'

'Suppose, for a moment, the wine merchants of England mad enough to form a project for making wine sufficient for the consumption of the nation from home-grown hot-house grapes. Suppose, further, the result to be, that such wine as we import at five shillings per bottle, should stand our home producers in one pound per bottle, so that to have a profit of even five per cent, they were compelled to charge one guinea per bottle—Would any one buy their wine? If they, upon this, set up a cry about their ruinous losses, would parliament give them a protection, amounting to a prohibition on foreign wines? and thus obliging all Englishmen, who drank wine, to drink it at a guinea per bottle?'

Not unless being a wine merchant, were the qualification for being a member of parliament, in which case, a majority is a ma-

jority, whether of wine merchants or of landholders. And surely, though the injustice might in both cases be the same, it is a much greater cruelty to rob the consumer, and check the consumption of bread, than to rob the consumer, and check the consumption of wine,'

'While, however, the jury-box is thus filled by the defendants in their own case, it is clearly in their power, if not prevented by honourable principles, to give a verdict for themselves, although every man in the great court of the whole nation should see that the property belongs to the plaintiffs. Every body knows that the labourer's limbs are his own property, his estate, his bread, the bread of his children;—but what of that? the landowners have a majority in parliament, secured to them by the possession of land being the qualification for becoming a member of parliament. If they will not make an honourable use of this sacred trust, surely there ought to be some appeal, some court of equity to deliver the nation out of such a dilemma as this! There is an appeal—an appeal from the high court of parliament, to the higher court of public opinion!'

'Oh! the time will come, some generations hence perhaps, when an Englishman's greatest anxiety will be to prove that he is not descended from any one of those whose names will then appear marked with obloquy on the pages of history, as having, in the great assembly of legislators to whom the people of England had confided the guardianship of their rights, lifted up their voices, and in the presence of their Maker and the nation, uttered sounding sophisms, with a view to gaining over the majority of the unwary, the uninformed, or the unprincipled, to join them in trampling upon those rights which they had one and all undertaken to protect!'

'When, however, we look back on the barbarities of former ages, the burnings at the stake, the beheadings on the block, the wholesale massacres, the summary executions, the private assassinations, the poisonings, the starvings to death in prison, and all the inhuman and desperate cruelties, which were in the times of our forefathers matters of common occurrence; when we call to mind that in those days of darkness, the then most polished nobles of the land, instead of deeming their triumph, as in our days, sufficient when they have sent their opponents to the opposite benches of the House, and cheered their speeches, were not ashamed of laying murderous plots, to bring their political rivals to the scaffold; nay, were proud of the savage power which enabled them to be thus the tyrant disposers of the lives of their fellow-men; and when, again, the loss of that power was almost the certain signal for their own destruction; when we remember that all this has been, and then reflect, that the salutary rise, which has already taken place in the standard of public opinion, has rendered the sanctioned recurrence of such enormities impossible, may we not indulge in a reasonable hope, that civilization, if not staid in its onward progress, by the blinded worshippers of ancient errors, will continue to advance, that the ameliorating and enlightening influences of religion and education which have been sufficient to wash out the deeper dye of blood, will at length be able to eradicate

the disgraceful stain of corruption, which still disfigures more or less every portion of our social system. That the standard of public opinion, which has so risen, will still rise, till honest measures, instead of being stigmatized as Utopian schemes, shall be adopted professedly because they are honest, till, in short, the sacred principle of good-will to all necessarily including equal justice, being universally recognized by public opinion, it shall become impossible for a man, with the slightest chance[1] of escaping public infamy, to vote against a law which he knows to be just, because it would depress, or for a law which he knows to be unjust, because it would raise his own rent-roll; or to support by his influence a monopoly, or any other abuse, because himself or his friends derive unjust benefit from the same. Nay, would not such conduct become impossible tomorrow, if such actions, instead of being laughed at and called "human nature," rendered a man, however high his rank, or great his wealth, as despicable in the eye of public opinion, as the detected swindler or common pickpocket. If the verdict of public opinion were thus invariably regulated by that equal justice which flows from good-will to all, could the maintenance of the pride of equipage, be any longer a temptation to commit such actions? Would any man, except indeed such unhappy inhabitants of Bedlam as weave for themselves regal circlets of straw, deliberately prefer riding in a gilded coach despised, to walking on foot respected?'—pp. 121-126.

Mrs. Loudon's reminiscences are dangerous. It would be curious to know what would be "pleaded again on behalf of the eyes," in answer to the following observation hazarded in days gone by.

'As to the danger of depending on foreign supply in case of a war, during the reign of Bonaparte, in spite of the greatest hostility, more corn, three times over, had been imported, than ever had been before.'—*Mr. Baring.*—p. 120.

The authoress evinces an acute insight into the feebleness of the fallacies by which the injustice is supported; and expatiates with a keen eloquence on the various forms and consequences of the wrong.

'For instance, the Quarterly Review, for March 1834, defends the existing corn laws, by expatiating upon the great convenience of being robbed to the same amount for 15 years successively.—One knew what one had to expect; being robbed in a varying and uncertain amount, the acute writer assures us, would be much more inconvenient. Granted; but how does this justify being robbed at all?'

'Such being the advanced state of public opinion, nay, the results of anxious research; the deductions from close reasoning on these important points being, as they now are, reduced to self-evident propositions, and dispersed throughout the country in almost every journal of the day, leaving to none the excuse of ignorance; it be-

comes matter for amazement that there should yet be found a man so hardened in selfishness, so steeled against shame, as to lift up his voice in defence of that blight on every harvest which grows for Englishmen! that Egyptian seven years of scarcity, rendered by Act of Parliament perpetual; that doubling of the primæval curse by the edict of men, the corn laws! A scarcity of the first necessary of life, established by act of parliament; by the votes of the guardians of the welfare of the community! Is it not monstrous? Twenty-five millions of people consuming only bread sufficient for eighteen millions; the deficiency, not equally divided, but falling wholly on one class, that class the creators of plenty, the industrious poor. The class who voted for the monopoly, who benefit by the monopoly, and who, therefore, can afford to pay the monopoly price, enjoying in the midst of this dearth of their own creating, "bread enough, and to spare." And not for their personal sustenance only, but also for the use, in the most wasteful profusion, of numerous non-productive establishments, consisting of all creatures or things, that can in any way contribute to their luxury, or to their vanity. "The horses will not be fit to be seen in the carriage, unless they get their full complement of corn," says the rich man's coachman. But who cares how wretched the double-worked, half-fed operative looks! And yet, it is our boast that we are a christian nation; and those very animals whose sleek appearance ostentation renders more important in our eyes than the lives and comforts of our fellow men, are employed to draw us to the house of God, the God of equal justice, flowing from good-will to all!'

'Great Britain has been compared to a ship at sea, short of provisions, and not allowed to touch at any port where provisions may be had. But her case is even worse than this; for though her crew are kept on short allowance, her wardroom officers are feasting sumptuously every day, while those very officers, are they who will not allow her to touch at any port where plenty may be had, because the majority of them are pursers, and have themselves the selling of the short allowance to the crew,—all the dearer for being short!'

'The Saviour of mankind, in setting us an example that we should follow his steps, blessed a few small loaves, and by his divine mandate made them sufficient to feed five thousand people. The parliament of Christian England follows this example—How?

'By cursing the bread of twenty-five millions of people, and changing, by their word, each poor labourer's portion into half of that which his Creator has furnished him with the natural means of obtaining for himself.'

'Surely, as much food as a man can buy, with as much wages as a man can get, for as much work as a man can do, is not more than the natural, unalienable birth-right of every man whom God has created with strength to labour, and with hands to work. Is it, or is it not an infringement of this right, to compel our labourers, by Act of Parliament—by law—to give as much money for half a sack of wheat, as they could purchase a whole sack of wheat for did no such Act of Parliament, no such abuse of brief authority, no such

breach of the principle of equal justice flowing from good-will to all, no such law exist?—That law, too, made law by the votes of those who put the difference into their own pockets. As Lord Fitzwilliam justly, yet in his own too temperate language, says: "The mere circumstance of our being the most extensive proprietors, is no argument for bestowing upon us any peculiar protection. It is probably the cause of our having obtained it; but, may it not have been conceded to our influence, rather than to our arguments?"

'We have, on the Christian grounds of humanity and equal justice, emancipated the Negro Slave, restored to him his natural right, a property in his own labour. Speaking on this subject to his constituents, Mr. Spring Rice said, truly: "Justice is a question, not of degree, but of principle.—If but a feather press on the brow of a brother, unjustly, we are bound to remove the weight."

'Shall we be less just to our brethren at home? When, then, and from whom, did the landowners of England purchase a property in half the labour of all our labouring classes, and to whom did they pay the purchase money? Did the labourer himself effect the sale? Did the labourer himself receive the price? Certainly not! Who else then could sell or give away his, the labourer's title, to that of which he holds his grant from God?'

'If landowners have pawned to themselves the limbs of the labourer; who is bound to redeem a pledge made by themselves, to themselves? Can that have the force of an agreement, to which there never was but one party? Is appropriation title? Can the idle man, without the consent of the labouring man, without valuable consideration given or received, take a property in the limbs the labouring man was born with? the only possession we bring into the world with us, the only possession we carry back to the grave, as though it were to proclaim to mankind, that man, made in the image of his Maker, is sacred property, which tyranny cannot appropriate!'

'If landowners, then, in their buying and selling among each other, have purchased from each other property to which no title can be found, property to which he who made the sale, having no title, could give no title, they must be the losers. If landowners in hoping to benefit themselves, though at the expense of the rest of the community, have unwittingly injured themselves also, and further, during their period of self-delusion, have incurred obligations among each other, calculated to aggravate their self-incurred embarrassments, we may, on the principle of good-will to all, be sorry for them, but equal justice, flowing from the same good-will to all, forbids that we should rob labour of its reward to relieve them.'

'The sole, the sacred claim of industry, a property in its own labour, is contained in a bond on which God himself has given judgment—it must be paid first, and in full, though the nation were a bankrupt, and all its other creditors received a dividend of one fraction in the pound.'

'None, however, need be losers: grant to industry, on the principle of equal justice flowing from good-will to all, the blessings of free trade, free markets in which to sell, and free markets in which to buy, in other words, full employment and cheap food; and, as shall

be shown more fully in a future chapter, industry will quickly become property, come up to the point at which it is proposed that taxation should be laid on, and thence carry forward, without difficulty, a much heavier burden than that which now lays it prostrate in the dust, and crushes out its very existence.'—pp. 127-132.

'Great Britain, as a nation which from limited territory is strictly an operative nation, that is, dependent on manufactures for its prosperity, should assimilate all its rates of value, as nearly as possible, to those of the nations with whom it has to deal. It is dear food, therefore, which is here condemned, and which, being itself a curse, has changed what ought to have been a blessing, into a deepening of its own curse. But we live in a blockaded country, and therefore pay siege prices for first necessaries, and can get next to nothing for wrought goods.'—p. 141.

All this has a strong tendency to impress upon the public the glaring reality, that the men of property, not the men of no property, are the persons whom legislation should be framed to guard against, in short the public enemy; that if property qualifications be desirable for legislators, it should be the qualification of *no* property, not the qualification of *some* property, —all the evidence of history, and particularly of British history, being to the fact, that the moment men of property get possession of the legislature, they cast about for the means of robbing others, plundering them of the produce of their labour, taxing them in the inverse ratio of their ability to bear it, and exhibiting those varied evidences of the wrong-endedness of a property-qualification, with which the British people are unhappily familiar. Here is the great nucleus of revolution, the * στῶ ποῦ of all who are desirous of change; subject always to the chance of reformation being beforehand. There is no use in preaching to the numerous classes on the benevolence of their superiors, when they are met at every turn, in their basket and in their store, with the evidence that their superiors support themselves by a systematic robbery of the industrious classes, carried on undisguisedly by the instrumentality of the power of making laws. Such a condition of things is not without its dangers; but the blame is with those who do the wrong, not with those who would abate it. History will have no parallel, to the power of a Government when the time comes, which shall act with boldness and science on the principle of righting the industrious classes, from their Egyptian bondage under those who call themselves their betters.

Mrs. Loudon in the mean time, does not scruple to assign the saddle very distinctly to the right horse.

'Here the question naturally arises: these principles being so

* The *where to stand upon*. "Give me where to stand upon, and I will move the world," said Archimedes.

simple, how came deliberate acts of parliament to be so framed by the "collective wisdom of the nation," as to make first necessaries scarce, and, therefore, despite a restricted or enhanced currency, dear; and labour and all wrought goods, drugs in the market, and, therefore, despite the dearness of food, cheap?'

'Because, first necessaries are the produce of land, and land is the property of members of parliament; and votes of members of parliament constitute acts of parliament, and acts of parliament are laws. While labour, and wrought goods, which derive their principal value from the labour expended in their production, are the property of those who have neither seats nor votes in parliament, and who have therefore, or at least then had, no share in making laws.'—p. 142.

'On the present system, no man in England is working for himself, (with the exception of members of the legislature, when throwing out honest measures). The rest of the nation is labouring hard, not only for the accommodation, but literally for the pecuniary benefit of the aristocracy or property-union: the farmer is selling on commission for the landowners; the labourer toiling to buy dear bread with low wages, that the farmer, by paying him as little as possible, and getting as much as possible for his grain, may be enabled to pay as high a rent as possible to the landowners. While the manufacturer is striving hard that he may pay double for first necessaries, still for the benefit of the landowner, and one and all are rowing against the stream to pay exorbitant taxes, for the purpose of making provisions for the younger sons and brothers of the same landowners or property-union, and discharging the interest of the debt incurred by their corrupt practices.'—p. 190.

This is truth, and not at all in a well. But as it is evident that we are at this moment in the fangs of the landholders, and can only put them down, like any other enemy, by increasing our own strength and subtracting from theirs,—great importance is given to any observation which may tend to set up an opposition in the hostile camp, or slacken the zeal of any portion of its inmates. And here comes into play a principle, of which, though not absolutely new, but to be found among other places in that great gulph of economical knowledge Adam Smith, the resuscitation in the present day seems fairly attributable to the author of "England and America," from whose works Mrs. Loudon has extracted it, with a commentary of her own.

'On the advantage to landholders in particular, of importing food and raw material, the author of "England and America" gives a case in point, from which, for the satisfaction of those who have not read that clever work, it may be advisable to quote the following passage:—

"The soil of Genoa being unsuited to the production of corn and meat, the Genoese turned their industry into the channels of manufactures and commerce, whereby to obtain corn and meat, with ...

outlay of capital much less than would have been required to raise the same produce on their own territory. They created, by the increase of wealth and population, a demand for productions which were easily raised on their own soil; such as garden vegetables, fruit, olive oil, silk, and wine. Thus land, which, if it had been used for growing corn, or feeding cattle, would at best have returned a produce not more than sufficient to replace capital with profit, and for which, therefore, no rent could have been paid, now yielded a rent equal to the difference between the value of the produce and the cost of production."——"With the further increase of wealth and population, the inhabitants of Genoa the magnificent, (magnificent because without corn laws,) required, besides, houses and warehouses, country villas, pleasure gardens, and ornamental grounds. For these, the staff of life being cheap, they could well afford to pay, without regard to profit."——"Thus, land of inferior quality yielded a rent much higher than was ever paid for the most fertile land used in producing commodities for market. While the original cause of nearly all the rent paid in the Genoese territory, was the importation of corn and meat, which produced all the higher degrees of competition for the use of land, on spots where, unless the staff of life had been imported from foreign soils, the lowest degree of competition could hardly have existed."

'The pastoral poets, indeed, of our agricultural meetings, sometimes remind us, in sylvan strains, that corn fields, agricultural labourers, and sheaves of wheat, are much prettier, and more picturesque objects than factories, steam-engines, and spinning-jennies.—Granted freely! But we have not the choice. It was not the will of heaven to cast our lot on a great continent, with tracts of unappropriated territory in our rear, to fall back upon, and cultivate, in proportion as we multiply. It is only, therefore, by keeping ahead of the rest of the world in manufacturing skill and industry, and obtaining from foreign soils, in exchange for our manufactured goods, unlimited supplies of cheap food, and cheap raw material, that we can rise above our natural deficiency of surface, and become, though but a little island, the capital of great continents. Should we choose to follow a contrary policy, we must give up the vain and painful struggle, at the crisis of which we have now arrived; emigrate as fast as we increase, and content ourselves with being, what nature intended us for, a speck among the great nations of the earth.'

'But we cannot eat gold, or silver, or printed calicoes, or Birmingham hardware, say the landowners; it is agricultural labour therefore, which should be encouraged; modes of making land productive, which should be thought of.'

'The following, then, is a receipt for making one acre of land, produce more quarters of wheat, than ever grew on the greatest and best managed farm in the world.'

'First, Abolish the Corn Laws.'

'Then, take an acre of ground, (let it be the worst acre of ground in England,) and erect upon it an extensive factory. What on an average, will be the amount of the wages each year, of all the hands employed within the walls of this factory? What, on an average, the amount of the clear yearly profits of the master of the factory?'

'How many quarters of wheat will these immense sums purchase in the Amsterdam or Havre market? or in Russia, America, or Poland?'

'Let the money, then, or rather goods to that amount, be sent to any of these places, and the quarters of wheat brought back and laid down, (if you will, to make conviction stronger) at the very door of the factory.'

'Are not these quarters of wheat, then, the harvest which, in one year, this one acre of the worst land has produced? Yes, as effectually, and more beneficially produced, than had every wheat-ear found its way through the floor of the factory, and flourished among the wheels of the machinery, and the feet of the workmen. What prolific powers of nature could yield, what improvements of direct agriculture, or outlay of an equally great capital in fertilizing manures, could draw from one acre of land a return of food for labour equal to that which, on the most moderate computation, would be produced by the process of indirect agriculture here described? Or should our supposed factory be so extensive as to require five or ten acres of ground on which to stand, the profits, and consequently the indirect harvest annually produced, would only be the more amazingly immense.'—p. 170.

This, which may be called the "Genoese" principle, is of enormous importance, as having a tendency to maim and neutralize a huge portion of the opponents, from whose integrity or sense of justice it would be vain to expect relief. The way is clear, to cutting off the farmers and the agricultural labourers from the national enemy; and considerable progress is actually made towards such result. It will be curious to see the airs of patriotism the landlords will assume, when they begin to find out for themselves, like their feudal predecessors, that there are better trades than stealing after all.

'Whenever freedom, from every unjust restriction, shall permit trade, wealth, and population, to progress with a daily and rapid increase, the land alone, under these favourable circumstances, continuing to be limited, must, as it becomes relatively scarce, rise to an enormous value.'

'Yet, the first necessaries of life, and the raw material for manufactures, being imported in abundance, and at low prices, the new and honest, because natural monopoly which landlords would then possess, would cause neither serious privations to the labouring classes, nor limitations to trade, and, therefore, would not produce that reaction upon the land which has been occasioned by the mistaken attempt to obtain an unjust advantage over the rest of the community, by using the authority of parliament of landowners, to starve the population into the payment of rents, disproportioned to the existing state of the prosperity of the country. Nay, should it so happen that under a system of free trade, the whole land not occupied by buildings should, one time or other, come to be required for purposes of luxury, so that the possession of a small portion of

ornamental pleasure ground should confer distinction, and fresh vegetable, and fresh fruit, etc., become what hot-house grapes and pines are now, the fare only of the very rich, though such an excess of competition, even for luxuries, would be very far from desirable, still while the labouring classes found the fruit of their labour to be abundance of bread, on terms that did not oblige them to labour beyond their strength, it would be to them matter of comparative indifference, whether that bread fell from the heavens, like the manna of the Israelites ; rose from the earth, responsive to their own labours ; or crossed the sea in floating granaries, to supply the deficiency from geographical position, of an island empire which, from overgrown prosperity, had become almost one town.'

'Taking, however, a more moderate view of the subject : should such freedom of trade, as equal justice demands, be established in this country, before our manufacturers are driven abroad, the future prospects of landlords will be splendid beyond conception! It has been already shown, that with a free trade in corn, an unlimited market for our manufactures would open before us, the natural consequences of which, must be profitable employment for all the labour of a rapidly increasing population, with a field for, and a fair profit upon a daily growing capital; land alone, the while, as has been already remarked, from the single circumstance of our being an island, standing still, while all things else were rapidly changing their relative proportions to land, not only must the highest possible degree of competition for land yet known arise, but probably a degree of competition, and a consequent rise in value, as yet unheard of. The enormous price which building land in and near great towns already brings, may give some idea of the state of things which might arise in this country, were trade allowed to prosper unmolested.'

'Families change from towns to the country, or from towns of more trade or fashion, to towns of less trade or fashion, to obtain, on more moderate terms, a house, with or without, according to their plan of life, a garden, or a few acres of pleasure or accommodation ground ; but the price of land must be exorbitant indeed, before people who had realized comfortable competencies, would become exiles to avoid paying a high rent for their house and garden ; particularly in a country in which they enjoyed the advantage of first necessaries and general prices being reasonable.'

'It will probably be asked, in ironical triumph, if it be meant that the whole of every estate in the kingdom would be required for building land. This is not exactly the meaning intended ; but it is meant to be asserted that, at no very distant period, old towns and villages would stretch, and new towns and villages would arise, upon, or in the vicinity of every, or almost every estate in the kingdom ; and that thus, every, or almost every landowner, by obtaining building or accommodation price or rent for a part of his property, would find the average value of the whole much increased. This would be the case, even though the actual rents of houses and gardens should not exceed what they are at present, the very lowest price of building or accommodation land being already so much higher than the very

highest price of agricultural land. Indeed, so great is the difference, that the landowner who could find such a market for a very small part of an agricultural estate, would be repaid, although he should turn the remainder into beautiful parks and pleasure grounds for his own gratification.'

'And, further, it is especially worthy of remark, that the immense value to which it is probable that land may attain under a system of free trade, never could arise in this or any other country, unless it were a country limited in surface, densely inhabited, skilful in manufactures, and importing its food and raw material at low prices; for, in a country itself unlimited in territory, people would of course spread over that territory, before they would pay more than a certain amount of rent or price for any convenience of vicinity to great towns; while, on the other hand, in a country limited in surface, and not importing food and raw material, as soon as rents and consequent prices had attained to a certain point, there they must stop, and the population begin to emigrate, or cease to increase; for nature herself having fixed the standard of how much work a man can do, and of how much food a man should eat, it needs no prophet to tell us, that it is physically impossible for any labouring population to give a year's, a month's, or a week's labour, for a day's food; the utmost they can do is, what our struggling population are in many instances now doing: giving two days' labour for one day's bread; and thus maintaining a species of existence, at Colonel Torrens's said starving point. Nor can the inexperienced reader be too frequently reminded, that the labourer can never be renumerated for paying an artificial price for food, by obtaining an artificial price for labour, as long as by restrictions on exchanges, the labour-market is over-stocked, and labour therefore exposed to a ruinous intensity of competition.'—pp. 165-170.

The next great subject is that of a Property Tax. Some parliamentary orator has said, that the maintenance of the king upon the throne, the keeping up the army, the navy, and all the machinery of revenue and government, solve themselves into the single purpose, of bringing twelve men together to give a verdict in a jury-box. By a kind of parody it might be stated, that the object, end, and aim, of the existing location of legislative power, is to make the community keep the landlords, and the poor pay the taxes for the rich. The horrible principle of making legislators of the rich, has the effects of enabling the rich on every side to creep out of the burden of taxation, while they take care that the *expenditure* of taxation shall as much as possible drain through their own channels. In short, for the rich to spend the taxes and the poor to pay them, is the natural course and consequence of things as they are. A Property-tax would put an end to all this, and make the rich pay their share; and therefore no wonder, that the rich will resist it to the uttermost extremity.

'The main objection, however, to a property tax, and that which has been as triumphantly brought forward as though it were unanswerable, namely, that such a tax would require fifty per cent on all the realized property of Great Britain, must be replied to ere we proceed further.'—p. 199.

'It has been computed, as already stated, that the prices of necessaries, freed from taxation and monopoly charges, would be about one-third their present cost. By a reduction in price of only half, however, property would, even after paying fifty per cent as a property tax, be ultimately a gainer; for the fifty per cent being paid in lieu both of direct and indirect taxes, and being repaid by the savings on monopoly prices and the remission of the indirect taxes only, property must clearly save the proportion it now pays in direct taxes. While, the merely desisting from wanton waste, would be sufficient without thus taking anything from the rich, nay, with even some advantage to the rich, to relieve all the industrious classes from all burdens, and furnish them, besides, with all the necessaries of life below half price.'

'In short, the income of all property which is expended in England, pays, on the present system, beside the direct taxes, from fifty to sixty-six per cent, between the artificial prices caused by monopolies, protections, etc., and the enhancement caused by indirect taxation; so that it must certainly be easier for property to pay fifty per cent only, as a direct tax, than to pay our present direct taxes, and sixty-six per cent besides in monopoly or artificial prices, and indirect taxes.'

'But, under the free trade and freedom from monopoly system recommended, property would not have anything like the fifty per cent to pay; because, a much less sum than the fifty millions of public expenditure which is squandered under the present complicated, wasteful, jobbing, robbing, pensioning, churching, and dragooning system, would under the purified and simplified system proposed, be all-sufficient.'—p. 199.

'Next, on the subject of poor's-rates, it is not too much to hope, that, with the blessings flowing from good-will to all, manifested in the fruits of equal justice, namely, free trade, full employment, and cheap food, pauperism would entirely disappear; and under anything like judicious parish regulations, such would, no doubt, be the result.'—p. 201.

'The Edinburgh Review, in defence of the landowners' bread monopoly, pleads the peculiar burdens on land of eight millions poor's-rates, and three millions tithes; though it was the bread monopoly which created poor's-rates, and although the tithes were never the property of the landowners. But, were the bread monopoly a right instead of a robbery; and had the tithes originally belonged to the landlords; still landlords would, on their own showing (allowing that those burdens did fall on them in particular), be greatly overpaid for parting with the said bread monopoly; by the effects which cheap bread must have on those very local burdens. If Mr. Crawford's calculation be correct, that landholders gain but two millions

by the bread monopoly, as they, the landholders, would save, on poor's-rates, were bread half-price, at least four millions, perhaps all the eight millions, and on tithes rated by the price of corn, one million five hundred thousand; thus, would landowners, after deducting the two millions they are said to gain by corn laws, be clear gainers of, at least three millions and a-half, if not seven millions and a-half, by abolishing corn laws. The fifty or sixty-six per cent which landowners must save on their own private outlay by relief from artificial prices, would of course, as in the case of all other persons of property, balance against the property tax. So that the abolition of the bread monopoly, by which it has been shown that landlords would be gainers rather than losers, cannot, in fairness, be urged as any objection to their paying the moderate property tax, which, under the improved disposition of things proposed, would be all that the real exigencies of the state would require.'—p. 205.

'The affected or ignorant fear expressed by another class of objectors, that a property tax would drive capital out of the kingdom, is equally unfounded. Where trade is permitted to flourish, there will capital seek investment, and when invested, increase with rapidity. What at present drives capital out of the kingdom? The manacles with which indirect taxation loads the limbs of industry. What at present also drives the income of immoveable capital out of the kingdom; in other words, enables so many of our luxurious noblemen, our men of wealth and splendour, our men of land and corn-laws, the men whose votes have enhanced the price of bread fifty per cent for the purpose of doubling their own rents: what enables such men, with perfect impunity, to spend those thus doubled rents abroad, in countries where bread is cheap, because rents are low? What, in short, enables our hereditary law-makers to establish a parliamentary famine in their native land, and with perfect impunity retire themselves to enjoy smiling plenty on a foreign shore?—Our taxes being laid on the necessaries of life, and not on property* !'

'It has been objected lastly, and with as much authority as though the objection was conclusive, that, as property has the making of the laws, property will never consent to tax itself. Let it be remembered, however, that public opinion, even in the days of corruption, forced the Reform Bill through both houses of parliament. Public opinion is surely not less powerful now that it is furnished with legitimate means of obtaining its just demands. If then public opinion shall decide that a property-tax on realized property ought to be substituted for every tax direct or indirect which now exists, such will ultimately be the law of the land.'

'If, however, it should be found (as some have been illiberal enough to hint,) that let a man be ever so staunch a reformer in all

* "The Earl of ——— is making preparations for his departure for Paris, where his Lordship intends permanently to reside and support an extensive establishment. No fewer than seven carriages are nearly completed by Adams of the Haymarket, for his Lordship.—His Lordship, like so many others of his caste, prefers living in a country where there are no corn-laws, and deriving his rents from a country where bread is taxed fifty per cent for his benefit."—*Spectator newspaper.*

things else, it is not in "human nature" to stand the test of pounds, shillings, and pence, and that, therefore, as members of parliament are always, by their very qualification, men of some property, and generally men of considerable property, they will, whatever their politics, be members of the property-union, and will not be got to vote (willingly) the loosing of their own purse-strings. Why then, the people must only be decided, and allow no man to represent them in parliament who will not pledge himself to vote for the repeal of the whole of the present complicated and wasteful system of taxation, direct and indirect, and the substitution of a property-tax on realized property; while the pressure from without must press the redemption of such pledges, with a force which no property-union shall dare to resist!'—p. 209.

'ADVANTAGES OF A PROPERTY TAX.—First, a property tax would have this great advantage, that its direct operation would effectually prevent such instances as the one just cited, of the unjust evasion of all taxes, by those whose more than just privileges cost the nation between seven and eight millions per annum in the maintenance of a standing army, maintained in a great measure to maintain those privileges; and for whose especial benefit, the most cruel of all taxes, the 50 per cent on bread is levied; and who further, to preserve their hereditary properties entire in the elder branch, charge the public, in one way or other, with the maintenance of all the younger branches of their families; whether in Army, Navy, Church, Public Department, sinecure, or pension list: for "to dig they know not how;" though "to beg" of a minister they are not "ashamed."

'The most comprehensive, however, of all the recommendations of a property tax, is that it is a direct tax, and therefore exempt from the thousand complicated mischiefs, miseries, waste of wealth already created, and hindrances to the creation of new wealth, and to improvements in trade, already shown to be inseparable from indirect taxation; which is again so intimately interwoven with monopolies and monopoly prices, that justice itself demands a simultaneous removal of all these wrongs, lest by a partial interference, the present cruel pressure be rendered still more unequal, and therefore still more unjust.'

'A property tax is likewise the most humane of taxes, being levied on those, who to pay it, need, at the worst, only resign some article of luxury, or of ostentation; but who need suffer no privation of life's first necessaries. Neither need the revenue derived from a property tax be subject to deficiencies; as the property tax can never (as other taxes often are) be due by parties who do not possess the means of paying the demand. Wherever there is property on which to charge the per centage, there must be property from which to subtract the tax. In short, let no man, woman, or child, be taxed. But instead, let every pound pay its own assurance.'

'A property tax is also the most just of taxes. Waiving therefore all the arguments and calculations which have been brought forward to prove that property, under a system of free trade and economical government, would not suffer by paying a property tax; nay, that

property must ultimately benefit, through the national prosperity which cannot fail of arising out of the beneficial changes, taken altogether, which it is proposed should accompany the laying on of a property tax; and assuming the higher ground of equal justice flowing from good-will to all; such justice pronounces, that even if property had no part in the remunerating circumstance of reduced prices; that even if public burdens could not be lightened; that, in short, if property could not be assured at a less expense than paying the one half to assure the other, it would still be but equal justice to commute every tax direct and indirect which now exists, for one direct tax on realized property. It is, in other words, but requiring every man to pay his own said assurance. And what but the wantonness of irresponsible power could have suggested, what but the helplessness of ignorance and poverty combined could have submitted to, a system of injustice so glaring, as that of laying any part of such a burden on those who have no property to assure, and who must find it hard enough to pay, by the sweat of their brow, nature's daily tax for daily food?'

'Should property, however, plead that industry ought at least to contribute something towards personal protection, it is asked, in reply —Do not the industrious classes contribute towards the protection of their country and its laws, those fearful war and insurrection taxes, their blood and their lives? Are they not our soldiers and our sailors in the day of battle? their bodies the floating walls of our island empire, the living bulwarks of our modern cities? nay, the very targets against which, ignorance, in the hour of riot, flings the missile which the wantonness of power has provoked?

'A property tax, again, may be collected with less expense than any other tax. But the collateral advantages of a property tax, in constituting the tax-voting class the tax-paying class, are yet greater than any or all that have been enumerated.'—pp. 211-215.

The substantial evil to be removed, is the theory which arranges that one set of men shall vote the taxes, and another pay them. The operatives, for example, of this industrious country, know,—or if they do not, the nearest attorney is able to inform them,—that it is written in the law, that no man in the class of English operatives, shall by any act or choice of his compatriots, be placed in the situation of being concerned in making laws for operatives. Laws shall be made, but the law is that there shall be no operative there. Do what they may, be as numerous and powerful as fancy can suppose, and the law is that the law shall always be made, to the utmost jot and tittle and without the interposition of one single grain of operative in the composition, by men not of like passion with themselves. The working negroes in the West Indies are hardly more unjustifiably treated. Truly of all wonders the most wonderful, is the length the industrious classes in all countries will patiently go, in seeing themselves made the sponge for the

rich to press, with scarcely an effort or a thought for bettering their condition. Mrs. Loudon is strong on these points, and has established a claim to the gratitude of every assembly of the working classes throughout the land.

'ON THE COLLATERAL BENEFITS OF A PROPERTY TAX, OR THE ADVANTAGES OF CONSTITUTING THE TAX-VOTING CLASS THE TAX-PAYING CLASS.'

"The advance of civilization has already put a stop to plunder by force; it remains for the march of intellect to devise a check for plunder by stratagem."—*Dilemmas of Pride.*

'This check is our great national want. Property, as distinct from industry, ever has been, and, even under a reformed Parliament, still is the maker of laws, the deviser of budgets, the voter of subsidies,—in short, the tier-up of public burdens; property, therefore, must be charged with the carrying of those burdens: nothing less can ever inspire it with a sufficiently feeling and careful appreciation of their weight.'

'In our reformed parliament we have, no doubt, many honest individuals, and we shall in time, it may be fairly presumed, have many more. But, speaking of property as a body, all its prejudices, as well as all its misconceived notions of its own interest, are opposed to the just claims of industry. Take, for instance, the obstinate blindness of landlords on the subject of corn-laws. While ever, therefore, property, as a body, can fling the greater proportion of the burdens of the state on the shoulders of industry, property, as a body, will never be brought to reflect with sufficient seriousness on the devastating effects of oppression on national prosperity.'

'But lay the burdens of the state exclusively, or chiefly, on already realized property—that is, make the tax-voting order the tax-paying order—and the representatives of property, whether reformers or non-reformers, would immediately feel, and therefore understand, the necessity of rendering those burdens as light as circumstances would permit. Sinecures and unnecessary offices would be abolished, and the indispensable ones remunerated moderately; or, if the property class thought fit, instead of each dividing his own possessions among his own children, to keep up, at the expense of the order, establishments in which their younger sons might still be placed to scramble for the prizes, it would become a sort of club affair, and, whether wise or not, would at least cease to be unjust to other classes. Another most essential advantage attendant upon laying the burdens of the state exclusively on already realized property, calling in always the aid of new property as fast as realized, is, that such an arrangement would not only teach the representatives of already realized property, now the law-making order, economy, but also, which is of infinitely more importance, give them an immediate personal interest in the increase of national wealth, and therefore set them upon devices to bring about and secure general prosperity. Industry—that is to say, the immediate interest of industry—would thus, at length, be virtually represented: a privilege it has never yet

possessed, and which no reform in the freedom of election, not even universal suffrage and vote by ballot, could bestow upon it. For the man who has his daily bread to earn has seldom education, never leisure, still less a legal qualification to take himself a seat in parliament, and so become the actual representative of industry; and it is in vain that, by his vote, however fairly given, he sends thither a delegate who has made his fortune in the same occupation at which he is himself still a labourer; by the very fact of having acquired a fortune, that delegate has ceased to be the representative of industry, and become in fact, and, what is still more important, in feeling, the representative of property; it has become his supposed personal interest to devise laws for the more than just protection of already realized property generally, and special enactments securing to the property portion, or great capitalists of his own peculiar trade or calling, some unfair monopoly, calculated to oppress at once the public and the operative; and such, therefore, has been in general the conduct pursued by what is called the great mercantile interest in the house—men who, though risen from the people, are no longer of the people. In fact, our boasted three estates have long had absolutely no existence. Whether the maintenance of such a fancied harmony, arising out of discord, is either desirable or possible, is another question. Again, the real identity of interest of the whole community is a truth which is little understood, and less acted upon. What we have at present to deal with, therefore, is the supposed separate interests of the various parties in the state; and these consist in name only, of King, Lords, and Commons,—*in reality, of King, Property, and Industry.* Lords and Commons thus, instead of being two such supposed interests or estates, are united, by the possession of property, into one such supposed interest or estate; and industry, while ground into the very dust to pay whatever this united interest chooses to demand, is shut out from all particle of share in the virtual representation. And yet the national importance of already realized property, compared with industry, or the power of creating wealth, is but as that of the income of an estate for a short period, compared with that of the value of the estate itself. What rents would lands pay without labour? What interest would money yield unless the principal were employed to set labour in motion? Now there is no question that what both houses of parliament vote, constitutes law; yet already realized property, this comparatively unimportant interest, is represented in both houses: industry, or the power of creating wealth, that stupendously important interest, not in either. Thus the great stability-giving majority of the nation, whose property consists in this power of creating wealth by labour, though they send nominal representatives to parliament, have no one with an interest felt to be identical with their own, to plead their cause in any constitutional form, except indeed the drawing up of humble petitions for that which they have a right to demand. If, therefore, neglecting the prayers of those petitions, the property-holding, corn-growing union,—being also the law-framing, place-holding, subsidy-voting, and subsidy-appropriating union—choose to make industry or labour, which it is

their supposed interest to buy cheap, unprofitable, and bread or the produce of the soil, which it is their supposed interest to sell dear, unpurchasable, and yet to take (for so doing) large salaries levied on industry,—what has industry left?'

'*The terrible remedy of turning the ploughshare into the sword!*'—pp. 239–243.

'In short, whatever might be for the advantage of the public would quickly be discovered by a body of intelligent, well educated men, whose own immediate interest was at stake, who were, in fact, administering their own funds, settling their own accounts, to sum up all, taking care of their own purses,—an office, the duties of which, chancellors in general pronounce marvellously few men incapable of performing, considering that poets and philosophers assert that all men are more or less deranged.'—p. 249.

'This is the centre jewel, the very vital spark of the principle of a property tax. This it is, which must not be lost sight of, and this it is which, in any mixed system of taxation, would be endangered.'—p. 252.

'But the misfortune has been, that the real business for which, till very lately, at least, all parliaments have met, has been to distribute among themselves and their connexions, places and pensions, and to devise and lay on taxes for the keeping up of the fund, out of which the emoluments of such places and pensions were paid, taking care that the burden of those taxes should fall as exclusively as was likely to be endured on industry, the ranks of which they thought fit to pronounce "the lower," and, therefore, never intended that either themselves or their children should join.'—p. 249.

The law, or custom, or instinct, which establishes the rule of Primogeniture, next comes in for examination. The whole theory of Primogeniture lies in a nut-shell. Its object is to keep the existing property of a family together in a single hand, that this hand may employ it vigorously in effecting the maintenance of the remaining branches at the public expense. What must be the mischief of this system in a country making any pretences to living by honest industry, it is not difficult to see.

'In short, a pampered aristocracy, in a nation which, from natura limitation of surface, and consequently of raw material, is, as may be said of Great Britain, strictly an operative nation, is exactly the species of drawback to the real prosperity of that nation, (that is, the comfort of the bulk of its population,) which an idle, prodigal son, would be to both the growing rich, and the enjoyments of an industrious father, who had no means of supplying the extravagancies of his son, but the profits of his, the father's labour: he, the father, the more extravagant the son became, must, it is manifest, work the harder, and fare the worse himself, and yet still continue poor.'

'Such a nation, therefore, should surely maintain as small a proportion of its population in expensive idleness, as possible. While, however, the idle few not only lay on, but are permitted to appropriate the greater portion of the taxes; and that thus they receive a bounty, as it were, on laying them on, which repays the share they have paid,

and leaves an enormous balance in their own favour, and that thus the labouring many, virtually pay the whole amount levied, both for tax and bounty—who is there to protect the cause, whether of the individual operative, or of that great aggregate operative, the nation?'

'These more than just privileges, however, are chiefly secured to the property class, by the undue influence which the maintenance of the law of primogeniture, gives to the heads of families. With a more equal distribution, therefore, of property, though still among the several members of the same families who now possess overgrown fortunes; this undue influence, with all its baneful consequences, would gradually die out; and talent, diligence, necessary information, and before all things honesty, become the titles for obtaining such offices of trust and emolument, as were really necessary to the service of the state; while both the temptation to devise, and the power to pay needless situations, would be taken away.'—p. 219.

'It has been absurdly objected against the abolition of the law of primogeniture, that, without maintaining this law, the hereditary peerage could not be maintained. If this objection, or rather assertion, be founded in fact, *it becomes an objection to the maintenance of the hereditary peerage, not an objection to the abolition of the law of primogeniture;* for, it would surely be a gratuitous insult to the enlightenment of the nineteenth century, to add any argument to prove, that what cannot be maintained without injustice, ought not to be maintained at all.'—p. 224.

'Finally, let us refer the question of this so much dreaded minute division of property, to the decision of that equal justice, which, flowing from good-will to all, has been shown to be the visibly revealed will of God: let us ask the reason which God has given us, what must be the verdict of that sacred tribunal. Let us suppose the privileged orders to bring forward proof incontestable, that without the law of primogeniture, and the auxiliary power of taxing the labouring classes for the maintenance of the younger children of the aristocracy, the subdivision of property among their own children, and grandchildren, and great grand-children, must, at last, reduce the descendants of the present privileged classes, to the ultimate necessity of losing caste, by earning their own subsistence. Would eternal justice, sitting in the judgment seat, pronounce such arguments unanswerable, and issue a decree, that the labouring classes must forego every cherished hope of amelioration, and continue to labour sixteen hours out of the four and twenty, be poorly fed, insufficiently clothed, and without education; that, by means of their hard earnings, and sore privations, they might be enabled to keep up a sufficient fund to maintain in idleness, luxury, and often splendour, all but one child, of each family, of each generation, of the now privileged class; for the great and important purpose of preserving one pure specimen of each such family, as long as the world lasts, not only safe from the very apprehension of want, but from the contaminations of industry, either in their own persons, or those of their collateral branches, and therefore entitled to despise, mortify, laugh at, and avoid, as they would contagion, every one who is, or whose forefathers ever were, of the slightest use to society?'—p. 235.

Fears are often heard expressed, and that by well-meaning people, of the ultimate consequences of the subdivision of landed property; and the instance generally referred to is France, where the facility of procuring land, arising out of the division of property consequent on the abolition of the law of primogeniture by the Revolution, is acknowledged to be for the present the leading cause of the superior happiness of the laborious classes in that country. But what, say the alarmists, is to be the consequence if this goes on? The way is to push the case to extremity, and see. Suppose then the subdivision of landed property to be carried on in France, till a large proportion of the people live on the cultivation of the smallest quantity of land, their own property, by which human life can be supported,—say, for instance, land producing to the cultivators at the rate of, one with another, forty*, or if preferred, thirty, crowns a-year. And what would be the result of this, but that the people concerned would live as poorly as the operatives in England live now,—that is to say, upon the least that will keep soul and body together,—but with the advantage of being *much less hardly worked?* Mrs. Hannah More canonizes the memory of some admirable old man, who lived upon the produce of a half-acre of cabbage garden, aided by one annual flitch of bacon which he purchased at the fair, and spent his leisure in the meditations his historian delighted in. To something like this state of hungry but not over-worked philosophy, may the French peasant possibly approximate. But surely this is better by one-half, than being hungry and overworked too, like his brother experimentalist in England. There seems therefore no great horror in expectation after all. If an attempt should be made to liken it to the case of Ireland, it is to be recollected that the Irish *are at rack-rent.*

On the subject of Representation, Mrs. Loudon returns to the attack against the unjust-property-union, especially as bearing on the question of Second Chambers.

'In the feudal times, indeed, when the lords or barons represented the country or landed interest, and the commons the towns or mercantile interests, there might have been, (though always on short-sighted grounds), some shadow of two interests; but now that lords and commons form one aristocracy, almost one family, all representing and guarding, alas! but too selfishly, the wealth already created, and all having a personal interest in taxing the wealth to be created or power or act of creating wealth, such taxes constituting the perquisites of themselves and their relations; what need of a peculiar strong-hold for a section or portion, of this (without such strong-

* Forty crowns a-year, is what Voltaire in his well-known political article states as the quotient resulting from dividing the annual income of France by the number of inhabitants. Multitudes therefore must live on less.

hold) but too strong, and, for the frailty of human free-will, but too severely tempted family party, merely to hamper legislation? Except, indeed, with the ulterior and unconstitutional view of making (on the pretext of veneration for the constitution) one close corporation business of the whole affairs of the nation, and thus evading even the small portion of constitutional influence which industry might else possess despite what may be termed the property-union, by rendering the only peaceable safeguard of the liberties of the people, representation, a mere mockery.'—p. 294.

The answer to the objections to the "ungenerous" and "unenglish" nature of the Ballot, is excellent as coming from a lady. Will Mrs. Loudon at her leisure give her attention to the *military* part of this question, as detailed in the latter part of the Article on 'Banim's *Canvassing*,' in the number of the Westminster Review which preceded the present?*

'As to the objection, that there is something ungenerous, and "unenglish," in the concealment of the ballot, it is quite absurd coming from a class of Englishmen, who use the prudent mystery of the said unenglish mask, in all their own club and pleasure arrangements. If men of liberal education and independent circumstances, think there is no dishonour in screening themselves, while performing a fancied duty to exclusive society, from soreness of feeling and possibly hostile encounters, beneath the convenient shelter of the ballot, why should the self-same cloak be considered too shabby or too unenglish a costume, to be worn by the shopkeeper or the tenant, in cases of serious necessity, to preserve himself, his wife, and his children, from the utter ruin held *in terrorem* over him, by some wealthy but unprincipled customer or landlord, for his honest performance of a real duty to his country?'—p. 306.

It is plain that Mrs. Loudon is a splendid woman, and has at one effort taken her place in line, among the political economists upon the people's side. She is fortunate, too, in having fallen upon times, when

'The spread of education is, in fact, rendering the *peaceable* continuance of abuses impossible.'—p. 311.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW for July, 1835.

ART. IV.—*Essay on Musical Intervals, Harmonics, and the Temperament of the Musical Scale, &c.* By W. S. B. Woolhouse, Head Assistant on the Nautical Almanac Establishment.—London; Souter. 1835. Small 8vo. pp. 84.

THIS Essay presents an instance of the attention attracted in various quarters towards what may be denominated the "mathematics" of music. In many points, it exhibits a great degree of accordance with the works and theories on that

* To be found in the APPENDIX, in the present Volume.

subject, brought forward from time to time in the present publication; and so far as these according portions may be of the "substance written some years ago at the express wish of several musical friends," they afford that kind of confirmation which is given by two time-pieces by different makers pointing to the same hour. Instead, however, of being less loaded with *intervals, logarithms*, and so forth, than the "Instructions for playing on the Enharmonic Guitar*," which is the work to which it bears the nearest resemblance, it may be affirmed to be more so. It would be a worthy deed, if any practical musician would embody in a book of his own, just so much of the two publications as he found to agree with his own ideas of the intelligible and the true.

On one point, nevertheless, it is desirable to set the Essayist right. On the subject of the Enharmonic Organ stated (p. 52) to have been built by Messrs. J. Robson and Son, 101, St. Martin's Lane, and of which a pretty full account was given in a preceding number† of this Review,—according to the proverbial expression, there was but a right and a wrong, and the latter has by inadvertency been pounced upon by the author of the Essay. The instrument, as will be seen by a more careful reference to the account just alluded to, contained nothing like a division of the octave into 53 equal intervals. On the contrary, every interval concerned was the perfect, or mathematically accurate, or untempered interval; for proof of which, reference is only necessary to the table (as given in page 61 of the Westminster Review for January 1835, and p. 171 of the present Volume,) where it may be determined on inspection, whether there is a single interval the same as any interval in the scale of 53 equal parts, and whether all the sounds there given are not in the naked mathematical proportions. The fact is, that the author of the Essay has run carelessly over the account, and gone away with exactly the wrong idea of it. What it was endeavoured to impress,—what was noted as the new and curious fact,—was that if an instrument is constructed (like the one in question) with the sounds of the perfect or mathematical scale, each of these sounds approaches very nearly to one of the sounds in the equable division into 53, with this further remarkable property, that the indications as to the magnitude of the intervals between the respective sounds, derivable from adding or subtracting the numbers or *indices* that attach to the approximate sounds found existing in the scale produced by the equable division

* Westminster Review for 1 April 1832, Article "*Enharmonic of the Ancients.*" See p. 99 of Vol. II. of the present work.

† No. XLI. See p. 106 of the present Volume.

into 53, *hold strictly true under the correct or mathematical division*, to an extent which though necessarily not unlimited, is almost inexhaustible in practical application. This is manifestly what the French would call a "major" oversight; in fact a taking of the thing for exactly what it is not. No shorter course can be pursued upon this occasion, than to invite any person interested, to read the two or three first pages of the article on the "*Enharmonic Organ*" referred to above; with a warning,—to prevent the risk of being run away with by the same mistake as the Essayist,—that the divisions in the interior of the circle there represented are the true, or mathematical, or if preferred the Pythagorean divisions, without a fraction of temperament of any kind; that their near accordance with the division into 53 equal parts as represented on the exterior of the circumference, is what may be called accidental, or mere matter of fact; and that the inference desired to be impressed is, that it is just as cheap to play in the mathematically correct divisions as in the imperfect ones of the temperament of 53 equal parts, and that the numbers or indices which designate the latter, may be useully employed for the calculation of the others.

The account given of the instrument, is also exceedingly inaccurate, and leads to the impression that the writer has not inspected the reality.

'Though the instrument is limited to the most essential notes for the keys from five sharps to four flats inclusive, it must be very complex, as it contains no less than 29 sounds in each octave, viz. 0, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 22, 23, 25, 26, 30, 31, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, (53 Octave). To afford a complete series, similar to the above, on each of the 12 keys (page 47), 18 additional sounds would still be required, viz. 10, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 27, 28, 32, 33, 35, 38, 41, 42, 49, 50, 52, making in all 47 sounds in each octave; and if the remaining 6 sounds, 2, 7, 24, 29, 46, 51, were added, the instrument, as in the scale of 19 equal intervals, would yield a full series on any one of the 53 sounds. Great credit is due to this undertaking; but it would be too much to expect from it complete success, as the superabundance of keys must prove an insuperable objection to the execution.'

'The scale of 19 sounds in the octave, which gives great accuracy to the harmony, though not to such theoretical minuteness as the scale of 53 sounds, would, on account of its simplicity and easy adaptation to the construction of the instrument, be a useful improvement in the correctness of the harmony, without infringing on its practicability as regards the performer. It is to be hoped that some persevering experimental musician will construct an instrument on this scale, and give it a fair trial.'—p. 53.

It will generally be concluded from this, that the instru-

ment with the perfect intervals presents a "superabundance of keys," at all events above 19 in the octave. Whereas the fact is that the division which gives the mathematical or accurate sounds, presents only 16 ordinary sounds or finger-keys in the octave on any one finger-board, the difference from a common finger-board consisting in the Seconds and Sevenths, major and minor, being double, or having a second finger-key in a retired situation in addition to the common one *. In addition to these, there are found on different boards, one, two, and three finger-keys of a perfectly distinct form, which are required to complete the number of keys from five sharps to four flats inclusive; but even in the extreme case, the whole number on any one board does not exceed 19. It is certainly apprehended, that by the introduction of various finger-boards, the playing on any one board, at all events in the keys which do not require the use of the extraordinary finger-keys, is rendered much less complicated than on a finger-board which should divide the octave into 19 equal parts. This last kind of finger-board, in fact, is nothing new: but was applied to harpsichords in times past, which were known by the name of harpsichords with a key for A sharp and another for B flat.

The object of introducing discussions of this kind here, is to endeavour to direct the attention of musical performers, and particularly those on perfect instruments like the voice and violin kind, to the question whether the *duplicity of the Dissonances* is not the solution of the difficulties that attach to the correct division and execution of the musical scale.

PROGRAMME to the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for 1 Oct. 1835.

THE Municipal Reform Bill and the Committee on Orange Lodges together, have brought on the first actual movements towards a Reform of the House of Lords, at an earlier period than could previously have been surmised.

The basis was well laid in the House of Commons, by the Notices of Motions in the next Session of Parliament, from the Members for Middlesex and Bath. And the other side, with a curious infelicity, stamped the impression deeper on the public attention, by engaging to move that the Notices be expunged.

Then went forth the "Voice crying" but not "in the wilder-

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* In this place may be mentioned an alteration which has been suggested by practice, consisting in assigning to the *acute* Second (major and minor) the usual place on the board, instead of to the *grave* as was the original construction.

ness;" and men heard by myriads, what it is sure enough the enemy would have put down by all kinds of murder and sudden death, at any period before his teeth were broken in his jaws.

A Society which no reasonable man can doubt had for its object the alteration of the succession to the throne in favour of absolute principles,—with one feeler in the camp of Kalisch, and the other of Don Carlos,—could hardly be exposed to the public, without creating a vast indisposition to the maintaining a garrison against popular improvement in the House of Lords, and an intense desire to ascertain the practicability of inducing that House to reform itself, as it had already consented to reform its own flesh and blood in the House of Commons. The brutality with which the English Carlists, through their organs in the press, have hounded on their "child and champion" in Spain to massacre such of their countrymen as the chance of war should throw into his hands, has helped to furnish out anything that was lacking in the identity. It has been made pure matter of self-defence. The novelty of English Carlism on the one side, must be met by novelty upon the other. The House of Lords will consent to what may be required for the *salus rei publicæ* when the time comes, with all the grace by which rank and dignity know how to enhance the value of concession.

APPENDIX.

Containing Articles which, for reasons intimated with each, have been given in a separate form.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, 1 January, 1824.

ART. X*.—1. *On the means of arresting the Progress of National Calamity.* By the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart. —London. 1817.

2. *The Question concerning the Depreciation of our Currency stated and examined.* By W. Huskisson, Esq. M.P. New Edition. —Murray. London. 1819.

1. ERRORS on subjects where the public interest is concerned are seldom stopped in their first stage, but they are not unfrequently arrested in the second. And if they are still not checked, there appears to be a Vis Medicatrix in the political body, which continually throws them out in more violent forms, till an end is in some manner put to the disorder of the public opinion. One of these efforts of nature may be considered as having taken place in the case of the prevailing doctrines on the subject of national profusion. The authority of Burke might long have induced men to believe, that there was something like a balance between expenditure and its effects: —that a country under taxation was really like the earth which

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* The following Essay had its origin in a conversation by fire-light among three brothers, all members of the same college in the University of Cambridge, in the year 1811 when the depreciation of the currency was an object of general attention; in which the question started was, "Whether we should ever have to give a five-pound note to the waiter, as his fee for handing a cup of coffee; and if not, why not?" Preferring the pleasure of investigation to the labour of reading, the author employed a considerable portion of his leisure for the next twelve years, in endeavouring to make his own discovery of the principles on which the solution must be founded; in which period there was no portion of the argument that was not modelled and re-modelled a number of times, for the purpose of effecting its congruity with facts. That the ultimate result should accord with the opinions of one party of the previous disputants, is much less extraordinary than would have been the contrary event. But however this may reduce the expectation of novelty, an original investigation will always present some points of interest to those who are concerned in the conclusion.

In the sixteen years which have elapsed since the first publication, the writer

receives back the moisture extracted from it, and not like a reservoir from which some feet are drawn annually by the sun and some inches returned by the rain. But his successors have resolved upon maintaining, not only that the reservoir receives again what is extracted, but that it does so when the substantial moisture is drawn out, and only fictitious showers and paper representations of humidity are added in its place ;—nay more, that the distress of the owners during some remarkable periods of difficulty, has arisen from the supineness of the overseers, who neglected to draw sufficiently largely for their own consumption and replenish the reservoir with the paper representative.

2. Among the most eminent of the supporters of these opinions and of their opponents, are the writers cited at the head of this Article. The principles contended for by the Right Honourable author of the work which is placed first, may be summed up in the axiom exhibited in his title-page,—that "either the means of circulation must be increased, or the burthens and payments to which it is liable must be diminished ;" from which it is concluded to follow, that the way to enable a people to support burthens and payments, is to increase the quantity of the circulating medium. His ministerial opponent maintains, that " the currency of a country may be depreciated by excess," which is the great point at issue ; though this admission is not followed by any calculations of the consequences. But as each has given the description of his belief rather than of the means by which it was attained, there appears to be no way of arriving at any conclusion, but bygoing back to the simplest state of the phænomena in question, and so endeavouring to investigate the nature of the in-

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has not discovered cause for material alteration, except in the part (now distinguished as § 24) which relates to the reasons for leaving bills of exchange out of the calculations altogether. It is apprehended that the paragraph as it at present stands, conveys the true reasons for that omission.

The algebraic description of the curve submitted as representing an approximation to a just scale of taxation (in § 40), has been simplified, and elucidated by a figure.

With a view to facilitate the examination of a complicated subject, the paragraphs have been numbered throughout, and furnished with marginal notices of the contents. The mark + has been placed before such of the notes as are accessible only to those familiar with algebra, but the omission of which needs not prevent other readers from acquiring a useful though less comprehensive acquaintance with the general subject.

Finally, in a separate form have been attached such Observations as have occurred since the original publication ; with a list of Objections and the Answers.

The Article has been several times republished in the pamphlet form, and various additions and verbal alterations made on each. So that the differences from the original publication in the Westminster Review, are considerable in number. Which is the reason of the Article being placed in the Appendix.

strument of exchange ;—the effect of alterations in its volume, and particularly whether any stimulus to production is created by its augmentation ;—when the augmentation is made in paper, who gains, how much, and who pays for the gain ;—with the effects, either in the way of "Calamity" or the contrary, entailed on different classes of the community.

3. In the earliest stage of society after the division of labour had been begun, exchanges might possibly be confined to cases in which each of the parties desired to consume the object which he was to receive. But it would soon be found out that anything which possessed a general and undoubted value in the eyes of those who wanted to consume it, was a good and desirable payment if offered at a proper rate ;—on the ground, that though the receiver did not want to consume it himself, the persons could never be far off who would be willing to obtain possession of it by giving something which he did want to consume in return. And the substances accepted in consequence of this discovery, may be denominated the *instrument of exchange ;* for by means of them, individuals in the end exchange their commodities for what they wish actually to consume or to enjoy.

Instrument of exchange, what it is.

Anything which has value, is capable of being used for it.

4. When the communication among the different parts of the community was sufficiently improved for the formation of markets and the equalization of prices which is the consequence, if any object, as for instance a bushel of corn, was offered to a retailer of the same commodity for a quantity of the furs, salt, gold-dust, or other substances which he was in the habit of receiving for corn which he sold, the utmost which he would consent to give would be, not the quantity for which he would sell a bushel of corn in the market, but this quantity diminished by the portion which would ensure his necessary profit supposing him to sell the bushel for the first. For he can buy a bushel of corn elsewhere, at a rate which will afford him this profit whenever he can sell it again ; and therefore he will not throw away a profit, by buying a bushel at any dearer rate instead. And if the bushel of corn was offered to purchase something else, as for instance cloth, it is evident that, first, if the dealer in cloth did not want to eat or consume corn, the quantity of furs, salt, gold-dust or other substances in use as the instrument of exchange, to which he would accept it as equivalent, would be that which he could recover for it from a retailer of corn, diminished by the amount of any trouble, expense or risk which would attend its reception and conveyance to the retailer ; or in other words, he would accept it for what he could realize by sending it to a retailer who bought it

Rate at which any object would be received as the instrument of exchange.

to sell again. It is true that if he chose to set up the trade of a dealer in corn in addition to his own, he might at some time obtain the full market price. But he must deduct the amount of his expenses, trouble, and delay; and his deduction for these, instead of being less than the deduction of the regular corn-dealer, must always be considerably greater. So that he would gain nothing by the proceeding, even though the trouble, expense and risk attending the transmission of the corn to a retailer, which are escaped by it, would be of considerable amount; and *à fortiori* if they were comparatively small. And, secondly, even though the dealer in cloth was in want of corn for his own consumption and on the point of sending for it to the market where he will pay the full market price, he would not accept the bushel of corn from any of his customers for more than has been stated. He knows that his being in want of corn for consumption is not within the knowledge of his antagonist, and that he has only to keep his own secret and the corn will come into his hands at the same rate as if he had no such want. A hawker, indeed, would go away in search of a higher rate; because his object is to find out persons who want to consume at the market price, and secure their custom by bringing the corn to their doors. But a customer who offers corn as the instrument of exchange does it to escape trouble, and expects only to get what it is worth to every man alike. And a customer is distinguished from a hawker at first hearing, by his saying "I want," instead of "Do you want?" And what is true of corn will be true of other substances,—furs, salt and gold-dust among the rest. Summarily therefore, the value for which an object of any kind would be accepted as the instrument of exchange, would be the value which could be realized by sending it to a retailer who bought it to sell again; with a further deduction of all the expenses of the transit*. The consequence of which would evidently be, to hold out a premium in favour of

Is a reduced value, or less than the market price.

* Hence it would be a mistake to think, that if a bushel of corn would buy an ell of cloth, an ell of cloth would buy a bushel of corn. It would buy less, in the ratio that what could be realized for an ell of cloth in any kind of substances by sending it to a retailer of cloth, multiplied by what could be realized for a bushel of corn by sending it to a retailer of corn, bore to the market price of an ell of cloth in the same kind of substances, multiplied by the market price of a bushel of corn. Or if the proportion of the market price to what could be realized from a retailer was the same in both, then in the ratio of the square of what could be realized for either the cloth or the corn from a retailer, to the square of its market price.

For if a bushel of corn would buy an ell of cloth, the quantity of corn which would be sold in the market for the same quantity of furs, salt, or gold-dust as an ell of cloth, would be *less* than a bushel; in the proportion, let it be supposed, of 7 to 8. Again, if an ell of cloth sold in the market for the same quantity of furs, salt, or gold-dust, as $\frac{7}{8}$ of a bushel of corn, the quantity of corn that could be bought with an ell of cloth would be less than $\frac{7}{8}$ of a bushel; in the proportion, let it be supposed, of 9 to 10. Hence the quantity of corn that

the employment of such substances as caused the least expense and trouble in the transit,—which, in all countries in a tolerable state of civilization and improvement, would be found to be what are called the precious metals; and they would be so employed accordingly, to the exclusion, either entirely or in a very considerable degree, of any others.

5. The motive by which individuals would be induced to part with their substances at this reduced value would be, the desire of obtaining particular kinds of commodities in return, without the trouble and delay of exposing the substances in the market and waiting till a purchaser presented himself who offered the desired commodities in payment. And if there was no inducement for any person ever to withdraw any of the substances which had been once introduced into employment as the instrument of exchange, they would soon amount to such a quantity as would prevent the necessity for any new ones unless to supply the decay of the old. For in any given state of the community, there must be some amount at which the substances in circulation would be sufficient to effect all the transfers required among the remainder. And for any period in which no alteration took place in the aggregate wealth and business of the community, this quantity may be considered as constant; on the same principle that the food used daily may under similar circumstances be considered as constant, or because one man's exceeding will make up for another's falling short. And it would increase when the aggregate wealth and business were augmented, and decrease when they were diminished. But instead of there being no inducement for any of the substances to be withdrawn, there would be a continual inducement for every individual to withdraw whatever was applicable to his own consumption; for he could procure it no where else so cheap. And his consuming it would not lay him individually under a necessity for putting an equal quantity of new substances into circulation to replace; because his occasion for the instrument of exchange would be removed at the same time. For example, the man who should have received corn as the instrument of exchange, could eat no other corn so cheap; and what he so ate, he would not have occasion for the instrument of exchange to buy. Hence the substances in circulation would be subjected to a continual drain, through the receivers

Motive which will make individuals part with any of their substances at this reduced value.

Quantity of substances required for the instrument of exchange, will be constant, in any given state of the community.

A continual inducement to withdraw portions of the substances so employed.

could be bought with an ell of cloth, would be to a bushel, in the proportion of 7×9 to 8×10.

applying them to their own consumption; and the consequence would be a continual demand for new. And the share of this demand which fell on any individual, would be proportioned to the quantity of the instrument of exchange which he was in the habit of employing, and not to the quantity which he withdrew. And from all this withdrawing and substitution there would in the aggregate be neither gain nor loss; for what was gained by those who consumed substances out of the instrument of exchange at a reduced rate, would be balanced by the losses of those who had to introduce new ones at the same rate.

How replaced.

From all this, no gain or loss in the aggregate.

6. The earliest use of the precious metals in exchanges, would be by weight. But it could not fail to be speedily observed, that much trouble would be saved if the fineness and weight were authenticated by the external appearance, or in other words, by the fabrication of coins; and that to do this with effect, the issue must be confined to the governing power. And the government could send into circulation in any given period, as for instance monthly, as many new coins as could be provided and manufactured for the whole of its income during that period, or even a greater quantity; as long as they would be received for what would pay for the cost, or it chose to be itself at the expense of the deficiency.

Characteristic property of coins.

How many a government might by possibility send into circulation in a given period.

7. In the early periods of the issues, *the rate at which coins would be received in the market would rise.* For if the coins were composed, for example, of an ounce weight of gold each,—by gold, to prevent repetition, being always meant either pure gold or gold of a uniform degree of fineness;—and if one of the coins was placed by the side of an ounce of rude gold, or, for greater distinctness, of gold-dust,—the coin would be the most desirable payment, because it would require no weighing or assaying. And if any other substance, as corn or cloth, was placed by the side of the two others, in such quantity as when presented in the market would purchase the same as the gold-dust, the coin would be a more desirable payment than this third substance also, to any person who wished to apply what he received to the use of an instrument of exchange, on account of the difference of transport when he should come to use it himself. Hence as long as there was any competition for payment in coins, there would be no man who would not give something in the way of premium to get possession of the coin instead

Consequences of the first issues of coins.

The rate would rise above the intrinsic value of the metal.

of any of the other objects. For instance, if the saving from its possession might be estimated at one per cent, there would be no man who would not give a half or a quarter per cent to secure the remainder; or, which is the same thing, who would not increase the wares which he would sell for the coin by a two-hundredth or four-hundredth part. But let it be supposed that there was no man who would not increase them by a thousandth:—and if it had been preferred to fix on any other fraction the nature of the result would not be altered. Hence a thousand of the coins would be received every where for at least as many commodities as a thousand and one ounces of gold-dust or the corresponding quantity of any other substances. But when a thousand coins were known to pass at this rate, if they were placed by the side of a thousand-and-one ounces of gold-dust or the corresponding quantity of any other substances, it would be as true as ever that as long as there was any competition for payment in coins, there would be no man who would not increase his wares by a thousandth to obtain them. And consequently a thousand of the coins would come to be received every where for at least as many commodities as a thousand-and-two ounces of gold-dust and a fraction, or the corresponding quantity of other substances. And in the same manner they would come to be received for as many as a thousand and three, and a thousand and four. And similar consequences would be repeated over and over, with as much rapidity as men could come to the knowledge of the value which coins were at the existing moment bearing in the market. In short the phænomenon would amount to this,—that whatever was the height to which the negotiable value of coins should be known to have risen in the market at large, it would be the interest of all sellers to offer to receive them at a rate somewhat higher, rather than be paid in substances, which, though they would confer the same power at the next place of purchase when they arrived there, would be attended with some previous expense or inconvenience; and this would cause the negotiable value of coins to rise. And it would continue to rise, till either it had risen to such a height as to make the existing supply of coins complete or sufficient to conduct all the exchanges of the community, and thereby put an end to further competition,—or till the anxiety of men to secure coins by an increase upon the market rate, was counterbalanced by the fear that the rate might from some cause be shaken before the coins were out of their hands.

Process by which this would be effected.

How far the rate would rise; is limited by the occurrence of one of two things.

8. But for the first of these events to take place, it is clear that

the second must not. And the further the rate was raised above the value of the metal, the more its durability would become liable to suspicion, and the greater would be men's dread of the consequences of a downfall. The rising of the rate, therefore, would go on as long as men were willing to risk their property on the durability of the existing rate, and no longer. Individuals would compare the loss which they would suffer if the downfall of the rate should happen within the period for which they expected to retain the coins, with the advantage which they would derive if it should not; and according as the loss multiplied by the fraction which expresses the apprehended probability of its occurrence, was less or greater than the gain multiplied by the fraction which expresses the probability of escape, they might be expected to undertake the risk or to decline it. And there would be no situation in which the rate would not rise by some amount or other;—because, however great might be the apprehended probability of a downfall, there must always be some rise so small, that the loss if it happened to its greatest possible extent, combined with the probability of its happening, would be less than the advantage held out combined with the probability of escape. Hence there would be a height to which the market rate of coins would rise in the early periods of the issues, and a height to which it would not rise; and the height to which it would rise would depend on the degree of security established in the community, and could only be determined in any particular case by experiment. And at this rate the market rate of coins would go on if the issues were increased; with the exception of such alterations as might be caused by changes in the public security, or in the public opinion upon that subject. And if the issues were persisted in, a period would arrive when the number of coins in circulation, passing at this elevated rate, would make the supply complete; and when the supply of coins was thus made sufficient for them to be employed in all exchanges, they would be employed so accordingly, without impediment from the elevation of the rate.

Consequence of increasing the issues of coins, after the circulation was fully supplied by coins at the elevated rate described.

9. If when this period arrived the number should be further increased, *the market rate of coins would fall*, to such a point as would render the final number no more than was required to make the supply complete. For before the number was enough to render the supply complete, every increase of the number would be followed by the dropping of a corresponding quantity of the substances previously employed to assist in composing the instrument of exchange. If, for example, these substances had

been corn, a portion of corn whose power of purchasing was equal to that of the new coins introduced, would cease to be employed as the instrument of exchange, and would be either eaten by the holders or sent into the market for the purpose of being finally eaten; for it is certain that men would not continue to employ it at an inferior valuation as the instrument of exchange after it had ceased to be wanted in that capacity, when by consuming it or selling it for consumption they might make it available for its full market value. Hence an increase of the number of coins would, under these circumstances, be attained with no increase of the total volume of the instrument of exchange. But when the number of coins had become enough to make the supply complete,—since all the other substances previously in circulation would have been dropped already, any further increase would cause some persons to have in their possession a greater numerical quantity of the instrument of exhange than would have been the case if the coins had not been increased. For the elevation of the rate would prevent the additional coins from being applied to the uses of ordinary gold. And since the owners can employ them in no other manner, they must bring them into the market with the intention of purchasing a novel quantity of some commodities or other at the existing prices, or a quantity which they would not have thought of purchasing if it had not been for the increase of the coins. And by the appearance of these novel intentions in the market, an extraordinary demand would be created for all or nearly all kinds of commodities, and particularly for the necessaries of life. For though the additional coins might be poured into a small number of channels at first, they would quickly be subdivided into an almost infinite number of channels; and a great proportion of them would ultimately be employed as the wages of mechanical labour, which are principally expended on the necessaries of life. And when an extraordinary demand thus arose for any particular kind of commodities, the dealers would attempt to raise the substantial price. For the raising of the substantial price upon an increase in the demand, is not a purely arbitrary act arising out of a desire to take advantage of other men's necessities; but, to a certain extent at least, it is what the sellers must either effect, or make the buyers a present of a portion of the commodities at their own expense. In the first place, an increased quantity of commodities cannot be extracted from the natural sources from which everything must be ultimately derived, without the

The rate would *fall*, till the value of the whole in circulation was made to be no greater than required to make a complete supply.

Process by which this would be effected.

exertion, not only of a greater quantity of labour, but of a greater comparative quantity. Again, if individuals are to increase their labour, they have a just claim not only to an increase of reward at the old rate, but to an increase in the rate for a given quantity. A man who is working twelve hours a-day already, will not, unless in cases of extreme want, be induced to work fourteen by the mere prospect of being compensated for the additional hours at the same hourly rate as before, and other men have no right to expect it of him; but he may be induced to do it by an advance in the rate per hour. And thirdly, since the sellers are exposed to all losses which arise from unexpected diminutions in the demand, they must either protect themselves by raising their substantial prices on occasion of an increase, or bear those losses without redress. From some or all of these reasons therefore, the dealers in general, and particularly the dealers in the necessaries of life, would be obliged to attempt to raise their substantial prices; and this could only be done by attempting to raise their money prices. And they would not only attempt to raise them, but they would effect it. For the reason why dealers cannot always raise their money prices as they might be disposed to do, is because they cannot depend on the co-operation of each other. But where the necessity is real and general, and the urgency which the consumers feel to possess the commodities is undiminished, none will undersell the other; and consequently the prices will be raised. An exception may appear to be presented in the cases of some kinds of dealers, who from particular causes cannot raise their prices to meet small variations in the demand, or in the value of money; as in advanced stages of society is exemplified in the fees of lawyers and physicians, the prices to theatres, and other instances. But these dealers, if they do not raise their prices at one time, do it at another, or else reduce the quality of what they give; for they can no more go without their just recompense to an indefinite extent than any other set of dealers. The advances in the money prices of different commodities would not necessarily be all in the same proportion; and there might even be some kinds of which the money prices would not be raised at all except as they were affected by the prices of other kinds. But if there was a rise in the money prices of all or nearly all kinds of commodities, and particularly in those of the necessaries of life, every man would discover that the coins were of less substantial value to him than before. Their substantial value would not be deteriorated to all men exactly alike; but it would be deteriorated to all. Let it be supposed then, that to those to whom the deterioration was least, it

It will be effected by a rise in money prices.

amounted to a thousandth;—and if it had been preferred to fix on any other fraction, the nature of the result would not be altered. But under these circumstances all dealers would find that instead of receiving the substantial increase of reward to which they had a just claim, their expected recompense had been diminished in at least the proportion of nine hundred and ninety-nine to a thousand. And their first proceeding would be to attempt raising their money prices again in at least the opposite proportion; and, as before, they would not only attempt it, but they would effect it. For they would be conscious that they were only seeking for their just recompense; and consequently none would undersell another or flinch from his demand. But by this second rise of money prices the substantial value of coins would be deteriorated to all men, by at least a thousandth again. And consequently the dealers would raise their money prices as before, in at least the proportion of a thousand to nine hundred and ninety-nine. And similar consequences would be repeated over and over, with as much rapidity as the dealers could learn the existing market rate of coins, and raise their money prices with a view to counteract the effects of its declension. What is described above, would be the consequence of the impulse given by *one* appearance of the increased number of coins in the market. But as long as the market rate was not reduced to the point which rendered the number in circulation no more than was required to make the supply complete, the presence of the excessive number of coins in the market would cause a succession of new impulses, whose effects must be added to those of the first. And the final result would be, that by the efforts of the dealers to overtake their substantial payment, the market rate of coins would be reduced till the progress of the reduction was met by the opposite tendency for the rate to rise. But when the reduction had arrived at this point, it could proceed no farther, and the dealers would be obliged to give up the pursuit after their substantial prices. For by giving it up they in fact give up next to nothing; because what they were in pursuit of was the smallest quantity which was sufficient to make itself felt. But if they were to reduce the rate any lower, their interest in raising it again would be of perpetual recurrence, and must amount in the end to more than they submit to once for all by giving up the pursuit.—If after this the number of coins should be diminished, their negotiable value would rise, on the same principle as before. Also, if instead of any alteration in the number of coins, an alteration of a contrary nature should take place in the aggregate wealth and business of the community, the effects produced would be the same. The negotiable value

of the coins, therefore, would possess an expanding and contracting property, by which it would accommodate itself to the number and the demand.

Consequences of continuing the issues of coins.

10. If the issues of new coins were persisted in, a period would arrive when a coin would purchase the same quantity of commodities that might be purchased with the metal contained in it, or with what would be given for it by a goldsmith. And if the issues were continued further, it would purchase less; and coins would be returned to the uses of ordinary gold, till the number was reduced to that which being circulated at the value of the metal would make the supply complete. For till this was accomplished, there would be a premium upon removal. But if the application of coins to the uses of rude metal was artificially impeded, then what could be purchased with a coin, would be reduced below what could be procured for the metal contained in it by any person who chose to deface it in defiance of the obstacle *.

Coins must be returned to the uses of metal.

Or if this is prevented, they must be depreciated below the value of the metal contained in them.

11. If, during these operations, any alterations took place in the aggregate wealth and business of the community, the requisite corrections must be applied. But the savings arising from the employment of the improved instrument of exchange, will, themselves, constitute additions to the aggregate wealth; and consequently a correction will be required. And the effect would be, to defer the time when the issues would render the supply of coins complete; or to make a greater number of coins required to produce this result. But though the time would be deferred, it would not be put off without limit. For it must be an extraordinarily wretched and unsettled country indeed, where the market rate of coins would not rise sufficiently to afford the government a fair profit on coining, and even to pay the expense of increasing its issues by borrowing. But wherever it rose sufficiently for this, the issues would be sure to overtake any demand for coins which could arise out of their own employment.

No increase of production or wealth from

12. After the supply of coins had been rendered complete at the most elevated market rate, *no* increase of demand, production, or wealth in the aggregate, would ensue from a further increase of their number;

* Men would always give the value of an ounce of gold for a gold coin of an ounce, provided they might apply it to the uses of an ounce of gold. But if they may not, it ceases to be to them an ounce of gold as to any practical use. The simple possession of an ounce of gold, which the possessor is nevertheless prevented from applying to the uses of an ounce of gold, no more conveys to him the value of an ounce of other gold, than it would if the restriction were that he should keep it in a glass case to look at. It is not the having an ounce of gold, but an ounce of *useable* gold, that anybody will necessarily give value for.

but on the contrary, a diminution. For since the additional coins are continually swallowed up by a proportionate rise of money prices, the aggregate power of the community to purchase and to consume cannot be finally augmented; it being clearly indifferent as to this point, whether the business of the community is transacted with a certain number of coins at a given value, or with double the number at half the value. The question is whether an increase of something does not take place during the period that the value is shifting. But the increase of demand for commodities which is the cause of the change in the value of coins, exists only while the change is taking place, and its immediate operation is to produce its own counteraction. For example, if the effect of the additional coins was to throw a demand for a thousand bushels of wheat into the wheat market, the rise of price which would be the consequence would cause the consumers of wheat in general to economize their consumption and their demand; which must be set off against the other. And every time the impulse on the wheat market is renewed, the stimulus to economize demand in another direction will be renewed also; and the same for any other commodities. Hence, to expect a final increase of demand on such a foundation, is like expecting to raise a pyramid of water on a lake; for the foundation is always giving way. And not only will there be no increase, but, on the other hand, the amount of what was given to the government for the additional coins will be deducted from the wealth of the coin-holders at large; which, instead of increasing, must diminish their power of demanding.

further increase of coins, after the number is once sufficient to make the supply complete.

13. An increase of production, employment and wealth, might be created in some particular branches of trade, in consequence of the direction given by the government to the additional coins*; but it would be balanced by an equal diminution in some other branches. For if the purchases of the government with the new coins had been so divided among all imaginable commodities, that the numbers applied to the purchase of each should have continued in the same proportions as before, the new coins would have been quietly absorbed by a corresponding depreciation, the government would have obtained a portion of all commodities for its coins, and the amount would have been lost by the coin-holders at large; and there would, on the

An increase may possibly be created in some branches of trade, but it must be balanced by a corresponding diminution in some others.

* As, for example, it might increase the trade of gun-makers, if the whole or a large proportion of the superfluous issues were laid out by the government from time to time on musquets.

whole, be neither increased production, employment, nor wealth. And if the purchases made with the new coins were distributed in some different manner, the same sums could only excite the same quantity of production, pay for the same quantity of labour, and employ the same quantity of capital, in the aggregate, in one place as in another. If the favoured trades, therefore, had been more lively, some others must have been proportionably more dull.

The phænomenon of *Agios* may be explained on the above principles.

14. What are called *Agios* appear to present experimental proof of the truth of the foregoing principles. When it happens, as it does in some countries, that bank paper will sell for more than the value expressed in it, the difference, as is well known, is the agio. Since the bank money has the advantage of being secure from fire, robbery, and other accidents, and of being paid away by a simple transfer, without the trouble of counting or the risk of transporting it from one place to another, it is evident that to all persons who are in the habit of employing such sums as the paper is drawn for, it will be more advantageous to be paid in this paper, at whatever may be its existing negotiable value, than in ordinary money. Hence, if this difference of advantage amounted to a thousandth, or to any other fraction that can be named, the negotiable value ought to rise to the greatest height which the confidence of the public in the durability of the price would allow; unless the issues were sufficient to supply the public demand at a lower rate. And if the bank should determine, as any other trader would do in similar circumstances, to increase its issues as long as the price would pay for the trouble of issuing, the price ought to fall to the point thus determined, and there remain; with the exception, that the demand for bank money should happen to decrease, in which event the price would fall further, unless the bank should offer to buy up its paper. And accordingly it appears, that the Bank of Amsterdam "has of late years come "to the resolution to sell at all times bank money for currency, "at five per cent agio, and to buy it again at four per cent agio; "in consequence of which resolution, the agio can never either "rise above five, or sink below four per cent." But "before "this resolution was taken, the market price of bank money "used sometimes to rise so high as nine per cent agio, and "sometimes to sink so low as par*." From the whole of which it may be inferred, that five per cent was the bank's living profit, or what left a fair remuneration for its trouble in this branch of its trade after paying the expenses; and that the

* Wealth of Nations, *B.* 4, *Ch.* 3.

issues were consequently extended till the agio was reduced to this point. And at the same time that a hundred pounds in this bank money was being negotiated for as much as a hundred-and-five pounds currency, the absolute and intrinsic difference in convenience or safety, between being paid with a hundred pounds bank money but passing for a hundred-and-five, and with a hundred-and-five pounds currency, might not be worth two shillings *. The phænomenon has been differently accounted for, by supposing the agio to be the difference between the good standard money of the state, and the clipt, worn, and diminished currency poured into it from all the neighbouring states. To which it may be objected, first, that the variations of the agio from nine per cent to nothing are inexplicable upon this ground, unless it can be supposed that the deterioration of the coins brought from all the neighbouring states would ever with one consent become nothing; and secondly, that since the bank can command the magnitude of the agio by regulating its issues, and can afford to fix it permanently at one value, the agio cannot be the difference between the standard money of the state and the degraded currency of its neighbours, which it is clear the bank can neither command nor foretell.

15. In a State where the receipts and disbursements of the public had been made only in commodities, much trouble would be saved if the government were to fabricate paper billets having a certain value specified in each, as for instance a bushel of wheat, and deliver them in its payments in lieu of the commodities specified; engaging to receive them again for the same value in discharge of taxes, and at all times to return the specified commodities upon demand. And in consequence of the convenience attending the employment of these billets as the instrument of exchange, a number of them would be neither returned in discharge of taxes nor in demand of payment. And for every billet so retained in circulation, it is clear that the commodities which had been received when it was issued, would be in the hands of the government, over and above the receipts of the taxes or just revenue; and that a corresponding quantity of some commodities which had been previously employed as the

Consequences of issuing paper money, where exchanges had previously been conducted by the intervention of commodities.

* And after all, this value of two shillings or whatever it may be, is just as much saved to the receiver as ever; and would be so, if the agio had risen to any imaginable magnitude. The whole is a curious instance of a minute cause producing a continuous effect of vast dimensions in comparison with the actual dimensions of the thing which is the cause. The curiosity is not in the cause producing a continuous effect,—for all causes in reality do so till counteracted; —but in its producing the effect to so great an extent, before any foreign force interferes.

instrument of exchange, would be restored to their ordinary uses. The public have given commodities for paper, and in return paper performs for them the office of the instrument of exchange, and releases an equal quantity of commodities from that employment. The public therefore are just where they were; and the commodities which were given for the paper remain with the government. A kind of creation has taken place, by making paper perform the office of valuable commodities; and it is the government that is the gainer. But if the government is an honest agent for the public, and brings the amount so gained to the public account as it ought to do, then it is the community that is the final gainer by the process.

Paper would proceed to occupy the circulation, on account of its convenience; and an equivalent quantity of the substances previously employed in circulation, would be returned to their original uses.

16. If the government should issue from time to time a greater number of the billets than were returned in discharge of the taxes in the same interval, they would proceed to occupy the circulation to the exclusion of commodities; and on account of their superior convenience, they might be expected to bear an agio till it was reduced by the multiplication of their number. But when the number retained in circulation had become sufficient to reduce them to their natural value, or cause each to exchange for the value of the bushel of wheat which was expressed in it, the number retained in circulation could not be further increased, whatever might be the issues. For any increase of the number would cause the exchangeable value to be diminished below that of the wheat which might be obtained upon demand; and consequently they would be carried in for payment till the superfluous number was reduced.

If the government should refuse to pay in commodities as promised, the billets would not become waste paper.

17. If when the government had thus issued the greatest number which would be retained in circulation, it should cease to pay in wheat upon demand, it does not follow that there would be a general overthrow of the whole circulation, or that every man would apply his billets to the purposes of waste paper. On the contrary, if the refusal to pay in corn was accompanied by a law making the billets legal tender in all contracts where the value had been expressed in bushels of wheat,—in which, by making legal tender, it is sufficient to understand that the law denies remedy,—men would make an attempt to continue the circulation, and what they attempted would succeed. Considerable agitation would probably occur at the moment; but when this was over, it is as well established as any other fact can be by experiment*,

* The experiment of the Bank of England's paper in 1797.

that the public paper would continue to perform the office of an instrument of exchange. Paper issued by private bankers might do the same, if the consent of the community, expressed through the organ of a law, would make it legal tender also. By such a proceeding it would in fact be made public paper; for it could make no difference whether the paper thus adopted by the law was signed in what was called the government's bank, or in one that went by some other name. But inasmuch as neither the community nor the government sees any good reason for doing this kindness to the private bankers, they are obliged to depend upon their power of paying on demand.

18. If after this, the government should continue to issue from time to time a greater number than were returned in discharge of the taxes in the same interval, then, on every addition, an increased number must in some manner make their appearance in the market; and from this, an increase of paper prices, or, which is the same thing, a depreciation of the paper, would take place by the same steps as in the case of an addition of superfluous coins. For example, if exclusively of the number occupied in the discharge of the taxes*, four thousand billets were in circulation at any particular instant where three thousand circulating at par would be sufficient,—then the billets would be depreciated by one fourth, or a billet purporting to be for a bushel of wheat would in fact exchange only for the value of three-quarters of a bushel; or, which is the same thing, the paper prices of commodities would rise by one third. It would be of no consequence that a bushel of wheat was expressed in the billet. The government, which made the promise of a bushel of wheat, has refused to keep it; and other persons are bound to give, not what the government promised without intending to perform, but what the state of the market will allow. If the government should attempt to prevent the depreciation by forcibly causing the value of a bushel of wheat to be given for every billet as before, this would be equivalent to enacting that every man should have a right to take a bushel of wheat from his neighbour upon giving him three-quarters of a bushel

If the quantity of paper is increased beyond what is required to supply the circulation at its existing value, it will be depreciated in the same manner as the coins.

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* A fixed number may be considered as constantly occupied in being received in discharge of the taxes and re-issued; in the same manner as a fixed number may be considered as occupied in the whole, or in any other portion, of the great machinery of circulation. As a general approximation, it would perhaps not be very far from the truth, if it was assumed to be such a portion of the whole circulating medium, as is expressed by the annual amount of the taxes, divided by the whole amount of the transfers made annually by means of the circulating medium throughout the country.

in return. And the consequence of pushing the enforcement to the limit of possibility would be, that every man's property would be at the disposal of his neighbours; or in other words that there would be no such thing as property at all.

Measure of the depreciation.

—Hence the proportion of the nominal value to which each billet would be reduced, would at any time be expressed by a fraction, whose numerator was the number sufficient for the circulation when the paper was at par, diminished by the number engaged in discharging the taxes; and its denominator the number actually in circulation, diminished by the same. And if this is subtracted from unity, the fraction which remains will express the depreciation.

19. It may be useful to examine the consequences of such a system;—and first, if the nominal amount of the taxes remains unaltered, or they continue to be discharged by the same quantity of paper as at first. When the whole of the circulation had come to be occupied by the billets at par, if the government should go on issuing from time to time—as, for instance, daily—a number equal to what were returned in discharge of the taxes in the same interval, no depreciation would ensue; for the number in circulation would remain unaltered. These, then, may be called the *legitimate* issues, because in any period they are authorized by the number returned by the taxes. And any issue over and above this number may be called a *superfluous* issue; and the sum of the legitimate and superfluous issue is the *actual* issue. Also, by the *nominal* value or amount of any quantity of paper must be understood the value or amount of the commodities, as for instance the bushels of wheat, which are expressed upon the paper; in opposition to the *substantial* value, or what can really be got for it in exchange.

Consequences of such a system. — First, if the nominal amount of the taxes remains unaltered.

20. No part of the superfluous issues could be returned by the payment of the taxes; because the legitimate issues are equal to the paper returned by the taxes, and the superfluous issues are over and above. The superfluous issues, therefore, must all go to cause depreciation. Let it be supposed then, that the issues and the nominal produce of the taxes are uniform; and that the effect of each day's superfluous issue becomes sensible at the conclusion of that day or the beginning of the next. During the first day no depreciation would be felt. But on any of the following days, the sum of the augmentations to the number in circulation would be equal to the superfluous issue of one day multiplied by the number of days during which the superfluous issues had been carried on;—from

Calculation.

which the depreciation may be found. And what the government would substantially receive on the same day in exchange for the superfluous issue, would be expressed by the nominal amount of the daily superfluous issue, diminished by the product of itself and of the fraction which expresses the depreciation. And what it would substantially lose on the same day by the diminution of value of the legitimate part of the issue, or the paper received for the taxes and re-issued, would be expressed by the nominal amount of the legitimate daily issue multiplied by the same fraction. And the result to the government on any given day would be equal to the first of these quantities diminished by the second; or to the nominal amount of the daily superfluous issue, diminished by the product of the actual daily issue and of the fraction which expresses the depreciation. Hence, when the depreciation became such that the product of itself and of the actual daily issue was equal to the daily superfluous issue, the daily result to the government would be nothing, or the increase of gains would be at an end. And this would be, when the depreciation became equal to the daily superfluous issue, divided by the actual daily issue. But if the superfluous issues were continued after this period, the government would begin to lose; for it would suffer more by the diminution of what it obtained for the paper received for the taxes, than it would obtain for the superfluous issue. And the losses would in no very long period amount to as much as all the previous gains; after which it would be impossible to continue the system without final loss.—And, conversely, to have produced a given depreciation by gradual and uniform issues spread over the largest period for which the influx of gain is possible, the daily superfluous issue must have been to the actual daily issue, as the numerator of the fraction which expresses the given depreciation, to the denominator. For example, to have produced a depreciation of one-seventh in this manner, the daily superfluous issue must have been one-seventh of the actual issue, or one-sixth of the nominal produce of the taxes. But when the depreciation had reached one-seventh, there would be an end of daily gains, and daily losses would commence. And these losses would amount to the sum of the previous gains, when the depreciation reached twenty-six hundredths nearly; as may be verified on trial by any person who has time and perseverance to make the experiment *.

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* + The result may be obtained with greatly increased facility, by the use of algebra. If A represents the number of billets, each nominally for a bushel of wheat, which are sufficient when at par for the whole circulation including the payment of the taxes, b the number occupied in discharging the taxes, s the daily superfluous issue, p the daily nominal produce of the taxes or legi-

21. What is given to the government on any day for the superfluous issue, will on the following day be lost among all the holders of paper by the consequent increase of depreciation. But the payers of the taxes will, on the following and every successive day, gain the amount of the additional depreciation on their respective payments, in addition to all that they gained by the old; for the paper which they require to pay their taxes will be procured with so much less of substantial cost. And what the payers of taxes gain, the government will lose; because the paper will buy less by the same quantity when it is re-issued. The gain of the government therefore will be made once for all, and there will be no more of it; but its losses from the consequences will recur every day and be endless. And this is what makes the government sure to lose in the end.

Further results if there are fund-holders; or the government has debts, of which it must pay the interest.

22. If a system of funding had been previously established, the gains of the government would be extended, in consequence of what would be taken from the stock-holders. And if the payments to the stock-holders also are supposed to be made daily and uniformly, then on any given day the result to the government from the depreciation would be equal to the result in the preceding case, increased by the product of the daily nominal payment to the stock-holders and of the fraction which expresses the depreciation. Or it would be expressed by the nominal amount of the daily su-

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timate issue, t the number of days that the superfluous issues have gone on, and z the fraction which expresses the depreciation,—then, the issues and nominal produce of the taxes being supposed uniform, z will be equal to $1 - \frac{A-b}{A-b+st}$, or to $\frac{st}{A-b+st}$. The bushels of wheat received for the superfluous issue during $\dot{t}$ will be $\dot{s} - \dot{s}\dot{t}z$; and the bushels lost on the remainder of the issue will be $p\dot{t}z$. The result therefore during $\dot{t}$ will on the whole be $s\dot{t} - (s+p).\dot{t}z$, or $\frac{A-b-pt}{A-b+st} \times \dot{s}\dot{t}$. Of which the fluent, corrected so as to be nothing when t is nothing, is $\left(\frac{s+p}{s} \times (A-b) \times \text{hyp.log.}\frac{A-b+st}{A-b}\right) - pt$; which is the total gain of the government in any time t, expressed in bushels of wheat. When the depreciation is such that $(s+p).\dot{t}z$ is equal to $\dot{s}\dot{t}$, the daily gains will be at an end. And this will be when $z = \frac{s}{s+p}$, or when $\frac{st}{A-b+st} = \frac{s}{s+p}$, or $t = \frac{A-b}{p}$. When t is greater than this, the result during $\dot{t}$ will be negative, or there will be a daily loss. And these losses will balance the previous gains, when the fluent above given becomes nothing. And this will be, when the depreciation becomes such that $\frac{z}{1-z}$ divided by the hyperbolic logarithm of $\frac{1}{1-z}$ is

perfluous issue, diminished by the product of the difference between the actual daily issue and the daily nominal payment to the stock-holders, and of the fraction expressing the depreciation. And by substituting this, the consequences may be computed as before.—Hence the gains of the government would be continued, till the depreciation became equal to the daily superfluous issue divided by the difference between the actual daily issue and the daily nominal payment to the stock-holders. And if the superfluous issues were continued after this period, the government would on any day lose more by the taxes than it received both by the superfluous issue and by the gain made from the stock-holders.—For example, if the daily nominal payments to the stock-holders amounted to one half of the daily nominal produce of the taxes, and if, as before, the daily superfluous issue had been one-seventh of the actual issue, the gains of the government, instead of coming to a conclusion when the depreciation was one-seventh, would be continued till it was one-fourth. But from the time that the depreciation was one-seventh, the government, though it continued to gain from the stock-holders, would be losing from the other consequences of the depreciation; and these losses are what at length bring the influx of gain to a conclusion. And when the depreciation had reached one-fourth, there would be an end of daily gains, and daily losses would commence. And these losses would balance the previous gains, when the depreciation reached a little more than forty-two hundredths; as may be determined by experiment as before, by those who have time and perseverance to make it*. Hence even the gains from the

The gains of the government will come to an end;

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equal to $\frac{s+p}{p}$; from which the depreciation may be found by the method of approximation. Conversely, for the daily gains to come to an end when the depreciation is of a given magnitude, s must have been in such proportion to p, that $\frac{s}{s+p}$ shall be equal to the given depreciation. If, for instance, the gains come to an end when the depreciation is one seventh, s must have been $=\frac{p}{6}$. And the losses will balance the previous gains, when $z = .25975$.

* + Algebraically; If $p = q + r$, of which q is paid daily to the stock-holders, the result to the government during $\dot{t}$ will be $s\dot{t} - (s+p) \cdot \dot{t}z + q\dot{t}z$, or $s\dot{t} - (s+r) \cdot \dot{t}z$; and the consequences may be deduced from the former computations by substituting r for p. The influx of gain will cease when $z = \frac{s}{s+r}$; but loss will have been arising from the effects of the depreciation, in all quarters except the gains from the stockholders, from the time that z was

stock-holders would not prevent final loss. This system therefore could answer no purpose; except to a government intent only on present gain and careless of the consequences.

unless the taxes can be laid *ad valorem.*

23. But where men had been brought to be in any degree tractable under taxation, it would be a poor financier that could not contrive that the substantial value of the taxes should continue undiminished. For it is for the most part practicable to lay a tax so that it shall operate *ad valorem;* and where it is not, the proof of the relative magnitude of the tax having declined is always a good foundation for demanding that the rate should be increased. And in reality such an augmentation is not an increase of the tax. There is a fraud going on, but not a fraud upon the payers of the taxes. In that capacity at least, they are only spectators. It may be assumed therefore, that in practice the substantial value of the taxes would be made to keep pace with the depreciation. But if this was the case, the influx of gain would at once be made perpetual; for there would be no deductions for loss upon the taxes. The proportion of the nominal value to which each billet would be reduced, would at any time be expressed by a fraction whose numerator was the number sufficient at par for the whole circulation, and its denominator the number actually in circulation; the number occupied in discharging the taxes being left out of both, as being the same proportional part. What would be substantially received on any day for the superfluous issue, would be equal to the nominal amount of the daily superfluous issue, diminished by the product of itself and of the fraction which expresses the depreciation. What would be substantially gained on the same day from the stock-holders, would be equal to the nominal amount of the daily payment to the stock-holders multiplied by the same fraction. And the sum of these two quantities would be the daily gain of the government. By computing the bushels of wheat received for the superfluous issue on each successive day of the period in which any given depreciation has been brought to pass, their number will be found to amount to such a proportion of the number of billets sufficient at par for the whole circulation, as is expressed by the hyperbolic logarithm of the inverse of the fraction which expresses the reduced value

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equal to $\frac{s}{s+p}$. If $s = \frac{p}{6}$ as before, and $q = \frac{p}{2}$, r will be equal to $3s$, and the influx of gain will be at an end when $z = \frac{1}{4}$. The losses will balance the previous gains, when $z = \cdot 42317$.

of each billet *. And the bushels extracted from the stock-holders will be found to amount to such a proportion of the number of billets sufficient at par for the whole circulation, as is expressed by taking the product of the fraction which expresses the depreciation, and of the inverse of the fraction which expresses the reduced value of each billet,—diminishing it by the hyperbolic logarithm of this inverse,—and multiplying the remainder by the nominal payment made to the stock-holders in any given period, divided by the superfluous issue in the same period. And the sum of these two amounts will be the gain of the government †. Amount of gain.

* The hyperbolic logarithms are in many books of logarithms presented in a table by themselves; but if not given, they may be found from the common logarithms by multiplying them by 2·30258529. The logarithm of a fraction is equal to the difference between the logarithms of the numerator and of the denominator; considering the difference as subtractive instead of additive, when the denominator is the greatest. By the inverse of a fraction, is meant the fraction inverted; as four-thirds instead of three-fourths. By attending to these intimations, it is in the power of any person acquainted with the method of taking a logarithm from the tables, to satisfy himself of the truth of the statements advanced, in any particular case he may have the patience to go through with; which is as much as seems attainable without the application of the algebraic calculus.

† + Algebraically; Where the nominal amount of the taxes rises with the reduction of value of the billets, if $\frac{A}{m}$ is the number engaged in discharging the taxes when the depreciation begins, $\frac{A+st}{m}$ will be the number engaged in the same employment after the days t. For if this number is called x, x will be to $\frac{A}{m}$ as $A+st-x$ to $A-\frac{A}{m}$; or x will be equal to $\frac{A+st}{m}$. The portion of the original value to which each billet will be reduced, will be equal to $A-\frac{A}{m}$, divided by $A+st-\frac{A+st}{m}$; which is equal to $\frac{A}{A+st}$. And z will be $=1-\frac{A}{A+st}$, or $\frac{st}{A+st}$. The bushels of wheat received for the superfluous issue during $\dot{t}$, will be $s\dot{t}-s\dot{t}z$, or $\frac{As\dot{t}}{A+st}$. Of which the fluent, corrected so as to be nothing when t is nothing, is $A \times$ hyp. log. $\frac{A+st}{A}$. The bushels gained from the stock-holders during $\dot{t}$, will be $q\dot{t}z$ or $\frac{sqt\dot{t}}{A+st}$. Of which the fluent, corrected as before, is $qt-\left(\frac{qA}{s}\times\text{hyp. log. }\frac{A+st}{A}\right)$; which is equal to $\frac{qtAs}{As}-\left(\frac{qA}{s}\times\text{hyp. log. }\frac{A+st}{A}\right)$, or to $A\times\frac{q}{s}\times\left(\frac{st}{A}-\text{hyp. log.}\right.$

No alteration needs be made on account of bills of exchange, barter, or what is called *setting off*.

24. No alteration needs be made in these calculations on account of the existence of bills of exchange. When a bill of exchange is first issued, it is received at a discount; and the holder either keeps it till due, or parts with it at a diminution of discount proportioned to the time he has kept it. The holder, therefore, virtually receives interest for every hour he keeps it in possession. Private bankers find it a good trade to become the holders of bills of exchange, for the sake of this very interest; and what is a good trade to one set of men, cannot be a bad one to another. But under these circumstances, there is no stimulus upon carrying the bill into the market as the means of purchase; the holder may let it lie in his desk till due, and receive interest on it all the time. The existence of depreciation, moreover, has no tendency to alter the substantial amount of the bills of exchange actually drawn in the whole country. A man draws a bill of exchange, in payment, for instance, of a certain quantity of goods; what he does, being in reality neither more nor less than begging the seller to lend him the price for a certain number of days, on condition of receiving interest. If in consequence of the depreciation of money the goods are worth forty of what are called pounds sterling instead of thirty, the bill will bear the words £40 instead of £30; and this is all. Nobody will either draw any greater number of bills in consequence, or be affected in his bill-drawing practice in any other way. A certain part of the traffic of the country will be always carried on by means of bills of exchange, as a certain part will be carried on by barter, or by what is called *setting off*. But as all these practices are devoid of any stimulus for increasing the quantity of purchases in the market, and moreover are under no tendency to be either increased or diminished in substantial amount by the progress of a depreciation,—they may be left out of the calculations altogether. It is true that if these practices, or any of them, had been non-existent, there would have been an altered demand for the instrument of exchange which consists of coins and bank-notes; and consequently the depreciation, and all the other results

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$\frac{A+st}{A}$). And $\frac{st}{A}$ is equal to $\frac{A+st}{A}$ multiplied by $\frac{st}{A+st}$; or to the inverse of the reduced value of each billet, multiplied by the depreciation. If $z=\frac{1}{4}$, st will $=\frac{A}{3}$; and the first fluent will $=A\times\cdot28768192$; and the second fluent will $=A\times\frac{q}{s}\times\cdot04565141$.

which depend upon it, would have been different. But it is also true, that if in any given case the quantity of coins and bank-notes in circulation, and the depreciation, can be actually ascertained, no alteration in the calculations built upon them needs be made on account of any of the practices designated.

Losses of the stock-holders would not lower the nominal price of stocks.

25. The losses of the stock-holders from the reduced value of the payments made to them, would have no effect in lowering the nominal price of stocks. For if an annual payment of five notes would sell for a hundred when there was no depreciation, an annual payment of five depreciated notes would sell for a hundred depreciated ones; the security of the government and other circumstances in general being supposed unaltered *.

Consequences if coins were in existence.

26. If such a paper purported to represent coins instead of corn, and was made a legal tender in lieu of them, the progress of the issues would cause coins to disappear from circulation. For depreciation would be produced as soon as the coins and notes together were more than would be sufficient for the circulation if their value continued at par; and both would be depreciated alike. But as soon as the coins were depreciated below the metallic value, they would begin to be returned to the uses of metal. And as long as the paper in circulation was enough to keep up this degree of depreciation, all efforts to increase the number of coins by issuing new ones, would be like pouring water into a sieve. The impossibility of preventing the disappearance of coins under such circumstances, is what some persons have chosen to designate under the title of "coins refusing to circulate along with paper."

Motive which a government may have for putting a stigma on the transformation of coins, though it knows it will not be finally prevented.

27. If the transformation of coins was opposed by laws, these laws would produce no effect in finally preventing it. Nevertheless the government might have a motive for putting a stigma on the transformation of coins. For if it could make it impossible for decent people to turn their coins into rude metal, to all decent people the power of obtaining coins for notes would be a useless privilege; and what would be useless to them if they had it, they would not murmur at being refused.

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* If the stock-holders are ever so well aware of the nature of the process that is carrying on against them, it does not follow that the nominal price of stocks will fall. For all other modes in which they can secure interest for their money, will be equally affected by the progressive depreciation.

28. The only way in which a depreciation can be reduced, is by the contrary of that which brought it on; or in other words, by destroying the paper, or a portion of it, as it comes in, instead of re-issuing it. For to this, and this alone, all measures, to be of any effect, must come in the end. And if the government, at any period before it had lost more by the other consequences of the depreciation than it had gained from the stock-holders, was *bonâ fide* to destroy the depreciation at its own expense by the contrary of the steps by which it had brought it on, it would make but a partial restoration, and be a great gainer on the balance of the account. It would make restoration to the holders of the circulating medium; but it would make none to the stock-holders,—it would only cease to take more; all therefore that had been gained by the system from these last, the government would keep. But there is something yet behind;—for it is possible for the government to destroy the depreciation, and *not* do it at its own expense. It may do it at the expense of other persons; as for instance, of the payers of the taxes. It will indeed be obliged to make advances of money in the first instance; but they may be repaid over and over by the consequences. And for this end it is only necessary to change the mode of laying the taxes, from imposts *ad valorem* to imposts fixed in nominal amount. The case will then be the reverse of the case first examined; and the having to pay the stock-holders in a currency of increased value, will not prevent the arrival of a period when what is gained upon the taxes will overbalance all the outgoings. Hence, if through the cessation of war or other causes the government should be master of any surplus revenue, it would be a most profitable speculation to employ it regularly and constantly in buying up the superfluous paper. And universally, if a government can procure the nominal value of the taxes to be raised from time to time while superfluous issues are being carried on, and to remain stationary when they are reduced,—as the valve of a pump allows a passage in one direction and prevents it in the other,—both the issuing of superfluous paper and the withdrawing will be profitable operations*. But

How a depreciation may be reduced.

How the process of reducing the depreciation may be made profitable to the government, as well as the process of bringing it on;

by contriving to change the mode of laying the taxes from duties *ad valorem* to duties fixed in nominal amount.

* The mistake of a well-known public writer, who engaged to be fried upon a gridiron if ever the government's paper in England was paid in gold, may be suspected to be referable to overlooking the possibility of the operation being made profitable. He would probably reply that he meant, *if ever the government paid at its own expense.*

if instead of the nominal amount of the taxes remaining undiminished for an unlimited period, a surrender can only be deferred for as long as is necessary to pay the expenses of the process of reduction,—the government will make a clear gain of all the credit of the proceeding, though the whole has been really done at the expense of the payers of the taxes *.

29. If billets of the nature described were issued by private individuals, they could cause no depreciation as long as either commodities or coins could be obtained for them on demand. But if the government should allow its own paper, which was itself not recoverable upon demand, to be legal tender in payment of the notes of private bankers, then the existence of depreciation would have no effect in causing the notes of private bankers to be returned. For there is nothing to be gained by demanding one kind of paper in exchange for the other. It may be thought that some inducement would arise out of the increase of value which would be produced by diminishing the quantity of paper in circulation. But the way to determine the effect, is to see what an individual would gain. In 1810, for example, when there are asserted to have been fifty-six millions of paper in circulation in Great Britain, the holder of five pounds of the paper of a private banker, on the supposition that by returning it he increased the value of the other paper in circulation by the whole five pounds, would gain something less than the two-thousandth part of a farthing †. That is, he might enjoy the prospect, that

Depreciation would have no effect in causing the notes of private bankers to be returned for payment in public paper.

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* If new debt is incurred during the process of reducing the depreciation, the new stock-holders will gain, by the opposite of the steps by which the others lost. Hence if the new and old stock-holders are the same individuals, there will be a restorative process as respects the stock-holders; which may be under or over the mark of exact restoration, according to the relative magnitude of the new and old debts. The actual fact with respect to the British stock-holders (See Article on *Equitable Adjustment*, with the correction of Mr. Childs of Bungay in the Postscript, in the Westminster Review for April 1833, p. 374 of Vol. II. of the present Work) is that if what one set of stock-holders have lost, and what another set have gained and will gain henceforth for ever, be fairly compared together, the stock-holders will be found to be on the whole receiving too little by 422,093*l.* per annum, the value of which is 8¼ or 12 millions according as the present interest of money is taken to be 5 per cent or 3½. Hence if there is ever to be an "equitable adjustment," it will be in favour of the stock-holders, and not against them. To begin at 1812 (which is about the time when the holders of new stock began to gain), and omit all mention of the period from 1797 to 1812 (during which the holders of old stock were robbed), is the fallacy of those who preach up the docking of the fund-holders.

† The value of the five government's notes got from the private banker by returning his paper, would be increased in the proportion of 56000000 to 55999995; or by $\frac{5}{55999995}$ of £5; which is $\frac{1}{2333}$ of a farthing, nearly.

in his purchases with the five pounds of the government's paper which he obtained by returning the paper of the private banker, he would receive the value of not quite the two-thousandth part of a farthing more, in consequence of the change of money prices. And the holder of two hundred and forty pounds, by carrying it back might make a gain of very near a farthing sterling*. Little seems to be required to prove, that such temptations never caused a single note to be returned. The author of the second pamphlet however has adopted a different conclusion†; in which he appears to follow the author of the Essay on the Principle of Population ‡.

Calculations of the gain actually made in Great Britain, from the holders of the circulating medium,

30. On the foregoing grounds, the gains in particular cases may be calculated, if the necessary data can be obtained. For example, it has been asserted, that the circulation of the notes of the Bank of England amounted in 1810 to twenty-three millions sterling, and the total circulation of Great Britain, including the notes of private bankers, to fifty-six millions; to which may be added about four millions in specie §. In 1814 under the same system, the depreciation below the metallic value, as collected from the market price of gold, was one-fourth. From which (on the supposition that the superfluous issues have proceeded with uniformity since 1797; and that no notice is taken of the four millions in specie, for a reason which will be given hereafter), the sum required for circulation in 1797 might be collected to be $44\frac{3}{8}$ millions, and the yearly superfluous issue $\frac{7}{8}$ of a million; for these are the only quantities which answer to the conditions supposed ‖. But an allowance must be made for the gradual increase of the sum demanded for the circulation, in the interval between 1797 and 1814. Let it be supposed therefore that this sum in 1797 was thirty millions; an amount at which it had been stated by some persons in 1776 ¶, and which can hardly be extravagant

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* The value of the two hundred and forty notes would be increased by $\frac{240}{55999760}$ of £240; or $\frac{111}{112}$ of a farthing, nearly.

† p. 37. ‡ B. 3. Ch. 5. § Speech of Mr. G. Johnstone in the House of Commons on the 19th of July, 1811.

‖ If the sum in circulation in 1797 is called a, and the yearly superfluous issue x, then between 1797 and 1810 the sum had become 56 millions, or $a+13x=56$ millions. And between 1797 and 1814 the sum had grown to be one-third more than in 1797; or $17x=\frac{a}{3}$. From which two conditions it follows, that $a=44\frac{5}{8}$ millions, and $x=\frac{7}{8}$ of a million.

¶ Wealth of Nations, B. 4. Ch. 1.

at the other period. And by employing this instead of 44⅔ millions, it will follow, that on the supposition that the depreciation proceeded from over-issues and that the allowance for the increase in the demand for money is sufficient, there would have been received for the superfluous paper the substantial value of thirty millions multiplied by the hyperbolic logarithm of four-thirds;—or eight millions six hundred and thirty thousand four hundred and fifty-eight pounds, sixteen shillings and sixpence; which would have been taken from the holders and users of the instrument of exchange during the progress of the depreciation. Of which, by dividing it according to the paper of each in circulation in 1810, three millions five hundred and forty-four thousand six hundred and fifty-two pounds, sixteen shillings and eleven pence would have been received by the government, and five millions eighty-five thousand eight hundred and five pounds, nineteen shillings and seven pence by the private bankers;—the whole being over and above what might have been gained in any quarter through the substitution of paper for coins. And if the payments to the stock-holders are supposed to have amounted to sixteen millions annually on an average, and the superfluous paper to have been accumulating from 1797 to 1814 at the rate of ten-seventeenths of a million annually, which is what would raise the quantity in circulation from thirty millions to forty between 1797 and 1814, and make the depreciation finally one-fourth,—the difference between the supposed forty millions and the paper really in existence, being allowed for the gradual increase in the sum positively demanded for the circulation,—the government would further have gained from the stock-holders the substantial value of thirty-seven millions two hundred and fifty-one thousand five hundred and fifty pounds, eleven shillings and two-pence *. Which makes the whole gain of the government forty millions seven hundred and ninety-six thousand two hundred and three pounds, eight shillings and a penny; and the whole loss of the public, including what is taken by the private bankers, forty-five millions eight hundred and eighty-two thousand and nine pounds, seven shillings and eight pence. And all these are substantial millions, clear of depreciation; but if their value is reckoned in the degenerate millions

and from the stock-holders.

* + In this case q = sixteen millions divided by the number of days in a year, and s = ten-seventeenths of a million divided by the same. Hence $\frac{q}{s} = 16 \times \frac{17}{10}$. And the fluent = thirty millions $\times 16 \times \frac{17}{10} \times \cdot 04565141$; which is = 37251550·56.

of 1814, the numbers must be increased by one third. The four millions in specie have been treated as if they were non-existent; for it is evident that they were not in circulation. The moment one of these coins appeared in public, it must have been hunted down for the melting-pot or exportation. Those therefore that escaped must have lain hid *.

Reason why the depreciation of paper cannot have proceeded from a rise in the value of gold; or from a diminution in the sum demanded for circulation.

31. The advocates of the paper system, when pressed on the subject of the depreciation, say that it proceeded from a rise in the value of gold. But if it had proceeded from this cause, it would have been the interest of the government to make the value of paper keep pace with that of gold by diminishing the quantity, for the sake of the increased value which would be given in perpetuity to the taxes through the simple contrivance of fixing them in nominal amount. Since, therefore, the government never felt this interest, it is evidence that the rise in the value of gold never existed. And the same argument will apply to the supposition of a diminution in the sum demanded for circulation, whether proceeding from a diminution of the wealth and business of the community, or from what has been called "economizing the circulating medium."

Reason why the government allowed the private bankers to take five millions which might have been taken by itself.

32. It might be interesting to inquire into the causes of the good understanding between the ministers of past times and the private bankers, which could induce the former to give up so much of what they apparently might have brought into the coffers of the government. It can only be explained by supposing that the bankers had strong means of defence. They must evidently have been of all men the best informed on the nature of the process going forward; and to have had them in opposition in their quality of bankers, would never have been got over. Fairs and markets would have rung of the extracted millions, as they have since rung of the omnipotence of credit and the blessings of an extended circulation; and a tribune would have been erected in every country town, which no statutes could have silenced. It is difficult to say the bankers were to blame, in taking what it was so necessary to offer them. At the same time it is consolatory

* Two points may be considered as here established, whatever may be the degree in which the data in the case assumed approach to the actual state of things as they took place. First, that if accurate statements can be obtained of the sums from time to time in circulation, and of the depreciation, the gains and losses of all concerned can be calculated to a sixpence. Secondly, that there must have been gains and losses of all the kinds specified in the case assumed, whatever may be the approach made by that case to numerical conformity with the actual one.

to see, that forty millions could not be taken by the ministers, without allowing some other persons to take five millions more. A despotic government would clearly have taken all. The fact therefore affords a measure of the distance from despotism, and of the difficulty of taking money from the public.

How a public paper may be maintained at a standard value, without being payable upon demand.

33. An inference from the above theory is, that a public paper not payable upon demand may be maintained at a given standard of value, by increasing or diminishing the quantity in circulation according to the market price of gold. If the government should never create new paper, but upon proof produced before the popular branch of the legislature that a note would purchase a certain prescribed or standard quantity of gold and something more,—and if the creation was limited to what would reduce the quantity purchaseable to the standard quantity,—it would be impossible for depreciation to arise; unless the demand for the instrument of exchange should ever become retrograde. And in this case, the withdrawing of a quantity of paper would remedy the evil *. The expense of doing this would be no more than would take place if the paper was payable upon demand. But there would be this advantage, that a necessity for buying up paper could not be brought on by alarm, but only by a real diminution in the demand for the instrument of exchange. At the same time a nation which should have the process of substituting paper to begin, would do well to keep the value in sight. Hence if such a nation had a debt—and there appears to be little use in considering the case of a nation which has none,—it could apparently do nothing better with what was brought into the hands of the government by the substitution of paper for gold, than apply it in aid of a sinking fund. For the whole would then be employed with the same advantage to the public as other sums which are levied from them with the same specific purpose; and any paper which it might ever become desirable to absorb, could be procured without waste by returning into the market a portion of the stock of the fund. And this is not the old mistake

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* If the standard or proper price of an ounce of gold is called G, and the difference between that and the actual price g, the proportion of the existing currency which must be added or withdrawn to bring the price of gold to the standard price will be $\frac{g}{G \mp g}$; the sign of subtraction being used when the price of gold is too low or paper is to be added, and the sign of addition in the contrary case. It will be understood that the quantities must be reduced to some common denomination; as pence, farthings, or as the case may require.

of making a treasure of a redeemed debt. For the debt has received an express diminution, with the included purpose of giving back a part in case of urgency. A diminution of ten pounds, even with the possibility of being obliged to give up one, is at all events a diminution of nine. And there is also the chance, that the surrender will not be required at all *.—The standard quantity of gold which the public note is always to buy, must be a little *less* than is contained in the coin which the note purports to represent. And at the same time, the private bankers must be obliged to pay in coins; and when the government is applied to for coins, it must sell them at such a rate as will pay it the cost, and just profit of coining. Without these precautions, there will be nothing to prevent the private bankers from driving-in the paper of the government, and causing as much depreciation as they please. One of them cannot much outrun the other; but there will be nothing to hinder them from all going on together till they reach any assignable point. And in particular, the confining either a private or public bank to dicounting bills at dates however short, will be no limitation. For it amounts only to a permission to issue in perpetuity as much paper as men can be persuaded to borrow, under the formality of from time to time renewing the contract.—Subjection to the proposed standard would attach the value of the currency permanently to that of gold. And to demand a standard abstractedly free from variation, is like

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* It may be doubted whether, if complete security could be had for never increasing the paper in circulation except according to the stated rule, the provision for ever reducing it might not be dispensed with altogether. The tendency of all communities is to go forwards and not backwards; and consequently the demand for the instrument of circulation has a general tendency to increase. The only case in which a demand for buying up paper could be conceived to arise, would be in some time of popular panic, as for instance under the apprehension of foreign invasion, which might make individuals anxious to buy gold or silver for the purpose of hoarding, and so raise the market price. But it does not appear that this phænomenon would by itself present any strong reason for obliging the government to buy up its paper. It is not difficult to prove, that even in the extreme case of a successful invasion, a public paper not payable upon demand would preserve its negotiable value, except so far as a temporary depreciation might be produced by the stagnation of business consequent on such an event. The interest of the conqueror would be, not to destroy the paper or prevent its negotiation, but, at the very worst, to get as much of it as possible into his own possession. If he could have decreed the non-negotiation of the paper *before* his conquest, it might have been a powerful engine towards the accomplishment of his design; but this is precisely what he can not do, and there would be no use in decreeing it *afterwards*. There appears therefore to be little more reason why a community under the apprehension of invasion, should be put to the expense of buying up its issues because the panic of some individuals induces them to raise the price of gold or silver,—than if the same panic had induced them to lay in a stock of clothes, and thereby raise the price of woollens.

seeking for better bread than is made of wheat. Gold is by general consent the best standard for the use wanted. But if it is required to compare the value of gold at distant periods, corn, taken on the average of a sufficient number of years to obviate the diversities of seasons, affords an almost perfect measure, through the interference of the Principle of Population *.

34. And here it becomes a question, how much of the instrument of exchange a nation is bound to allow the private bankers to occupy at all. A people by their own act or that of their government, can make a substantial saving of forty or fifty millions sterling, through the process of issuing a paper currency not payable upon demand, under a proper check upon the issue. That they have the power of doing this, arises from the fact of their being a nation, and is totally distinct from the principle on which an individual can circulate notes under a promise to pay. It is a pure perquisite of nationality, which nothing else can acquire or possess. A portion of risk too attends the gain; and this also the public takes. If ever there was a process by which the public has an exclusive right to profit, it is this. There is nothing in it like commerce or exchange; it is a simple exercise of internal economy on a national scale, like that by which an individual replaces his silver vessels with

What is the claim of the private bankers to make money at all.

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* The phænomenon of *seignorage* (which means recovering the expense of coining, by issuing the coins for a higher value than that of the metal contained in them), though it has been spoken of in somewhat mysterious terms by Adam Smith and others, appears to amount only to the fact, that an instrument of exchange may be composed of materials of intrinsic value equal to the exchangeable,—or to any fraction of it,—or of no intrinsic value at all,—through the simple establishment of the requisite check upon the issues. Adam Smith says of seignorage, that "though every body advances the tax, nobody finally pays it; because every body gets it back in the advanced value of the coin." The substantial explanation of which appears to be, that not only the portion which has been called seignorage, but the whole value of the materials used in coining, may be saved by the government or the community, and nobody be the worse for it. If a sovereign was made thinner and thinner till it was only a piece of gold-leaf glued on a piece of stamped paper,—or if the paper was used without the gold-leaf,—it is proved by experiment that it will pass for the same value as ever, under a proper regulation on the issues. A Bank of England one-pound note, therefore, may be considered as a sovereign that is *all* seignorage. The wonder is not, that the government is able to save the seignorage; but that it does not find out, that it might as well save all the remainder too. There seems to be no more inherent reason why in a civilized country the instrument of exchange should be made of materials that convey the intrinsic value of what is to be transferred,—than why a bond or other security should be drawn on a plate of gold of intrinsic value equal to the amount to be secured. It would certainly be one way of conveying the security desired; but in a settled state of society, it would appear to be a very unnecessary and expensive way. It might be useful in a society so wretchedly constituted, that this should be the only way of a man's being safe from having two or three bonds brought against him where there ought only to be one; but it could be useful in no other.

glass. In the midst of this stands up an order of men, and represents that it will be convenient to them to take twenty or thirty millions of the public profit, and that they have a right to do it because they will be at the expense of issuing the paper. Which is precisely as if they should enter the house of an individual, and insist on carrying off his silver drinking-vessels on the ground that they would leave glass ones in their room. It would be of no use to try to persuade him that it was their trade, or that they were benevolent dealers who established agencies in every town and village out of apprehension that any man should be in want of vessels. And it would be equally useless for them to assure him, that the glass was just as good for the purpose of drinking. He would admit it; but he would aver that he, and not they, had a right to the difference. If they proceeded to positive attempts, he would proceed to lock up his plate. Which they would probably pronounce to be iniquitous, and contrary to the right which all men had to be on an equal footing in his plate closet. Upon which he would double his lock. Men are hawks when they view their interests singly, and beetles when they are to lose in crowds. There is no reason why a single pound of the public any more than of the private saving, should be carried off by any but the owners;—though it seems to be considered, like Park's caravan by the Africans, as a "*dummulafong* or thing to be eaten" by any that can lay hands on it. A government may not always be the most exact representative of the public, but it must always be some representative; for it must be a very bottomless pit, if the public is not something richer for what it saves, and poorer for what it gives away.

35. But perhaps there is not much danger that any government, when the necessity for conciliation was removed, should do otherwise than take all. The stewards of the public are often suspected of allowing the general wealth to drain out; but, without peculiar reasons, they can never find it economical to make it over to whole orders of men in the gross. There must be some merit, beyond the mere willingness to take it and be thankful;—the most expansive administration will be more select in its attachments. Where the contrary took place, it was to secure the taking of a greater sum, and by no means for the simple services of the private bankers, though doubtless they were always helpful. But in the absence of such a reason, a government seems as likely to allow the public forests to be scrambled for by the landholders, as to permit what it might take for itself to be taken by the private bankers.

36. Since the issuing of superfluous paper is likely to be Consequences carried to a greater extent than that of coins,

there may be consequences which it would have been useless to notice under the head of coins, though they might have been traced there if it had been preferred. One of these is, the multiplication of bankruptcies. If the increase in the nominal prices was mistaken by the manufacturers and traders for an increase in the demand, they would endeavour to increase their rate of manufacturing and trading; and as there could in the end be no real demand for a greater quantity of goods than before, this increase of production would be checked by the expulsion of those traders who were least able to bear up against disappointment. The rate of profits in every branch would be reduced to the lowest at which men with average advantages and good conduct could maintain themselves in the degree of comfort which custom had made necessary for their station; those of extraordinary abilities and good fortune would accumulate wealth; and the weakest and least advantageously circumstanced, among whom might be expected to be found those who had to pay for borrowing or long credits, would be driven out of business by bankruptcy, or avoid it by a voluntary retreat. Hence what are rightly termed "failures in business," including the rare cases in which bankruptcy is avoided by retreat, appear to be the natural check to the indefinite multiplication of traders, as the consequences of diminished food are the check to the multiplication of the inferior classes of labourers. Under ordinary circumstances, the process of expulsion goes on without exciting much attention; but under the operation of a stimulating cause like the fallacious semblance of an increase in the demand, the evacuation might assume a tremendous appearance, and exhibit itself in the shape of incalculable misery to innocent and hopeful individuals. And if this is a natural process, which from the inevitable operation of men's eagerness to better their condition must be always taking place with the weakest, it forms a striking reason for the moderation with which modern nations have agreed to treat the unfortunate in trade.—As long as the superfluous issues were persisted in, the fallacious appearance of an increase in the demand would be prolonged; but it would not accumulate, though its effects would. If the advances of the depreciation were uniform, it would be a uniform constant force. For it depends, not on the absolute magnitude of the depreciation, but on the rate at which it is increasing. And while the force existed, its effects might be looked for in a progressive elongation of the List of Bankrupts, in proportion as by the action of the cause more and more individuals were drawn into the vortex and cast out.

of allowing a depreciation to take place.

Increase of bankruptcies.

37. The solitary case in which an increased quantity of commodities might be finally called into existence in consequence of the multiplication of superfluous paper, would be if the substantial wages of labour did not keep pace with the progress of the depreciation. For there would be a continual struggle on the part of the masters to prevent the nominal rate of wages from rising; and in most countries the laws give an unjust advantage to the masters. And if the workmen did not succeed in raising the nominal rate of wages so as to keep pace with the depreciation,—and it is almost certain that they would not succeed,—one portion of the substantial recompense of which they were thus defrauded would be employed in exciting them to an increase of production, and the remainder would pay the profits of the masters on the additional commodities produced. The portion applied in the first of these ways would be so adjusted, that the remainder should be sufficient to pay the profits. And this adjustment would be effected by the same means by which the adjustment of the supply is enforced in other circumstances. If the profit left was too great, the rate of manufacturing would be increased; and the contrary. But it is evident that all that was gained in this manner, would be extracted from the nerves and muscles of the labouring classes, by the double process of increasing their labour and diminishing their reward. And this could cause no increase of the aggregate wealth; for all that was given to one would be taken from another. Yet in the eyes of the masters it might appear to be a material improvement; and they would probably not fail to celebrate the advantages of an augmented circulation, the extension of manufactures and commerce, and particularly the increased employment given to the poor.

Ruinous depression of the labouring classes.

38. It will be urged in denial of the injury sustained by the labouring classes, that taxes cannot be levied on the wages of labour. Which is true, so far as it proves that there is no use in a government's attempting to levy taxes upon wages; but is not correct if extended to prove, that nothing can be taken from the poor. The recompense of labour will find its level as water does,—that is, as fast as it is able. But the Nile may always have been two miles higher at its source than at its mouth, and all manner of difference may have been made by it to travellers upon the stream. There is a wide difference between an effect which has taken place, and an effect which is endeavouring to take place; and between the effort being in a man's favour or against him. And when the labouring classes have been endeavouring to overtake their wages for

Answer to the objection that taxes cannot be levied on the wages of labour.

twenty years together, they may well be supposed to be behind. The strength of the argument against them is, that if anything is taken from them their numbers cannot be kept up; and consequently, if their numbers are kept up, there can have been nothing taken from them. But happily for the poor this assumption is as yet incorrect. It is quite evident that the very poorest classes have still something that they might lose. All minor moralists and dispensers of admonitory pamphlets are full of demonstrations of it. The promoters of saving-banks are so many evidences to the belief, that the poor might possibly save; and if they can save, they have something that they might go without. It is undoubted that to the present hour, some of them consume their superfluous wealth in tobacco, and others waste it in spirits; and it is impossible to say that if this was transferred to the master, either their own health or that of their posterity would suffer. It is difficult to prove that white bread has any inherent advantage in increasing population, over brown; and it has at all events been demonstrated that nothing can upon this ground be reasonably objected to potatoes. It is not yet in any part of Great Britain a moot point, whether the hog lives in the house or the labourer in the pig-sty; the labourers of Great Britain have therefore all this that they may come to. And even the Irish labourer may find a lower point in the West, as long as a hog is better company than a slave-driver. Whenever it is thought desirable to answer the complaints of the poor by logic, they are reminded that in comparison with the poor in other countries they live like gentlemen; which is an avowal that they might possibly live worse. In short there is a cloud of witnesses, that, in Great Britain at least, the poor have still something that might be taken from them. They cannot keep up their numbers and live as they used to do; but they may live worse. There are strange depths in ill living; and the rich are almost sure to be mistaken, when they undertake to think the poor past the possibility of being hurt. The most substantial friend the poorer classes ever had,—though some of their sincere well-wishers persist in not finding it out,—has declared that he "really can-"not conceive any thing much more detestable than the idea "of knowingly condemning the labourers of Great Britian to the "rags and wretched cabins of Ireland, for the purpose of sell-"ing a few more broad cloths and calicoes *." The first step towards preventing this detestable consummation, appears to be the removal of the idea that the poor cannot be deprived of what they have. They cannot be deprived of it all; they

* Malthus's Essay on the Principle of Population, B. 4. ch. 10.

cannot be deprived all at once. But their habits may be gradually deteriorated by the pressure of a constant force. They may learn to do without one fragment of comfort to-day and a second to-morrow. One decency of life after another may be dropped into the gulph, till they approach within any assignable quantity to the beasts that perish. When there is a given standard for honest poverty, those who are below it will not multiply, or will multiply less. But it is evident that the obstacle is in the mind and not in the physical impossibility, and that if the mental standard is depressed, population may go on. If anything can effect such a depression, the double screw of a depreciation appears competent to do it.

Further description of the effects of depreciation on the labouring classes.

39. One of the worst properties of this depression of the reward of labour would be, that it would accumulate, and the interests engaged in support of it would accumulate with it. And if the system was carried to any great extent, it might form one of the most intolerable engines of oppression on the labouring classes which it is possible to conceive. Its operation would be silent, gradual, irresistible. It would give no warning, there would be no jerk, no exertion, nor anything which could be fixed on to concentrate resistance into a particular period. The bewildering misery of an animal under the air-pump of an itinerant philosopher, would be a faint image of the situation of an uninformed mechanic,—dying because working would not support existence as it used to do,—knowing neither the source of his evils nor the remedy,—cajoled, threatened, tormented, pitied,—in sight of the comforts of his neighbours, yet running against a wall harder than brass if he attempted to help himself,—disgusting to the refined by the uncouthness of his distortions, and suspiciously eyed by the timid as one who would bite if he could. The very workers of the machine might be employed in condoling with the sufferer, and perhaps scarcely themselves know the nature of the process. And a hundredth part of the gains thus squeezed from the classes which are already weakest, would suffice to keep up no mean apparatus of splendid charity. It will be asked if it would be better that the charity should be omitted. It is like an Inquisitor's giving cordials to his patient;—it would be better to give no occasion for the kindness.

Answer to the suggestion, that superfluous issues of paper are a cheap

40. But there have not been wanting those who have thought that a superfluous issue of paper, with the consent of all parties concerned, was an excellent mode of taxation. It is a tax on the users of the instrument of exchange, levied in exact proportion to what they employ; so that it may be considered

as the *beau idéal* of a uniform tax upon expenditure. And it has one singular advantage;—that it costs nothing to collect. But the objections to it appear to be three. The first is, that taxation in a uniform proportion, is essentially unjust. In whatever mode taxes are collected, it is plain that not only more should be levied, but a greater proportion should be levied, on the rich than on the poor. If a man of two thousand pounds a-year contributes a twentieth of his income to the exigencies of the state, it is plain that, to preserve fairness, a man of two hundred a-year should contribute less than a twentieth. For as he is much nearer to the possession of the mere necessaries of life, to diminish his power of purchasing by a twentieth would make a much more dangerous inroad upon his happiness than a levy of a twentieth upon the other. The necessaries of life are those things of which the non-possession necessarily causes physical suffering, as hunger, thirst, or injury from exposure to the weather*; and the nearer a man is to the simple possession of these already, the less he can afford to be reduced in any given proportion. There is an infinite difference between being driven from white bread to brown, and being driven from burgundy to port. And it would be difficult to prove that any right to inflict greater distress on the poor than on the rich, can arise out of the fact that the poor are distressed already. The object, therefore, should be, to make taxation bear on all with fairness; or if there are not data for doing this with exactness, to assign a scale which shall approach to it. And the first thing that presents itself is, that there are some stages of poverty on which it is evidently improper to lay any direct taxation. Day-labourers, for example, may safely be placed in this class. But there is another class who are in point of fact equally unable to bear any reduction of their means of support. And this is composed of the persons who, though ostensibly better paid than the day-labourer, are placed just on the other side of the great gulph which the habits of civilized society have established between manual and mental labourers. The respect paid to mental labour in all its forms, joined to the frequent necessity there is for such labourers mixing with the wealthier classes, has created a demand upon them for a certain elegance in their appearance and mode of living, which it is in vain for them to think of resisting without giving up all the resources which previous habits have placed within their reach. And though it may be true that the possession of this superior elegance is in itself a source of enjoyment, yet the

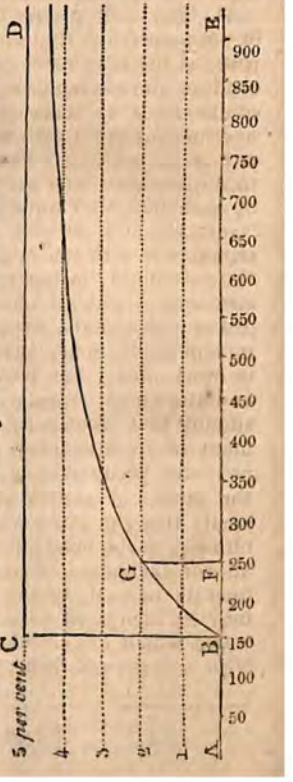
mode of taxation.

Taxation in a uniform proportion, unjust.

Approximation to a just scale of taxation.

* Bentham.

mental labourer may be as utterly unable to support any diminution of his means of living as the other. And this appears to show, that an equitable scale of taxation must commence above the class which contains the poorest order of mental labourers. And another requisite would evidently be, that in no imaginable case the taxation should exceed a certain per-centage. It would be an absurd rule which should make the per-centage on a wealth of any imaginable magnitude approach to the whole; and it might be equally improper that it should amount to a half or a fourth. The per-centage, if expressed in the manner of what is called visible arithmetic, should be nothing on a certain income, and approach to some reasonable proportion on the greatest imaginable incomes, as a curve approaches to its asymptote *. The simplest scale of this kind †



* An asymptote is a straight line so situated with respect to a certain curve, that the curved line shall continually approach nearer and nearer to it, and still never touch it, though the lines should be prolonged ever so far. The simplest instance is in the curve called by mathematicians the Conchoid. See in any Encyclopædia, the articles *Asymptote*, *Conchoid*.

† The equation to the curve is $y = M \times \frac{x-a}{x}$;

where x is the abscissa measured from a point A outside the curve, a the distance from this point to the vertex, y the ordinate, and M a given straight line BC drawn from the vertex at right angles to the axis. If x represents the whole or actual income, a the income after which taxation is to commence, and M the per-centage uniformly levied on the excess of x above a, y will represent the per-centage on the whole income represented by x. If through C a straight line is drawn parallel to the axis, it will be an asymptote to the curve; for when x is indefinitely increased, y approaches to being equal to BC.

If AE is divided into equal parts of which AB contains 150, and if BC is divided into five equal parts each of which represents one per cent, and straight lines parallel to AE are drawn through the points of division, the perpendicular FG drawn from any point F in the line BE will show the per-centage levied on the whole income represented by AF. Thus on an income of 250*l.* the per-centage is 2 per cent, as represented in the figure; on one of 500*l.* it would be 3½ per cent; and in like manner in other cases. As the income becomes large, the per-centage on it approaches to 5 per cent.

A similar mode of representation may be applied to any other proposed scale or system of variation; the narrowing or falling away of the space included between the curved line and EB, representing the relief given to the smaller incomes.

would be one where the per-centage should be nothing on the income supposed to contain the poorest class of mental labourers, and should fall on the higher incomes according to a uniform rate upon their excess above the sum which is to pay nothing. For example, if a hundred and fifty pounds a-year paid nothing, two hundred should pay at a fixed rate, as for instance five per cent, upon fifty; two hundred and fifty at the same rate of five per cent upon a hundred; and so on. On such a scale the per-centage on a sum of unlimited magnitude would approach to five per cent upon the whole.—The above considerations display a strong objection to taxes on the instrument of exchange, on the ground of their uniformity. And the other objections are, their acting on the labouring classes as an intolerable engine of depression, and the endless mischief arising from the vitiation of money contracts.

41. The leading error in the first pamphlet appears to consist in not perceiving, that after the instrument of exchange, composed either of coins or paper, has once been made sufficient to conduct the exchanges of the community without the aid of commodities, an increase in its volume or numerical quantity has no connexion with what men will be able substantially to pay or to expend. The argument advanced appears to be, that when men have an increased quantity of the instrument of exchange, they must necessarily employ it. "Put money "into people's pockets, and they will consume *." And a stimulus to production, is concluded to be the consequence of the continual necessity of finding employment for the instrument;—without adverting to the possibility that the project may evaporate, as so many other projects for a perpetual motion have done, through some simple principle which is overlooked. Let it but happen that there is depreciation, and the whole expectation vanishes. The mistake is in assuming that because a certain increase in the improved instrument of circulation, or every increase up to a certain point, promotes production, an increase beyond that point will do the same. A supply of coins or paper which should be so small that the public confidence was insufficient to make the rate rise to the height required to enable the supply to conduct all the exchanges of the community, and which would consequently necessitate the employment of commodities in aid, may be compared to a bad and insufficient highway. The wares which are circulated by means of it, will be conveyed with a degree of difficulty and delay which is ultimately a

* Pamphlet of Sir John Sinclair.

hinderance to production; and every improvement in it will have a contrary effect. But when the road has been brought to the best condition which the materials will admit, and has been made wide enough to convey all that is to be carried upon it without confusion or delay, it would be unreasonable to expect that by making two or three parallel roads of the same kind, production should be any further increased. The same produce which might have been conveniently carried upon one road, would only be carried on two or on three. And if any man was led into increasing his business or expenditure by confounding such an increase in the means of conveyance with an increase of the wealth to be conveyed, it is evident that he would be corrected by disappointment.

OBSERVATIONS OCCURRING SINCE THE ORIGINAL PUBLICATION.

(From the Edition of 1830.)

1. That to return to a depreciated currency, would be to license all who at this moment are debtors, to pay their debts with three-fourths (or whatever else the fraction may be) of the amount they owe. And though it is true that the recovery from a depreciated currency operated in like manner in favour of the creditors, it is further true, that there must have been a depreciation still earlier than the recovery; which must have been against them. The creditors may not in all cases have been the same individuals; but they were the same classes in the main,—which is coming as near to justice as the case will admit. *Give* and *Take* makes fair play; but because the creditors have lost once and gained once, there is neither fairness nor common sense in saying that therefore they must lose again now.

2. That it would bring upon all the labouring classes, in addition to their present sufferings, the intolerable mischief of being engaged in a continual struggle to raise their nominal wages in proportion to the depreciation. The result of which would be, that they would be screwed into a state still worse than they are in at present; by the double process of increasing their labour and diminishing their reward. The labouring classes are not weak enough to believe, that they will be any better for being paid with ten shillings than with five, if the ten shillings will only buy as much as the five. Still less, if the result of the whole should be (as it *would* be), that instead of ten shillings they only got nine.

3. That another object of the plan, is to rob the fund-holders, by paying them in a depreciated currency; or in other words, to get at those portions of the savings of industry which have been deposited in the stocks*.

4. That the argument for robbing the fund-holders is founded on reckoning up what the fund-holders have gained on one part of their account since the progress of the Pitt fraud was put an end to (which happened in 1814), and taking no notice of all they were cheated of on other parts from 1797 to 1821 (or from the time the fraud was begun by the Bank of England refusing to pay its paper, till it was put an end to by the restoration of the currency to its original value). The real fact being, that if sums equal to the losses of the fund-holders in the cases where they were cheated, had from time to time been put into a bag, and the interest made principal half-yearly as an honest man would do with the property of a ward,—and if the value of their gains on the other part of their account from 1814 for ever, were put into another bag and treated in the same manner, *the first would be the greatest by the value of* 422,093*l. per annum.* [See Note to § 28 in page 321 preceding.] From which it follows that the pretence for robbing the fund-holders is a trick of the same nature as it would be to charge a man with all the *Dr.* side of his account, and refuse to take any notice of what there might be upon the other.

5. That the proposal for reducing the pressure of taxation, and then taking off 30 per cent from the fund-holders on pretence that they would only be brought to the same situation they were in before,—is a fraud of the same nature as if in a ship's crew on short allowance, three-fourths of the crew should propose to divide among themselves any accidental relief they might fall in with, and say to the other fourth, "And *you*, you know, will be no worse off than you were before." The fraud is in pretending not to know, that this fourth of the crew have as much right to their share of the relief, as any of the rest. The fund-holders pay their share of taxes, like other people. If there is to be a property-tax, they make no objection to paying on their funded property at the same rate as others. What they object to, is being taxed and plundered too.

6. That the evil of a national debt can no more be relieved

* A writer in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine (for Feb. 1830, p. 385) protests against "the robbery of the State creditor," but still calls for the "small Notes" as "the means of paying taxes," or in other words for increased issues and a depreciated currency. Does the writer not know, that a depreciated currency is the most practical and artist-like way of robbing the State creditor; or does he think it makes much difference to the State creditor, whether 30 per cent is struck off from his claims at once,—or he is paid in a currency of 20 per cent less value, with the comfort of knowing that all other creditors and the labouring classes are injured at the same time?

by refusing to pay the interest, than a man can get rich by taking out of one pocket to put into the other. It is one thing to say a national debt is no evil, and another thing to say it is an evil that cannot be diminished by refusing to pay the interest; though these two things are often taken for each other. The mischief inflicted when a million is borrowed and spent, is the same that would have been produced if a necessity had been created for throwing the amount of the interest annually into the sea. For if the debt had never been contracted, the sums now paid for interest would have remained in the hands of the tax-payers; which would have been the same thing to them, as saving it from the sea. And the people to whom the interest is now paid, would have had the principal in their pockets instead. But it is necessary to make a broad distinction between "*the effect of the debt*," (meaning the difference between the actual state of things and what would have been if the debt had never been contracted), and "*the effect of continuing to pay the interest of the debt*," (meaning the difference between what takes place when the interest continues to be paid, and what would take place if it ceased to be paid). When people say (as they are often heard to do) that a national debt is no evil because it is only one man in the country paying to another,—if they mean that the contracting of the debt has produced no evil, and that it would produce none if as much more were contracted to-morrow, they utter a great absurdity; but if they mean that no good would result from refusing to pay the interest, they say what is entirely true. If every man in the country was a fund-holder in the same proportion that he is a tax-payer, it would be plain that any attempt to mend himself by refusing to pay the interest, would only be taking out of one pocket to put into the other. It would be plain too, that what the community in the aggregate had got in return for their principal, was neither more nor less than the privilege of paying themselves the interest out of their own pockets. And the case is the same, when things are as they are; except that the fund-holders are the smallest number, and therefore might possibly be robbed.

7. That the question of whether there shall be a paper currency, is quite distinct from whether there shall be a *depreciated* paper currency. That the government, if it chuses to go the way to do it, may substitute paper for gold without any depreciation, and put the value of the gold into the pockets of the nation at large by taking off taxes to the same amount;—through the simple process of never issuing more paper than is found to make the pound note purchase not less than a certain prescribed quantity of gold. But that if it does not like to do this itself, it has no more right to let *other people* do it, than

to let them carry off the pitch and tar from the dock-yards and apply it to their private use. And that, in reality, every private bank-note in existence is only so much of the public property allowed to be carried off by private individuals, in the same manner as the pitch and tar.

8. That the statements of the benefits to be derived from the increase of private bank-notes *to the borrowers*, are only statements of the convenience a man may find, in getting possession of a sum of money by taking it from all the holders of the circulating medium throughout the country; for this is what is actually done. And that in reality all representations of the advantages of conducting the business of the country by means of a larger number of coins or notes instead of a smaller, are only the representations of men desirous to make some unwarrantable gain, either by the issues or by the change of value of money consequent upon them. So far as these representations proceed from the private bankers, they originate in a desire, as truly stated by the minister, to *coin*. They originate in a desire to make money at the expense of the holders of the circulating medium, and then be paid interest for lending it. There has been a prejudice against coining when practised upon metal; but it does not seem to have been generally discovered, that there are the same or greater objections to coining upon paper. The only substantial objection to the individual who makes a coin which passes for a sovereign, is that what he gains is made by taking the value of a sovereign from the holders of the circulating medium in general; for beyond this, if his coin continues to pass, he does no harm at all. Where a bank-note is issued by an individual, instead of being issued by the government which accounts, or ought to account, to the community for the amount,—the same kind of process takes place, with greater profit to the actor, and consequently greater temptation to the repetition.—If the minister does not take care, he will let light upon the nature of private bank-notes.

9. That if the government issues its coins at such a rate as will pay for the coining—(and it is not a reasonable government if it does not)—a transit trade in gold is just as harmless and beneficial, as a transit trade in Turkey coffee or any other foreign commodity. It is true that every ounce of gold which goes out of the country, alters the value of what is left at home; and so does every ounce of coffee. But no government ever thought of nursing Turkey coffee, as the means of increasing the quantity used at home. For it is plain that it cannot go out of the country, unless it comes in;—that if it is not allowed to go out, it will not come in, or not in the same quantity;—and that under a freedom of exit, the quantity kept

and used within the country will always be the precise quantity which it is most profitable so to use. The whole of which is equally true of gold.—To object to the gold's being carried away coined,—if it is a profitable trade to coin it,—would be as absurd as for Mr. Hunt to object to the French carrying away cakes of blacking with his image and superscription. If from convenience of form or other reasons, the French prefer the cakes to lamp-black in barrels, upon what ground of common sense is Mr. Hunt called upon to hinder it?

10. That if taxation is too high, the part of sensible men is to demand a reduction of the taxes; but not to demand a depreciation of the currency as the means of reducing the taxes. Such a demand would only be comparable to the conduct of a man who set his house on fire to warm himself. If there is not a power in the country to effect a direct reduction of taxes, there would not be a power to prevent the taxes from being raised as fast as the depreciation was felt. The consequence therefore would only be, that we should have all the evils of the depreciation, without the expected good. Which would be like a man who should set his house on fire to warm himself, and not be allowed to warm himself after all.

11. That the root of the evil is in the prohibition of commerce by Act of Parliament, which has been effected by the land-owners. They first produce universal distress, and then somebody is to be robbed by way of helping it. One day it is to be the fund-holders; another, the holders of the circulating medium and the labouring classes; and another, the church. Some or all of these will to a certainty be plundered, unless they have the sense to combine to put down the great original robbery, out of which arises the distress which is the plea for all the others. "One step into the right" on the part of the minister who removed the Catholic disabilities, would rally all ranks and orders about him, except the plunderers; and honest men thenceforth might sleep in peace.

Such of these propositions as are not derived from the Article on the *Instrument of Exchange*, will be found enlarged upon and supported by the following references.

Westminster Review No. XX, Art. 5.—On Banking. (p. 63 of Vol. I. of the present Work.)

——————— No. XXI, Art. 1.—On the Corn Laws. (p. 87 of the same.)

——————— No. XXII, Art. 13.—On the Desirableness of the Reunion of Belgium to France. (p. 165 of the same.)

——————— No. XXIII, Art. 7.—On Free Trade. (p. 191 of the same.)
——————————— Art. 12.—On Radical Reform. (p. 219 of the same.)

Catechism on the Corn Laws, 18th Edition, Price Sixpence. And Abridgement of the same, Price One Penny. Published by Effingham Wilson, 18, Bishopsgate Street.

OBJECTIONS AND THE ANSWERS.

That the currency, in the year 1819, was just one-tenth of the whole productive industry of the country. Now, if the government altered that test which formed the currency, they altered the whole of the income of the country to the same extent. In like manner, if they diminished the currency five millions, they altered the whole income of all the farmers, land-owners, and manufacturers of the country, to the extent of fifty millions. This was the consequence of the alteration of even five millions. For, since all prices depend on the currency—and it surely could not be denied that all farmers, landlords, manufacturers, and merchants, made their incomes by prices—it followed that any contraction of the currency on which these prices depended, contracted to the same extent all the income derived from them.

A. The error which runs through all this, is that of substituting nominal income for substantial; —the mistake of supposing that a man is the worse for being paid with four pounds instead of five, if the four pounds will buy as much as the five.

If the case is accurately examined, a diminution of the currency, with the consequent increase of the value of money and diminution of money prices, is in favour of the dealers of all kinds and not against them. For the currency is increasing in value during the time it lies in their hands. The effect may appear insignificant in a single instance; but the sum of all the effects is, that if a particular trader is in the habit of turning over 100*l.*, and the value of money increases in the next twelvemonth by 5 per cent, he will afterwards only turn over 95*l.*, but the 95*l.* will do him just as much good as the 100*l.* did, *and he will have put the value of* 5*l. into his pocket by insensible gradations during the twelvemonth, over and above his ordinary gains.* In fact it is a portion of the phænomenon stated in another place, viz. that the amount of additions to the circulating medium is taken *from* the holders of the circulating medium in general, and the amount of diminutions given *to* them.

If it is argued that dealers must lose, because they will be disappointed of their nominal amount of profits,—this is a fallacy and a mistake. Suppose a dealer

buys an article for 20*s.* expecting to sell it for 21*s.*, and in consequence of a subsequent rise in the value of money he only sells it for 19*s.* He makes his expected profit as much as ever, if the fact is that the new 19*s.* are worth the old 21.

That the currency is at this moment insufficient; as may be gathered from circumstances connected with the foreign exchanges.

A. There is, in the practical sense, no such thing as a currency being insufficient. For its value will rise or fall, to the exact height required to make it perform its office. All solicitude, therefore, about the currency being sufficient for the performance of its office, is like being solicitous lest the survivors of a tontine should be inadequate to the division of the capital. Exactly as the number of shares is diminished, will the value of each be increased; and the contrary.

An appearance connected with foreign exchanges may be a proof that what can be obtained for the coins at home is less than can be obtained for the metal contained in them by sending them abroad, or the contrary. But it can be no proof that the circulating medium is not sufficient for domestic purposes; which is the question in hand.

That the law says that a one-pound bank note is productive of evil at Carlisle, and the reverse of evil at Gretna-Green. The people of Scotland cannot carry on their business without small notes, and the good people of Northumberland and Cumberland cannot prosper with them. In one place they are useful, in the other injurious—in one country they are a safe and valuable medium, in the next they are an accursed thing—the root of all evil.

A. They are accursed in both alike, if the super-subtle Scotch had the wit to find it out. But if our neighbours chuse to be the dupes of the money-makers, it is no reason why people on this side the Tweed should do the same.

The Scotch are quite welcome "to stand "by their banks with the dirk in one "hand and the claymore in the other" as long as they please, provided nobody troubles Englishmen to submit themselves to the like absurdity

That the bankers in Scotland can as well afford to transact their business in a gold currency as those of England. They are believed to have more money invested in the

A. It is, no doubt, very agreeable to the Scotch bankers to have twenty millions receiving interest in the funds, and as a consequence of this to be receiving interest in Scotland for paper to the same or a greater nominal amount, the substantial value of which is abstracted

funds than all the bankers of England. The sum so invested amounts to upwards of twenty millions sterling, every farthing of which would be sold out and withdrawn if Mr. Peel would but give notice of a motion for the extension of his bill prohibiting one-pound notes. It cannot, therefore, be said that the bankers of Scotland are too poor to pay their notes in gold. There is not one of them who could not do so upon a week's notice.

either from the holders of the circulating medium or from the government. It is a job by which twenty millions or more, of the property of the community, comes into the hands of the Scotch bankers, in the same manner as if they were allowed to take an equal amount of tar from the dock-yards; and it is quite worth standing over with dirk and claymore, as long as this will be the means of keeping it.

Would any man be bold enough to say that, situated as they were at present, the prosperity of the labouring classes would not be deteriorated by the abstraction of a portion of the circulating medium?

A. It is a bold man that would not. *Addition* to the circulating medium is what injures the labouring classes; and abstraction from it is in their favour. When there is an addition, they have to fight against the consequent depreciation, till they can raise their wages in proportion; and the probability is, that they never do absolutely raise them to that point. When there is an abstraction, they gain by the consequent rise in the value of money, till the masters can reduce their wages in proportion; which, though the masters are more favourably situated for a contest than the workmen, will still take some time in doing. Setting these effects on one side, it is indifferent to the labouring classes whether the amount of the circulating medium is a hundred millions or one. If it was the last, it would be necessary to have coins or notes for fractions of a farthing. And if such were not made, the evil felt would not be owing to a deficiency in the amount of circulating medium, but to a defect of subdivision, or in other words a want of small change.

That the true principle of any change [*in the laws relating to the issues of private paper*] ought to be that of placing the Banking system on a broad basis.

"Placing the banking system on a broad basis," means the same kind of thing as extending the right to carry away the pitch and tar out of the dock-yards. But why are they to be carried away at all? and what are the carriers in the long run expected to give to ministers in return?

WESTMINSTER REVIEW for Jan. 1826.

ART. X*. *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasān, in the Years* 1821 and 1822. By James B. Fraser, Author of "A Tour in the Himāla Mountains," &c. London. Longman and Co. 1825. 4to. pp. 623.

SO many extracts from this Journey have already appeared, that its contents may be assumed to be known to a considerable extent. The object in the present article, will therefore be to introduce some illustrations from novel and peculiar sources, and to derive the inferences which may be interesting from the whole.

The author sailed from Bombay, in a ship manned with Indian sailors, on the 14th of May, 1821. On arriving at Maskat, he notices the striking superiority of energy over the Indian crew, displayed by the Arabs who came off to the assistance of the vessel. He appears to have been much struck with the courtesy and simple dignity of the sovereign of this torrid region; but describes the climate as intolerably bad. This however is only applicable to the climate in the summer months; in the winter the temperature is cool, and even cold. From Maskat he proceeded to Ormuz, where he is much disposed to doubt the accounts of its former magnificence. He notices the principal occurrences in the history of the Wahabee tribes bordering on the Persian Gulph; and gives an abstract of the treaty concluded with them by a British officer, Major-General Sir William Grant Keir, remarkable for being the first public act in any country, in which the slave-trade was written down by the name of piracy†. It is an interesting fact, that at the time when the Houses of Lords and Commons were expressing their vehement approbation of the American declaration which constituted the slave-trade piracy, a British officer had some months previously carried off the palm of priority, by an act which, from the moment of its execution, was adopted as public law in the countries to which it related, and continues to be so at this hour. The British act was dated in January 1820, and the American declaration in the May following; though from local circumstances, the latter was first known in England. It would be fortunate if nations had never any other kind of rivalry.

In an observation on the subject of *mirage*, the author seems to have fallen into a mistake respecting the nature of the ap-

* This Article was the production of three persons, the lady whose reminiscences are given, her brother the contributor of some well-known Articles to the Westminster Review, and the author of the present Work who was a party to the scenes described. The reminiscences were obtained by a sort of conspiracy of the other two, and traitorously inserted without notice of the design. The brother's part commences with the subject of Persia, at the paragraph beginning "The Persian government is a 'most absolute monarchy.'"

† A copy of this treaty, in Arabic and English, will be given in Vol. IV.

pearance intended by that term. He has confounded it with a distortion of the horizon common in hot countries, and which may be compared to the waving of distant objects seen by day through the flame of a bonfire. The true mirage is the apparition of a bright sheet of water, commencing at the distance of some furlongs from the spectator, in which the images of trees or other objects which rise above the horizon are seen reflected in an inverted posture, as in real water. The phænomenon was explained by citizen Gaspard Monge in the first volume of the *Décade Egyptienne**, and depends on the law of optics by which rays passing out of a denser into a rarer medium, are, after a certain angle of inclination, reflected instead of being refracted; the rarer medium being caused by the rarefaction of the air contiguous to a plane of heated sand. It can consequently take place with effect only in level countries; and it is understood to have been occasionally witnessed in the *Département des Landes*, and on Salisbury Plain†.

As there are not many opportunities of viewing the domestic manners of the Mohammedans through eyes like those of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, no apology will be required for the insertion of the following original observations and reminiscences, collected from a residence in the Persian Gulph at a period a little anterior to the journey of the author. In many parts they present remarkable confirmations of his accuracy; and on the interior of oriental families they contain information to which none but a female traveller could have access.

"No circumstance relating to the Persian Gulph is more "remarkable, than the degree in which the descriptions given "of it, without perhaps any intentional inaccuracy, have led to "ideas remote from the truth. Moore, in the beautiful scenery "of Lallah Rookh, has hardly introduced a gem or a flower "without the authority of some traveller of repute; and pro"bably it would be practicable to discover all that he has de"scribed, but when it was found it would be difficult to recog"nize. There are banks of pearl and palmy isles, groves of "pomegranate and amber vines; but the effect of the original "is sadly different from that of the picture. In the description "all is fresh and fair and fragrant; in the reality all is scorched

* The periodical work published by the French army in Egypt in 1799.

† As this was going to the press, information was received from a friend of eminence in the scientific world, that the phænomenon of the *mirage* had been observed arising from a wall heated by the sun. The appearance consisted in seeing a double image of a second person about two hundred yards from the spectator, both individuals being nearly close to the wall. As this second person walked along the wall, a hand was seen projecting from the wall and meeting his; and on his turning a corner, an image was seen to meet him, as of a person walking the contrary way. More exact information will be endeavoured to be inserted in Vol. IV.—*Added in July* 1840.

" and faded and dusty. The banks of pearl are putrid heaps of " oyster-shells; the groves of palm are dismal, dingy planta- " tions, of which the faded whitish-green foliage is hardly dis- " tinguishable from the colour of the bare rocks which surround " it, or the parched soil on which it grows. The pomegranates " are withered and covered with dust—the zephyrs are scorch- " ing—the crystal fountains brackish—and the goblets of melted " ruby are *carboys* of Shirâz wine, corked with a rag and tasting " like bad port mixed with ale. Nothing can be more unlike " than the Green Sea of travellers and poets, gemmed with fairy " isles, glittering with pearl and fresh with scented gales—to " the veritable Persian Gulph with its wild and barren shores, " withering in an atmosphere which seems to threaten destruc- " tion to all that has life. When the heat is the greatest, I think " it is always more intense at sea than on shore. The air is " what the poets call lurid, and the rayless sun seems to shine " through a mist of fire. The breezes are as if they came from " an oven; and the whole can be likened to nothing, but sailing " across the mouth of Avernus and catching the hot whiffs " from the inside."

" There can be little doubt that the far-famed magnificence " of Ormuz, if we had the opportunity of examining it, would " be found almost as ideal as the natural beauties of the Gulph. " Accounts literally true, have conveyed a most overcharged " impression. Judging from what is seen of what is not seen, " I can imagine there might be all the barbaric pearl and gold, " and yet it might produce an effect that was anything rather " than magnificent. I think I can picture to myself Ormuz in " all its glory. Certain handfuls of pearls, produced from the " turbans or sashes of dirty-looking merchants, and wrapped " up in little bits of rag one would be particularly careful not " to touch;—sundry bracelets and anklets and other tinkling " ornaments, made of a dull-looking metal, which upon exa- " mination would be discovered to be gold too pure to allow of " its receiving any polish;—*firozas* or turquoises stuck on some- " thing resembling shoemaker's wax:—bales of what the Indians " call *kincob*, which is a valuable sort of gold stuff;—all these I " dare say might have been found in a dusty bazâr, among fish, " and dates, and water-melons. And then for the houses—for " I do somewhat value myself on my intimate knowledge of " the domestic elegances of the Persian Gulph. The best are " terrace-roofed, and consequently admit the greatest part of " the rain that falls, which however is not much; the walls " always two or three feet thick, in order to exclude the heat. " The rooms are of any length, according to the taste of the " builder; but in breadth, confined to the size of a date-tree " stem, of which the rafters are formed. In the houses of the

" Sheikhs, there is a raised floor or *chamber of dais*, with a " wind-tower over it. Of the apartments, the most ornamented " are those appropriated to the ladies. These are covered with " Persian carpets, and the white-washed walls furnished with " shelves loaded with china basins and cups. The furniture " consists in large wooden chests which contain the wardrobe " and ornaments, sometimes very rich, of the inmates. Add a " proper proportion of yellow slippers, little Persian looking- " glasses, pots of antimony strewed here and there, and all " smelling of the same overpowering perfume, and you will have " a Persian Gulph boudoir. But these are only the houses of " the great. The rest are huts of the smallest size that can " hold a human being; covered with branches of the date-tree, " and separated by hedges of the same materials rising above " the heads of the passengers, with roads between them which " barely allow two individuals to cross;—the whole peopled with " cats and blear-eyed children, and now and then a woman " peeping through two holes in a black mask, and looking like " a mummy straggled from its case."

" As for the inhabitants of these dreary regions, they differ " much from each other. There are the Persians of whom I " have seen little, but am inclined to believe all the evil that is " said of them; the subjects of the Imâm of Maskat, who may " be looked upon as the civilized and polite part of the Arabs; " and the Wahabees, the Mohammedan Protestants, who, as " one of them told us, look upon the Arabs of Maskat as 'goats " ' to be killed.' These last (the Wahabees) are a race of devout " robbers, who would pillage a vessel, cut the throats of the crew, " and then draw up in their order of prayer, chant one of their " five daily services, and thank God they had consciences " void of offence. At the same time it should be understood, " that they are not robbers by profession. They fish, both for " food and pearls, and cultivate dates; piracy was only a save-all. " In their manners they are simple, straight-forward, and manly; " in their habits independent, and—robbery and murder apart— " moral and religious. One of their chiefs, in a sort of hill-fort, " was summoned to surrender to the English, and a representa- " tion was made to him of their superiority of force and the im- " policy of resistance. In his reply, he said, 'That he knew " 'his strength bore no proportion to ours; but that if we were " 'strong the Lord was stronger, and in Him was his trust. " 'That he and his people stood only in the defence of their " 'religion and the worship of the true God; and it was better " 'they should die for their religion than live without it. That " 'if we would let them alone in their hill-top, they would con- " 'tinue to worship God; and this was their desire.' This " stern old puritan was a sort of apostle of the Wahabees, and

" had been the means of converting the inhabitants of a great " part of the coast to the reformed faith. After he was made " prisoner, he might be said to be in some measure part of our " household. His tent was adjoining to mine, and during the " night I used to hear his Wahabee spirit pouring itself out " in fervent prayer, and in the day-time in what I conceived to " be a word of exhortation to the people about him. And truly " he needed all the spiritual consolation his devotion could " obtain; for of the things of this world he seemed to remember " only that he and his people were captives. You never saw " such a 'wild-born falcon with clipt wing.'"

" I must not omit to record the merits of my very good friend " the Imâm. I take him to be a mirror of hereditary sovereigns; " legitimate, orthodox, and friendly to repose. With anything " of the enterprising spirit of his heretical neighbours, it would " be no difficult matter for him to make himself master of the " Gulph. Nevertheless, he is possessed of personal bravery, " considerable liberality of mind, and great courtesy of manners. " In fact he was the only Asiatic I ever saw, who gave me the " idea of what is conveyed by the English term gentleman. I " think he was this, as completely as nature could make; and " was altogether a very princely person. I went once to visit " him; and novel and strange as such a guest must have been, " it was curious to observe how native courtesy pointed out to " him every attention which the most polite European could " have paid. Difficult as it was in such circumstances not to " be awkward, he displayed throughout, the most admirable " self-possession and gracefulness. In order to appreciate the " difficulty of the task, you must imagine the feelings of a man " who had all his life been waited on by women, but who pro- " bably was never before called upon to pay the slightest atten- " tion to one. I remember being afterwards questioned by some " of the ladies of Maskat, as to who attended me when I went " to see the Imâm's family; and upon my answering 'Seyd " 'Said' (the usual title of the Imâm among the Arabs), they " burst into loud laughter—so strange a thing did the fact ap- " pear to them. As for the ladies of this part of the world, I " could tell of 'Persia's eyes of full and fawn-like ray'—and of " Arab beauties under the weight of whose charms 'a camel " 'would groan,' as one of their countrymen and ardent admirers " assured me. But you shall have a more detailed account of " my visit to the Imâm. His Highness received us at the door " of his house, which was once a Portuguese monastery; and " conducted us into a room where we found chairs arranged in " a row on each side. I sat down on the second in the row; " upon which the Imâm intimated his desire that I should " take the seat nearest the door, which seems to be the place of

" distinction for the same reason as in England the one furthest " from the door, or because it is the most comfortable. Coffee " was handed round, then sherbet in silver cups and saucers, and " afterwards another sort of sherbet flavoured with rose-water. " After sitting for some time, during which the Imâm spoke " very feelingly upon the fatal effects of a plurality of wives in " filling the house with factions and disputes, it was proposed " that I should proceed into the haram. I was prepared for " this visit, as it had been intimated to me that the ladies were " very curious to see me; but I was a little surprised at seeing " the Imâm prepare to accompany me. He conducted me up " a broad staircase to the top of the house, where in a small " apartment covered with a very handsome Persian carpet was " seated his wife, surrounded by her slaves, a crowd of women " of all nations and complexions. She rose to receive us; but " of her beauty there was no opportunity of judging, as her face " was concealed by an embroidered mask, and her figure by a " quantity of cumbrous drapery. From the chin to the waist " she was literally cased in jewels. Her garments were red " bordered with gold, and she had an amber-coloured Cashmere " shawl thrown over her head, which, as the heat of the day " increased, she exchanged for a very beautiful one of thin " purple muslin with a rich border of gold. The furniture of " the room consisted of the before-mentioned carpet, some chairs " and couches, and a table which looked as if it might have " belonged to the Portuguese, and which I imagine was placed " there temporarily for my accommodation. It had been like- " wise covered with a piece of white cloth, and upon this, break- " fast was placed; in the arrangement of which the Imâm took " a very active part, placing many of the dishes with his own " princely hands. The breakfast was excellent, consisting of " roasted fowls, pillaws, &c. with a quantity of sweetmeats and " fruit, and two or three sorts of sherbet. The cups and plates " were of handsome English china, but of every sort and size; " the spoons were of silver, and the knives and forks new and " handsome. These last-mentioned articles are quite useless in " an Arab family, as people of all ranks use only their fingers " in eating. After breakfast, which nobody partook of but my " little boy and myself, the Imâm departed, saying he would " come for me in an hour or two. The ladies rose and continued " standing while he walked out of the room; and then resuming " their seats with an appearance of ease and comfort very dif- " ferent from their previous constrained and formal manner, " they began talking with great volubility. An old Persian " lady who was of the party, immediately laid aside her veil, " but the Arab women retained their masks, notwithstanding " my request to be favoured with a sight of their countenances.

" They were very curious in examining my dress, and the old " lady I really feared was proceeding to undress me. They " invited me to bathe, which was rather an unexpected piece " of politeness, and I suspect was suggested by their desire to " extend their examination of my garments. Upon my declining " it, a little gold box of antimony was produced, with a golden " wire attached to it by a chain, and they begged that I would " at least allow them to paint my eyes, which they assured me " would very much improve my looks. The old lady tried to " tempt me by describing the effect which my eyes thus adorned " would have on the gentlemen when I went down to them. " One of the slaves who spoke Hindostanee acted as interpreter. " I asked her how the ladies occupied themselves during the " day; if they worked or read. She said, 'No, they *sat down*— " 'that was all.' They gave me a specimen of their amusements, " by bringing a little slave girl, who squatted down and in that " posture jumped about in order to make a large cockatoo imi- " tate her motions. After some time the Imâm returned, and " upon my signifying that I wished to depart, he said that a " horse and palanquin were waiting for me, and I could take " which I chose. His wife then brought a gold box with atar " of roses and perfumed my clothes, and sprinkled me with " rose-water, and I took my leave. The Imâm accompanied " me down stairs, and put me into the palanquin, shutting the " doors to keep out the sun, with all the attentive civility of a " European gentleman."

" From the Imâm's house I had expected to be carried to " that of his secretary and minister. But upon ascending a " steep and narrow staircase, at the foot of which the palanquin " had been set down, I found a lady waiting to receive me. " She was a Persian, and wore neither mask nor veil. The " head-dress was a sort of gold tiara of very elegant form, from " which a transparent drapery edged with gold fell in graceful " folds till it swept the ground; and her dark hair plaited " in innumerable braids reached below her knees. She took " me by the hand and led me into a room filled with women, " both Arabians and Persians; the fact being that all the " lady's acquaintance had taken this opportunity of satisfying " their curiosity. Here there was a second breakfast, and my " little boy and I were obliged to exert ourselves to do honour " to it, though, after all, our efforts fell far short of the expec- " tations of the ladies, who expressed their surprise at seeing " us eat so little, accompanied by many exhortations to us not " to be bashful. Their manners were civil and good-natured, " but riotously mirthful. Another pot of antimony was pro- " duced, and I was obliged to defend my face with my hands to

" prevent my eyes from being blacked. They were determined " to perform the operation upon my little boy ; who took it as a " great affront, and resisted with all his might. I found that " my hostess was the principal wife of the minister; in which " place I should observe, that every wife has generally a sepa- " rate house, and the husband another. Her manners were " more pleasing and courteous than those of the Arab ladies I " had left ; a superiority which I observed in all the Persian " women. She had not only her eyes blacked with antimony, " but her eye-brows painted with the same preparation, the lines " being extended so as to meet, and at the junction branching " into an ornament something like a fleur-de-lys. A blueish " spot on each side of the mouth, in size rather less than a six- " pence, and I think a smaller one on the chin, seemed to have " been made by some operation like tattooing. Unfortunately for " all these ornaments, the day was very warm, and the moisture " consequent thereupon had brought off the black paint, which " trickled down her face in a very unsightly manner. From " this house I was carried to the house occupied by the minister " himself, where I found the Europeans of our party. There " I was invited to visit another wife. I was in fear of a third " breakfast; however she contented herself with producing tea. " There is a Persian saying, that a man to live happily, should " have the wine of Shirâz, the bread of Yendicas, and a wife " of Yezd. This lady was a native of Yezd, and had only " been in Maskat three months. I remember she complained " of the climate, and seemed altogether not very well satisfied " with her situation. She had a handsome Jewish face, with a " brunette complexion, and the most beautiful eyes I ever be- " held. They were not blacked as usual, but indeed no paint- " ing could have added anything to the blackness of their " long silken lashes. But the most amusing visit I paid, was " after I was better acquainted with some of the Arab ladies. " During this visit I succeeded in prevailing on them to indulge " me with a sight of their faces. They would not pull off their " masks themselves, but they allowed their companions to go " behind them and untie the string. And then such an exhi- " bition of bashfulness and modesty took place. They covered " their faces with their hands, and some of them threw them- " selves on the floor. But after all, there seemed to be no oc- " casion, for any extraordinary beauty that was in them. In " truth, my expectations being excited, I was sadly disappointed. " They had dingy complexions, and large hooked noses, and " their hair cut short and straight over the forehead, as the " maid-servant used to wear hers in the days of our youth."

" The contrast between the free Arabs and the enslaved Per- " sians, and the natural consequences of their different condi-

" tions, make a striking picture. Even the outward and visible " signs of slavery and degradation on one side, and of free- " dom and equality on the other, are curious and interesting. " Apply to Fraser or any other traveller in Persia, and hear the " description of the despot and his court, the prostrations and " adorations, the fawning and cringing of slaves, who rise from " being trampled upon to go and set their foot in like manner " upon the necks of all beneath them; and then turn to the " Arabs, and see, as I have seen, the chief in the midst of his " people, receiving them with a patriarchal embrace, and sitting " down among them without other distinction than the vo- " luntary marks of respect which the affection and esteem " of his subjects may prompt. One of the most striking " peculiarities of Arab manners is the footing of equality " upon which all ranks and conditions seem to associate to- " gether. Sovereign and subject—master and servant—sit " together, and eat and converse together, on terms of the most " perfect cordiality: and yet good order and subordination seem " as well established as if they were guarded by all the ceremony " which is elsewhere thought necessary for their preservation. " On board an Arab ship, this national characteristic is espe- " cially remarkable, from the contrast it presents to the marine " usages of Europe. Instead of the stiff etiquette of a Euro- " pean cruiser, all is equal, and all things in common. Officers " and men eat and smoke and pray together; and yet, in the " ships in which I have been, I never saw any lack of prompt " obedience, or breach of necessary discipline; and it is a re- " markable fact (and one which to an English naval officer would " appear incredible) that I never heard of a punishment. Hav- " ing finished this panegyric on the simplicity of Arab manners, " I cannot refrain from laughing at the recollection of Citizen " Glib and his Hottentots. 'Simple and unsophisticated people! " 'No unnatural distinction of rank—no absurd and pernicious " 'ceremonies!' Citizen Glib would have been to his heart's " content in a Wahabee hood and petticoat; provided his un- " sophisticated fellow-citizens had not undertaken some day to " make his property *hillál* or lawful, (that is, lawful for them- " selves to take), by cutting his throat. However, after this " digression, which *would* force itself upon me, I will fortify " myself by Madame de Stael's reflection, 'Quand une fois " 'on a tourné l'enthousiasme en ridicule, on a tout défait " 'excepté l'argent et le pouvoir.'"

"While I am on the subject of Arab virtues, I think I " may add those of friendliness and kind-heartedness. At " sea, in particular, I have lived much with Arabs, and have " often been, with my little boy, the only Europeans on board; " and in all situations and circumstances, I never experienced

" anything but the greatest civility and kindness. I re-
" member once going upon deck in an Arab frigate during
" the bustle occasioned by a sudden squall, and I still re-
" collect with kindly and grateful feelings, that in all the
" noise and hurry and hurricane, I hardly passed one sailor
" who did not turn towards me with some word of encourage-
" ment and consolation. In harbour, I used to have *conver-*
" *sazioni* of the Arab officers; who delighted exceedingly in
" tea. Theology and witchcraft were, I think, the most frequent
" topics. Seyd Salymeen who commanded the ship was a
" great friend of mine, and upon my leaving the frigate we
" parted with much affectionate ceremony. He said he should
" ' place me in his memory;' and that when he should give to
" any one some of the excellent medicine [Spanish licorice]
" which I had given him, he should always talk about me. He
" concluded his compliments by saying, that ' I was more
" ' powerful in knowledge than three men.' He was a good-
" tempered, cheerful old man, always talking in the Moham-
" medan style, of fate and predestination, and yet never neglect-
" ing to let out an additional cable when it blew hard. On one
" of these occasions he said to me, ' Do not be afraid;—God is
" ' powerful;—and I have got four anchors.' He was very fond
" of talking of his father, whose memory he seemed to hold in
" high veneration. He said his father always made a point of
" keeping up an establishment of four wives, and that never-
" theless, dissension was unknown in his household. The secret,
" he said, of this harmony, was the even-handed justice of his
" father's behaviour to them. In all respects he was careful to
" treat them exactly alike; and if he bought so much as a
" pair of shoes for one, he bought them for the others also, and
" exactly at the same time. He added that his father, by
" means of divorces and otherwise, had in his life-time had *forty*
" wives."

" The Wahabees we only saw as visitors, and as a defeated
" people; and consequently could only guess at their real dis-
" positions, as we might at those of a caged lion. In contem-
" plating the good qualities of these people, there is no occasion
" to be too romantic in their praise. It must not be forgotten,
" that they are rude, ferocious, and bigoted. Among minor
" offences, their want of personal cleanliness deserves to be
" recorded. Niebuhr, who says that the Arabs are a remark-
" ably clean people, must have been misled by imagining
" cleanliness to be a natural consequence of frequent ablutions.
" If he had examined, he would have discovered how ingeni-
" ously they contrive to fulfil the letter of the law and to
" evade the spirit. However, this reproach in its full extent

" applies to the Wahabees only. At Maskat the higher classes " are sufficiently clean. Perhaps the personal appearance of " the Wahabees may be matter of curiosity. They are little, " spare, yellow-complexioned, dried-looking, hard-featured " people; in their dress and general appearance, very much like " old women with dirks stuck in their apron-strings. It is " necessary to be careful about names. The inhabitants of " what are called the piratical towns, are Arabs chiefly of the " Joasmee tribe, but also of some others. In religion they are " Wahabees, or followers of Abd ul Wahâb, who about eighty " years ago began to preach at Dereyyah against the corruptions " of the established religion. They make but an inconsiderable " portion of the Wahabees; and merely took to piracy in con- " sideration of their maritime habits, as the Christians of Li- " verpool did to the slave-trade. The Wahabees whom Ali " Bey met at Mecca, must have been another race."

" The appearance of the Bedawis is singular and wild, and " their cast of countenance altogether different from any other " Arabs. Some of them are very handsome; and the peculiarity " of their features seems to be a great degree of delicacy. Their " stature is low, and their whole figure what may be called " *petite*. They wear nothing on their heads but a narrow fillet " of leather, and their black glossy hair hangs in corkscrew " curls upon their shoulders. White, regular, and very small " teeth, add to the delicate and womanish cast of their features. " This style of countenance is singular, as being so remote from " the usual Arab face, which is coarse and large-featured. Ali " Bey's description of the Wahabees he saw at Mecca, shows " they were of this race. Their manner is affectionate and mild, " and very different from the robust hardihood of the other Arabs. " Instead of a surplice, they wear a cloth fastened round the " waist and reaching half-way down the leg, and a sash in which " they stick their cartridges. Their eyes are blackened, and " they are steeped from head to foot in oil mixed with a " dark-coloured powder, so that they look as if they had come " out of a pot of walnut pickle. These are the Arabs 'tahta " 'sûf,' or *under wool*,—from their woollen tents. The others " are 'Arab ul beit,' or the Arabs of houses."

" As for my unfavourable opinion of the Persians, I do not " know that I have much to say in support of it. I think I had " never much acquaintance except with two of that nation. One " was a 'comprador' or ship's purveyor, whose talents had ac- " quired him the name of 'Rogue Ali;' and the other, a crafty " old gentleman who made his appearance in a mysterious " character in the English camp, and, after walking in and " out of the commander's tent, hearing all that was said and

" seeing all that was going forward, upon the arrival of the Imâm " of Maskat took his ivory-headed walking-stick, trotted off to " him with all the information he had been able to collect, and " was declared to be the Imâm's prime minister. I think my " dislike to the Persian character was chiefly acquired during " the course of my *Persian studies*, which, I may as well men- " tion, did not extend very far beyond the alphabet. However, " they made me acquainted with translations of Persian books; " and among others, I have looked into Sâdi, the 'great moral " ' poet of Persia,' and truly it seemed to me that his moralities " consisted in all that was servile, mean-spirited, and base. " And thus, seeing that the eye was evil, I concluded that the " whole body was full of darkness."

" The appearance of the Persian coast is not more dreary " than that of the opposite shores of Arabia. I recollect little " difference, except that on the Persian side the forms of the " mountains are more varied and fantastic. The narrow strip " of sandy country between the mountains and the sea, called " by the Arabs the Tehama, is on both sides of the Gulph " equally hot and dreary. Beyond the mountains are a diffe- " rent climate and country. I never had a look into the in- " terior but once. One of the finest views I ever saw in the " East, and certainly the only pleasant scene I looked on in " Arabia, was from a steep and narrow pass among the rocks " behind the town of Maskat. From this height we looked " upon a valley covered with huts and large trees, whose " bright green of various shades reminded us of the verdure " of England. To me, who for nearly a year had viewed " nothing but a dreary expanse of sea and sand, the scene " was pleasurable beyond describing;—and here is the secret " which at once accounts for all that we are told of the " beauty of countries like these. I remember a poor sickly mid- " shipman, half dead with the Persian Gulph fever, who went " to Maskat *for change of air*, and who came back seriously " affirming that he had been at a place where he lay in a run- " ning stream, and had grapes drop into his mouth from the " vines that overshadowed him. I suppose he had met with " a spring of tolerable water, and a bunch of grapes. The rose- " gardens of Shirâz would never have been sung by poets and " celebrated by travellers, if they had not been surrounded by " the dreary country which Fraser describes. I think he does " not condescend to notice the rose-gardens. Nevertheless I " have heard those who had seen them, talk rapturously of " their beauty. However, whether beautiful or not, there is no " doubt that roses grow in great abundance in the neighbour- " hood of Shirâz. I was told by a gentleman who had resided

" in Persia, that nothing is more common than to have a bed " of fresh rose-leaves made for you; from which, he added that " you invariably rise with a bad cold. This gentleman spoke " of Georgia, as a country where the climate, the inhabitants, " and the productions of the soil, are all equally beautiful."

" *Hulwah* is a sweetmeat very common in Arabia. It is " poured melted into two earthen vessels like saucers, which " are then put together; so that it is as convenient for carriage " as an oyster. When a Wahabee chief makes his camels kneel, " he pulls hulwah from his saddle-bow. Some writer, ancient " or modern, speaks of a diet on which the Arabs exist on their " journeys for a long time, and in very small quantities; this " must have been hulwah. But a much more curious sweet- " meat than this, is made in Persia, of a substance the descrip- " tion of which answers to that of the manna of the Israelites. " It is found in the morning covering the bushes like a hoar- " frost, and lying on the ground in small white grains; and it " tastes like wafers made with honey, for I have heard it com- " pared to an indifferent macaroon. It is kneaded into cakes, " and sold in the bazârs of the Persian Gulph. The Persians " call it *taranjabin*. Richardson notices it in his dictionary " under the article Manna."

" The Turks, if we may judge from their looks, are Euro- " peans, not Asiatics. Of Turkish agas I know nothing, but " that they stick out their elbows, and make themselves very " disagreeable."

The coincidence in many of these descriptions is sufficiently remarkable. But however happy the traveller in Persia and Khorasan may be in his local and personal descriptions, it is impossible to extend the same character to his general reflections. In almost all that relates to the religion of the countries he visits, his opinions will, on scrutiny, be found to have been taken up without examination, and continued without justice. It is only necessary to examine some of his positions on the subject of Mohammedanism; recollecting always that the object is not to prove that Mohammedanism is the religion *par excellence*, but to give to all men that portion of justice which is equally necessary to keep down the spirit of bigotry in every clime. The British government has some millions of Mohammedan subjects, possessed of no voice or influence in the government which they obey; and it therefore becomes of high practical importance, that the opinions of their rulers should be just, or should at least be founded on some approximation to the truth. All religions would have their weak side, if the conduct of their professors were to be brought as samples of the merits of the creed; and it would be as fair to judge of Christianity from

Cortez or from Alva, as to draw the conclusions which have been advanced against Mohammedanism by the author. 'One of the first acts of its earliest conquerors was the destruction of all the books and records they could find.' But if one race of Mohammedans destroyed books at Alexandria, another made Cordova the seat of all the science of the times; from whence, if the sword of Charles Martel had failed, they would to all human appearance have spread algebra and Mohammedanism over the world. At this moment the languages of Europe are full of the wrecks of sciences and arts introduced by these same Mohammedans, as the words remain to testify; and cypher, tarif, carat, lute, alkali, alcohol, elixir, rob, julep, magazine, mizen, calibre, check-mate, almanac, almagest, alchemy, algebra, azimuth, nadir, zenith, alcaide, sheriff, douane, all bear witness to the mass of useful things that have been received through their intervention. There is not a keeper of accounts in Europe, who might not be astonished by the information that he had all his life been writing Arabic; and without the same intervention of the Mohammedans, there would neither have been logarithms, nor traverse-tables, nor longitudes by observation. Again, the Mohammedans are asserted to be careless in their devotions. It is possible the author may have met with individuals indolent in prayer; yet what can be more certain, than that their general preciseness is one of the first circumstances which attracts the attention of a stranger in the East? Let any man enter a mosque in one of the Indian presidencies, and see the mute lines of worshippers, and the hundreds of white soles turned up at once as the foreheads touch the ground in unison with the movements of the leader, and say whether it is in solemnity and form that the Mohammedans are given to be deficient. Compare the tinkling mummeries of the mass, and their effects upon the hearers, with the proud pasha and the lordly aga made to bow in the dust before the Lord of earth and heaven, and the wild Wahabee marshalling his kneeling host upon the sand, and leading the rude choir where youth and age unite their voice to the Creator;—and then say whether 'the religion of Mohammed was never addressed either to the head or to the heart.' 'The enthusiasm it was calculated to inspire was kindled by an appeal to the grossest of human passions;'—and it appeals to nothing, except the hope of man's restoration to his original estate. 'A blind belief in the grossest absurdities was essential to the support of its doctrines;'—and it scarcely *has* any doctrines but those of simple theism. 'The mind required to be plunged in the most profound ignorance, to fit it for receiving and obeying its impious, inhuman, and ungodly precepts.' What an opinion to be entertained by

a possible governor of Mohammedans, without being able to point out in the written volume, where one of those precepts lies. 'Formed, in a certain degree, upon the model of the Christian religion, the compiler of the Mohammedan code appears carefully to have rejected the most simple and reasonable, the most beautiful and divine doctrines of his prototype, and, with curious ingenuity, to have altered its whole spirit so as to suit his gloomy plan of a faith that should plunge mankind back into their former ignorance, and bind the whole world in the chains of prejudice, bigotry, and superstition.' The meaning of which is, that he took the unity of God, his mercy, and a future state, and left out the Athanasian Creed.

After all the abuse that has been thrown upon Mohammed for his paradise—and it makes the head and front of every man's vituperative argument—the simple fact is, that he promised the restoration of man to the Mosaic Eden; where, if there were many Adams, it was equally inevitable there must be many Eves. This may not reach the elevation of 'What eye hath not seen nor ear heard;' but it at all events attains the point from which the Christian theology sets out. His words continually are, 'Theirs shall be the gardens of Eden*;' and then he proceeds to enumerate the rivers, the trees, the apples, and above all, the 'helpmates meet,' of the Mosaic account. That he excludes women from his paradise, is one of the stupid falsehoods that have been fastened on him by his enemies; for he reiterates the declaration that 'whoso worketh good, whether male or female, shall enter paradise†,' where the same glories are distinctly promised to both. And lest there should be any doubt whether the wives of the believers are to keep them company, he expressly describes the faithful as entering the garden of Eden 'with their fathers, their wives, and their children‡;' where, in another place, he says, 'they and their wives shall recline in shady groves§.' But the Eden of Milton is not more chaste, and is infinitely less reserved, than that of the Arabian; and no contrast can be stronger than between his imagery, and that of the Hebrew poetry which he might have taken for his model. In his description of the women of paradise, there is nothing to excite a voluptuous idea. They are said to be virgins—like the virgin daughter of Bethuel; and like the other believers, they are restored to the prime of youthful beauty, in which mankind may be supposed to have come from the hands of the creator. But they have neither necks

* Korân, xiii. 25. xviii. 32. xxxviii. 52.
† Kor. xvi. 97. xl. 41. xlviii. 5. lvii. 12. ‡ Kor. xiii. 25.
§ Kor. xxxvi. 55.

like towers of ivory, nor mouths that cause the lips of those that are asleep to speak, nor bosoms like clusters of the vine, nor breasts like two young roes that are twins feeding among lilies, nor the joints of their thighs like jewels the work of the hands of a cunning workman. They neither invite their paradisaic partner to kiss them with the kisses of his mouth, nor to lie like a bundle of myrrh all night between their breasts, nor to turn and be till daybreak like a young hart upon the mountains of spices, nor to get him to the mountain of myrrh and the hill of frankincense till the shadows flee away, nor to take a thousand of love's current coins from his vineyard while the keeper of the fruit claims two hundred in return, nor tempt him to the fields under promise of there giving their bosoms to his joy. These are the luxuries of other creeds, the figures which the nations of Europe think fitted to excite religious hopes and pious expectations. The spouses of the Arabian teacher sit with their dark eyes cast down modestly in the presence of their husbands, like pearls concealing themselves within their shells; and even the patriarchal polygamy seems forgotten, as something tolerable on earth but not good enough for heaven. The beatified pairs recline by the never-failing waters of Eden, surrounded by the harmless luxuries which constitute domestic comfort or splendour in the East; and if they sometimes fill their cup with a richer draught, it is described as innocent and harmless, with no power to disturb the intellect or disorder the mind. Their converse is unearthly and pure, and tinged with the delightful consciousness of souls escaped from earth and safe in heaven,—

> 'No vain discourse there heard, nor thought of sin;
> But this one word, Peace—Peace*.'

Such are literally the words of the much-abused Arabian; but still the Korân must be licentious, and all the figures of European theologians severe, and blameless, and divine. To judge from the outcry, it might be supposed that a whole book of the Korân had been devoted to the exhibition of voluptuous delight. And because woman, pure and innocent and downcast, is found seated in the second paradise by her husband's side, comes this

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* لا يسمعون فيها لغوًا ولا تأثيمًا
إلا قيلًا سلامًا سلامًا

Korân, LVI. 27, 28.

27. Non audient ibi sermonem futilem, neque incitationem ad peccatum.
28. Sed tantumodò dictum: Pax, Pax.—*Translation of Maracci.*

sacerdotal hubbub, and monkish delicacy is up in arms in defence of the purity of heaven. And this, too, from believers who avowedly cherish the fervour of their own devotion with descriptions, which, whatever may be their antitypes in heaven, present on earth the most accomplished display of amorous joyaunce the world can boast of,—descriptions, of which, whatever may be the celestial meaning, the earthly substratum is the intercourse of a mortal lover with his material bride, and that told in no measured terms, but painted with an unction that human hand has never equalled,—descriptions, which insular bashfulness has prevented English translators from rendering except by a paraphrase*, and which if offered to a reader not prepared with the conviction of their divine origin and tendency, would necessarily present to him the appearance of a glowing romance, commencing at the point where other romances are fain to conclude, and drawn with a pencil in comparison of which Theocritus is tame and Ovid but a bungler. It is not in the Korân that honied lips, lily bosoms, twin breasts, spicy mountains, budding pomegranates, hills, towers, clusters, mouths that intoxicate and eyes that are begged to turn away, necks, hair, teeth, cheeks, roses, lilies, ivory, marble, milk, ointments, perfumes, powders, banquets, goblets, flagons, chambers, curtains, beds, stairs, locks, lattices, windows, dew-drops, zephyrs, loves, doves, delights, desire, jealousy, flame, ravished hearts, love-sick damsels, clasping lovers, verdant couches, promised blisses, kisses, embraces, faintings, wells, vineyards, harts, hinds, concubines, honey-combs, mandrakes, are displayed, in emulous confusion, as the means of drawing the soul towards heaven. If Mohammed had inserted all these from the Jewish writings, it would not have been for the Europeans to have cast a stone. Let them look a little at the beam that is in their own eye, before they are so fierce upon the mote that is in their neighbour's. If they urge that these things are not dwelt upon, and that their religion may nevertheless contain many noble precepts of temperance and self-denial,—the same excuse ought to have been extended to the Mohammedans, *if* it had been proved that there was any justice in the parallel†. But with such liberal ideas on the extent to which earthly

* Consult the Septuagint, Vulgate, Spanish, German, and Swedish translations. The Arabic is the same.

† 'Whosoever looketh upon a woman to lust after her,'—said he who for his purity had not where to lay his head. 'Venter tuus sicut acervus tritici vallatus liliis,' sings the royal master of three hundred concubines. So in the pantheon the majesty of Jove sat frowning among gods of looser attributes and grosser form.—Only one profane writer has ventured upon the image of the royal voluptuary; and that one has made it the burden of the most flagitious song existing in any language.

passion may be employed for religious exaltation, what an uproar have the Europeans made, about the simple reinstatement of woman in the lost seats of Eden. So little can the absence of offence avail, against the colouring of national animosity and religious bigotry! The earliest introduction of the Korân to the acquaintance of Europeans, was marked by these evil passions. It is known in Europe principally through the labours of Maracci, who never lost an opportunity of perverting its meaning, or corrupting its simplicity with the imaginations of the convent. If a translation of the Hebrew scriptures were published, in which every word capable of the change was altered from the reserved and decent one to that which was vulgar and immodest,—and where a licentious commentary was attached to every passage where the subject could, by any perversion, be made the vehicle,—attended with insupportable mistranslations and misconstructions for the sake of hanging an odious meaning upon the writer,—it would give some idea of the medium through which the Korân was introduced to Europe. It was thus that juggling monks played their low machinery,—that what they called the altar and the throne might flourish, by setting one half of mankind to hate and worry the other*.

On all the other principal points of declamation, the doctrines of Mohammed have been misrepresented with similar success. It is of no use that himself says no; his adversaries chuse that he should say yes, and they will have it so accordingly. At this moment it would be difficult to find a hundred persons, who do not believe the Mohammedans are taught that women have no souls. Peers, commoners,—lords, ladies,—poets, all believe it; and yet Mohammed has been as particular upon that point as if he had foreseen the calumny. In the same manner men are taught to believe that he inculcated religious intolerance;—and yet he expresses himself on the subject of toleration in a manner that would bring down the thunders of the priesthood upon any liberal in Europe. 'If the Lord had pleased, all who are in the earth would have believed together; and wilt *thou* force men to be believers? No man can believe but by the permission of God; and *He* will pour out his indignation on those who will not understand†.' The author of the splendid "Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions," is

* See Maracci's dedication to the sacred Cæsarean Majesty of Leopold I., where he cites Mohammed before the tribunal of 'God's Vicar upon Earth' and the Emperor of Germany, convicts him of *lèse-majesté* against God and against Cæsar, and requests that, as Alexander put the Iliad under his pillow, so Leopoldus Magnus will use *his* translation of the Korân, as a sharpener of his fury against the Mohammedan barbarians.—A. D. 1698.

† Korân ii. 257.

manifestly a Mohammedan.—'Let there be no forcing in religion; the right way has been made clearly apparent from the wrong*.' How different is the poor Arabian's enthymeme, from the conclusion that would have been drawn from the same position by the Sorbonne. 'Those who are Moslems, and those who are Jews, and the Christians, and the Sabeans, who believe in God and the last day, and work righteousness, for them is their reward with the Lord, and there is no fear for them, and they shall not be put to sorrow†.' Is this being 'cursed with a religion that inculcates intolerance‡'?—or is there any pulpit in Europe that dares maintain the converse? —His law of war is only the ancient maxim of never making a disadvantageous peace. 'Fight in the way of God with them that fight with *you;* but be not the aggressors [even Maracci adds, *id est ne pugnetis primi contra eos*], for God loveth not the aggressors. And kill them wherever you find them, and drive them from whence they drove *you*. But if they give over, [be mindful that] God is forgiving and merciful. And fight with them till there is an end of contention, and till the religion be God's. But if they give over, then no hostility, except against the treacherous§.' It is necessary to remark the singular mode in which the writer alternates between two scenes; in one of which he paints to himself the enemy attacking, and in the other offering terms. 'As to those [of the unbelievers] who have not fought with you on account of religion, nor driven you from your habitations, God forbiddeth you not to deal kindly with them, and to behave justly towards them, for God loveth those who act justly‖.' These precepts form the strongest contrast to those of which he had the model before him in the Jewish history. Such inflictions on a conquered country as the killing every male, and every male among the little ones, and every woman, and keeping alive for the conquerors only the female children who had not known man,—the cutting off the thumbs and toes of vanquished princes,—and the cutting to pieces the inhabitants of captured cities with saws and with harrows of iron and with axes,—never entered into the imagination of Mohammed, and every man is conscious that they have not been practised by his followers. For all this he has the most positive merit; because he found them all in books which he acknowledged and believed to be divine. The severest measure which he appears ever to have contemplated against the vanquished, was the imposition of a tax: a moderation which contrasts most favourably with the crusades and

* Korân x. 98 † Korân ii. 62.
‡ Edinburgh Review, No. lxxxv. Art. 5. § Korân ii. 191 *et seq.* ‖ Korân lx. 8.

dragonades of Europe. That the Moslems should be unfavourably disposed towards foreigners, is only the reflection of the sentiment which foreigners feel for *them*: and at this moment two well-dressed negroes walking up the Strand, produce more invidious remarks than a European lady in Grand Cairo.

The Arabian lawgiver provides for the honourable marriage of Jewish and Christian women with Mohammedans, but prohibits them as concubines *. Have either Jews or Christians ever thought of making any reciprocal provision?—His law of slavery is, 'If slaves come to you, you shall'—*not* imprison and then sell by public sale though no claimant appears, as in the nineteenth century is the law of Christian England in her provinces,—but 'redeem them, and it is forbidden to you to send them forth †.' And this was a man standing up in the wilds of Arabia in the seventh century.

His definition of pure religion and undefiled may stand by that of the Christian apostle, like a sister born in a foreign land, of different complexion and yet alike. 'Religion is not turning your faces to the east or to the west; but the religious are they who believe in God, and the last day, and the angels, and the book, and the prophets, and give their wealth for his love to their kindred, and to orphans, and to the poor, and to the wayfaring man, and to those who ask charity, and for the redeeming of captives; and who perform their prayers, and give alms, and who keep their engagements when they have made them, and the patient under misfortunes and afflictions and in the time of adversity. These are they who are in possession of the truth; and these, they are the pious ‡.' His alms are not directed to be seen of men. 'If ye make your alms to appear, it is well; but if ye conceal them, and give them unto the poor, this will be better for you §.' His prohibition of wine has nothing of the fanatic. 'They will ask thee concerning wine and games of chance. Answer, that in both of them there is great evil, and also some good to mankind; but the evil is greater than the good ‖.' He had the honesty to disavow miraculous powers, in a dark age¶; a thing absolutely without parallel. If it was not known that the *odium theologicum* expanded in proportion to the minuteness of the difference, it might have been supposed that Mohammed had been as abusive in his treatment of the author of Christianity, as Christians have been of *him*. Instead of which, he invariably bears testimony to his divine mission, calling him 'the Messiah Jesus, the son of Mary, the sent of God, and his

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* Korân v 6. † Korân ii. 85. ‡ Korân ii. 178.
§ Korân ii. 272. ‖ Korân ii. 219. ¶ Korân xxix. 50.

word which he conveyed into Mary, and a breath [emanation] from him *;' and insists on the miraculous circumstances of his birth, in the same identical terms as the Christian evangelists †. So far are the followers of Mohammed from believing that he prohibited learning, or from wishing to prohibit it themselves, that one of the sayings which they preserve of him by tradition is, that 'The ink of the learned is as good as the blood of the martyrs;' and it is presented at this day to the Moslem schoolboy for a copy, in the place of the 'Industry is praised' of our domestic kaligraphists.

From these circumstances the reader will determine for himself, what reason there is for the persuasion, that the religion of Mohammed is the cause of the degradation of Persia. As if pure monarchy was not a sufficient cause for any state of evil; —and of monarchy in any form there is not a word in the Korân. The Arabian deemed higher of his own office, than to become in any shape the pandar of a temporal power, or occupy himself with what Milton calls 'instilling barren hearts with conscientious slavery.' Like the author of Christianity, he thundered his edicts against injustice with no respect of persons; and if there is anything that sometimes holds an eastern despot in check, it is probably an unceremonious verse from the Korân in the mouth of a daring remonstrant. The whole book contains no precept with the slightest leaning towards political servility. It sprang up in the land of loosest liberty; and could not be directed to that which was unknown. Arabia stands in her wild freedom; and because the slaves of "the Great King" are slaves still, with what justice can it be concluded that Mohammedanism is the cause?

The only large demand made by Mohammed on the faith of his followers, is that which relates to his own mission; a question on which every founder of a religion has necessarily been at issue with all but his own disciples. This point will perhaps always be one on which some allowance must be made for human passions, and some for the self-deception attendant on intense desire to propagate a much-loved creed. Thus Numa had his Egeria, Socrates his dæmon, Luther his prompting angel, and Wesley in our own times his supernatural solicitings. How much in any of these cases was weakness, and how much encouraged self-deception, it is impossible for man to know. 'From enthusiasm to imposture the step is perilous and slippery; the dæmon of Socrates affords a memorable instance, how a wise man may deceive himself, how a good man may deceive others, how the conscience may slumber in a mixed and middle state

* Korân iv. 169. † Korân xix. 20.

between self-delusion and voluntary fraud*.' To form a true estimate of what Mohammed actually accomplished, it is necessary to bear in mind the state of the religions in existence at the time of his appearance. The Jewish could be scarcely known to him but through the medium of the books from which he copied so largely; and whatever else he could have known, would have been little favourable to its professors. The Christian world was sunk in the worship of chips and rags and dead men's bones; of men-gods, and women-gods, and as numerous a rabble of polytheism as ever disgraced the Pantheon. And if a pure and reformed part existed in some unknown valley, where the spark was preserved that centuries afterwards was to break out in the lights of Wyclif and of Luther, it cannot be urged that Mohammed was responsible for not having weighed the doctrines of this little flock. Setting aside the existence of this germ of purer faith, it may be asked whether, in the judgment of any portion of the reformed churches of Europe, the doctrines of Mohammed, with his simple heaven and hell, his mercy and repentance, were not more conducive to the honour of the Deity and the welfare of mankind, than that miscalled Christianity which was all that was practised within his view. What he actually accomplished was the leading of millions from the worship of dumb idols to that of one only God; in which if he was sinful, what shall be said of those who had carried back Christianity in precisely the opposite direction. In the execution of his design, he trusted to the superiority of his belief over the corrupted forms of faith and practice by which it was surrounded; and sought not to secure himself within the bulwark of a hierarchy, though the tempting example was before him in the Jewish institutions. The man who could take ablutions and fasting, and leave alone great and small tithes, must have had no inconsiderable degree of singleness of eye and honesty of purpose.

If it were required to point out the part of Mohammed's institutions which has had the most injurious effect on the condition of his followers, it would undoubtedly be, his having permitted the continuance of polygamy, and its adjunct divorce. By this he at once doomed one half of his population to perpetual barbarism, and the other to all the positive and negative evils inseparable from such an association. It was on this point that the superiority of European institutions first made itself apparent; and while the Frank concentrated himself into a unity of devotion to one object, to be sought by deeds of hardihood and self-denial, the Moslem was scattering his energies

* Gibbon.

among a quaternion of slaves. He could indeed rouse himself when necessity called for exertion; but he lost the habit of seeking the opportunity. The opinions on predestination, also, which to a certain degree have their foundation in the Korân, though they have sometimes added to the courage of the Moslem in battle, have inevitably deducted something from his fitness for pursuing human ends by human means; and have thus contributed to his ultimate inferiority in the arts of policy and war. The distinction between the Oriental and the European genius lies in the *tête organisante*, or the practice of laying long-drawn trains for the compassing of an uncertain end. The oriental may gain a battle, because it is the will of heaven that valour shall be one element of success; but he will lose two more, because it was also the will of heaven that his opponents should be better prepared with the other materials of victory.

But if it be true that a philosophic theist might, with small exception, subscribe to the written creed of the Arabian, it follows that, having at least some simplicity, it was capable of some corruption. And since human nature is everywhere the same, it is not surprising that its corruptions should have flowed in the same course with those which had debased the purity of other creeds. The same temptation to decorate and to enlarge, the same propensity in victorious orthodoxy to demand the belief of the greatest possible quantity instead of the least, produced the same effects at Mecca and at Rome, and led to the same crisis of destruction or of cure. About the year 1747, arose from the cloister of the desert, the Mohammedan Luther Abd ul Wahâb; a man, like a still earlier prototype, neither eating bread nor drinking wine, but clothed in raiment of camels' hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins, and whose meat was literally locusts and wild honey. The eastern reformer stood on the same grounds as his parallel in Europe, and appealed to the written word as the only measure of his belief. The honours paid to deceased holy men,—the reverence given to relics and to tombs,—the degree in which Mohammed himself, like the Virgin of the west, had been raised into an intercessor, and almost an associate with the Deity,—and the relaxation of obedience to the spirit of commands, under the pretence of adherence to the letter,—were the points upon which the stubborn scholar planted his protest against Sherîfs, and Muftis, and Ulemâ, and Sultans, and Imâms. His doctrines might be only relatively true; but those of his opponents were absolutely false, for they ascribed to a written rule what was in direct opposition to its contents. And as the perception of all truth possesses intense influence over the mind of man,

he soon found a temporal power willing to espouse his cause. Ibn Saoud, the principal sheikh of the Arab tribes in the vicinity of Dereyyah, became his proselyte, and the reformation was embraced by all his followers. At the death of Ibn Saoud, his successor, Abd ul Azîz, continued to increase the strength of his party by proselytes or by conquest, and in 1801 he was enabled to advance to the neighbourhood of Bagdad. It is not to be concealed that in this expedition he conducted himself with ferocity, such as men have often fallen into through believing that hostility to the error licenses cruelty to the individual. In 1802 he sent his son Saoud to take possession of Mecca, which he effected after a slight resistance. But his attempts against the walled towns of Medina and Jidda failed, and he was obliged to retire to Dereyyah. Abd ul Azîz died by the hand of an assassin in 1803, and was succeeded by his son Saoud. Saoud was successful in reducing the Imâm of Maskat under his dependence, and made himself master of Medina in 1804. At the beginning of 1807, the Wahabee chief was master of all Arabia except Mocha and some other walled towns in Yemen, and was extending his dominion in the countries lying between Damascus, Bagdad, and Basra.

The converts of the Wahabees on the sea-coast did them the disservice of repeatedly embroiling them with the English, who destroyed their principal towns, and as a necessary consequence, made common cause with their great enemy the Turks. The extraordinary satrap who about the same time appeared in Egypt, directed against the Wahabees the power which he was afterwards to direct against the Greeks, and succeeded in driving them from the sepulchre of Mohammed, and re-establishing the ancient rites. But Wahabeeism is an opinion; and opinions are neither reached by cannon, nor cut off by the sword. It still flourishes in the heart of the rider of the desert, and collects to itself all the fuel that national animosity can supply. The real fact is, that Wahabeeism is Arabia marshalled against Turkish domination; and in this view it forms an integral part of the great struggle for freedom, which in different forms and degrees is carrying on throughout the world. If the Imâm of Maskat were an Alfred or a Gustavus, he would try the question whether Arabia '*is for the Arabs.*' The children of Ishmael are not noted for their submission to foreign rule; and no man can say at what moment the invader of Greece may be called off, by the barley-cake of some desert Gideon rolling into his host at home.

The author appears to have attempted to conciliate the Mohammedans, by uttering their profession of faith. On the propriety of this act there will, of necessity, be various opinions; but it is curious to observe how quietly this profession has been

taken in the cases of Burkhardt and others, where the concealed object was supposed to be favourable to the religion of the abhorrers. One element certainly is to know, what this profession of faith is. Its first member is, that 'there is no God but God;' a point which all wise men in all ages have believed, whatever they might profess. The second is, that 'Mohammed was a sent [*resoul*] of God.' Not 'a *prophet* of God,' as sometimes rendered, nor '*the* sent;' for the word is not prophet, and the definite article is excluded by the declaration of Mohammed, that the *resouls* are many and their number unknown *. A man might probably be excused for acknowledging, that Mohammed was 'sent' to do what he did do;—upon which ground the question of the author's state must be rested with the reader. At the same time it is difficult to reconcile his conduct with his hatred of the creed. The eye of love has been celebrated for abating theological differences, and the hand of friendship is perhaps of scarcely less power; but neither of these seems to have been in the author's case. It is with the Christians, however, that the charge of bigotry should rest. The Mohammedans are not bitter against the doctrines of Christianity, when explained to them in their simplicity; their batteries have been chiefly raised against its corruptions. When told that the assertion of the Christian books is, 'that God was *in* Christ†,' and that he is called the son of God because he was not the son of any man‡,—as they themselves avow, and moreover make no objection to the application of a similar term to Adam;—they say that it is *mushkil* or difficult, but do not affirm it to be impossible. The phrase in which their own teacher denominates Jesus a *breath* or emanation from the Deity, they acknowledge to favour the opinion that he was an incarnation of the one sole Deity on earth; and in their ideas of the ubiquity and infinity of God, they find no difficulty in admitting the possibility of such a presence. On being shown that the same operation or influence of the Deity, which by one Christian evangelist is called the *spirit* § of God, is by another, in reporting the same facts, denominated the *finger* ‖ of God, and consequently the expression in both cases is a metaphor like that employed by their own teacher,—they see in this no obstacle to the complete and perfect unity which they have been accustomed to ascribe, and they manifestly feel much relieved, on finding that any European friend holds tenets which they can so nearly reconcile with what they think rational and just. If a European professing these principles, and joining to them a compliance with the prudential rules of their religion, was

* Korân, iv. 163. † 2 Cor. v. 19. ‡ Luke, i. 35.
§ Matthew, xii. 28. ‖ Luke, xi. 20.

denied admission to their sacred places, it would be on no ground but the refusal to add the recognition of their teacher.

The Persian government, is a 'most absolute monarchy;' and as within the pale of civilization it is also the *only* one, it is natural to look for some unwonted results. That in Europe at least, no specimen of unmixed purity is to be found, however much the vulgar nomenclature may favour the pretensions of particular courts, is a fact of the truth of which it is easy to be convinced. In almost every other state, a contest has been sustained with a view of introducing some new element of authority into the monarchical frame of government; and though the success in many cases has been doubtful, and a purity almost Asiatic still characterizes some governments, there is not at this day in Europe an absolute power, whose integrity has not been violated, or which is not subject to some control of one kind or another. In Turkey, in Russia, and even in Spain, some resisting forces may be descried in action, which, however feebly or indirectly, do in some sort divert the downward pressure of the government. In the last-mentioned state, for example, nearly as its despotism has reached perfection, there remain a few means of annoyance;—the proximity of less pure monarchies is alarming, as it must lead to invidious comparisons;—knowledge has been let in upon the community in various parts;—and the people have discovered an indomitable spirit in one instance, which promises, when guided by just information, to make itself manifest in another. The miscalled Autocrat of Russia is far from concentrating in his own person the power of government. He has an army, whose humours must be observed,—an army too that, like the Guebre extinguishers of the poet, is at this moment reported to have been on fire. There is an aristocracy also, which, if he occasionally sends a member of it to Siberia, has, in the long run, once or twice, sent *him* on a more irremediable journey. The only thing to be predicated with certainty of the Russian government hitherto is, that the *people* have not controlled it. But the latter may eventually profit by the jealousies of their rulers, and take the lion's share in the administration of their own affairs—an issue which would relieve Europe from many of her present apprehensions. The Sublime Porte is not absolute. The Sultan can indeed without form of law despatch the bow-string to a disobedient Pasha, who happens not to be sufficiently powerful to send it back; but he is controlled by his own guards, and the Ulemâ can interpose, with a text of the Korân, between him and the object of his wishes. Moreover he is, and has been, perpetually threatened by some power from without; and himself and his Turkish subjects, like our own

Norman tyrants, have been obliged to make common cause against a people whom they oppressed at home. The Turks themselves have always been rather the instruments than the subjects of oppression. There does not exist in Europe a monarchy, which, however professedly absolute, is not forced from the natural bent of its genius by some resistance, or influence, or apprehension of danger, or sense of insecurity, arising from one quarter or another, and operating more or less directly upon the government.

In Persia, on the other hand, one only man is the sole, absolute, and uncontrolled governor of the state. The peculiarities in the nature of the country and the situation of the inhabitants, which have contributed to raise the Persian monarchy to this bad eminence among governments, are not difficult to trace.

In the first place, if Persia be considered with reference to its foreign relations, it will be found that it is not so situated as to impose upon its government the necessity of keeping up a regular standing army. On the east, the Turkomans, a remnant of the hordes that have overrun China, Hindostan, and Lesser Asia, and shown themselves as far westward as the walls of Vienna, are now contented with an occasional *chappow* or foray to Sharood, Nishapore, or Ispahan. Yet it would seem that the Persian monarchy is secured from danger on its eastern frontier, chiefly by the difficulty of combining wild and mutually independent tribes in any scheme of operations on a scale greater than that of a union for the purpose of pillage. Though ludicrously jealous of the British, whose career in India has been such as greatly to alarm the neighbouring potentates, the government evidently has no occasion to be under apprehensions for a country that offers so few commercial advantages to tempt the cupidity of adventurers from England. On the west, the Persian monarchy touches upon another in a condition as crazy as its own, and which has long ceased to be formidable to its neighbours; while the Wahabees, even if ultimately successful in extending the sphere of their domination and reform, have recently experienced too severe a check to inspire any immediate apprehensions. On its northern frontier alone, Persia comes in contact with an iron despotism, against which its own frailer government—a machine just strong enough to grind its subjects to dust—must continually crumble and give way. But it is only of late that the vigour of the Russian government has made itself felt on this remote frontier of its empire; and the Shah, perhaps, has yet to learn the character and strength of his ominous neighbour. 'The parsimony and improvidence of his govern-

ment,' as Mr. Fraser with a true European fondness for standing armies has observed, 'cannot comprehend the use of keeping together, on regular pay, men, who are not particularly required.' This is a species of improvidence of which more examples might possibly be desired; but whatever may elsewhere be the utility of 'regular pay,' and of armies 'not particularly required,' the affairs of Persia have not, at least in former times, been such as to require an establishment so expensive. The shah, as well as the shah's predecessors, has judged wisely for himself in not raising up a power, which, like the sultan's janizaries or the prætorian bands, would soon have disposed of him and his absolute authority. The wandering tribes of Persia,—in relation to whom, from the word *âl* or *ill* a *tribe*, the traveller appears to have framed the odd name of Eels,—'good stuff' he says 'for soldiers'—may be regarded in the light of his standing, or rather flying army; among whom, on any emergency, he can raise a force, infinitely better adapted than the most regularly disciplined troops, to the desultory warfare practised by the Persians and dictated by the natural circumstances of their country*.

The same absence of apprehension from without, that has enabled the government to dispense with a regular army which, in the absence of more legitimate control over the sovereign, generally proves a kind of rude check to his despotic power, has also relieved it from the necessity of conciliating the affections of its subjects; while the peculiar situation of the latter is such as to admit of their being oppressed by the government, without demanding the co-operation of a military force. With the exception of the provinces bordering upon the Caspian, and the occasional sprinklings of vegetation in other parts, a man may literally travel from one end of the kingdom to the other, and cry 'all is barren.' The mountains are masses of bare rock, everywhere exhibiting their strata in grotesque piles, while the level country consists chiefly of gravel washed down from the mountains, or of clay that requires constant irrigation to become productive. But nature, with unusual parsimony, has denied a sufficiency even of water; such rivers as exist are small, and the rivulets, which are by no means in abundance, are inadequate to the irrigation of even the limited portion of land

* Aga Mohammed Khan, the late king, haranguing his army on one occasion when in sight of the Russians, told them he intended to lead them on instantly to the discomfiture of their infidel enemies.—"And do you think," said he in private to his minister, "I will do as I told them?" "Undoubtedly, if it be your majesty's pleasure."—"Hadji," said the king, half angry, "are you also a fool? Can a man of your wisdom believe I will ever run my head against their walls of steel? I know better. Their shot shall never reach me; but they shall possess no country beyond its range. They shall not know sleep; and let them march where they please, I will surround them with a desert."

which is capable of being fertilized at all. In the provinces the most happily circumstanced, the fertile portion of the soil is but an oasis in a vast and barren tract; and the districts professedly under cultivation, are scarcely to be distinguished from the actual deserts that cover a great part of the country. Towns and villages, with whatever portion they enjoy of productive soil around them, stand insulated in the midst of barren wastes; and the large cities, few and far removed, have little communication with one another.

In a country of this description there can no where be any considerable sphere for the operation of sympathy; and intolerable oppression may be practised in one province, town, or village, without danger of kindling generally throughout the community that spirit of resistance, the fear of which is the ultimate preservative of countries more thickly peopled and affording greater facilities to communication, from the oppression of their absolute rulers. A certain denseness of population is no less requisite for the maintenance of good government, than for the purposes of production. The congregating of scattered agriculturists into towns, the multiplication of the latter, the securing their free and easy communication with one another—are the steps by which the people have, in all countries, been put into a situation to assert a control over the administration of their affairs. Those who weep over the fetters imposed upon governments by their subjects, are well aware of this; and hence their incessant lamentations over growing cities, and their concealed hostility to those interests, which, by crowding the population within straiter limits than agriculture requires, lead naturally to a closer sympathy and better understanding among the people. The Persians, though a people of another faith, do yet, it may be supposed, 'feel want, taste grief,' and are otherwise affected in a manner like ourselves. That spirit which it is ever the tendency of oppression to create, must, as with us, have led to some amelioration of the government, had it not been baffled by some peculiar disadvantages. It is no answer to say that the Asiatics are slavish in their temper, and crouch under the tyranny of their rulers. No men love slavery for its own sake, or submit to it if they have the means of rescuing themselves from thraldom, and know how to employ them. Their religion, which is sometimes represented as being what James II. considered the church of England, a capital engine of arbitrary power, is the religion also of the Arabs, who are free men, and of the Turks, who, whatever are their vices, cannot be branded with the name of slaves. The real reason of the sufferings of Persia is, that in that country not one of the conditions is found, on which alone a good government can exist. The

people are not in a situation to inspire their government with the slightest apprehensions; and the spirit of resistance expires in the groans of unhappy villagers, racked by demands for *soorsaut* and other grinding impositions, and cut off from all sympathy with their fellow-sufferers under oppression.

To a state of society so agreeable to the wishes of monarchical power, is superadded another peculiarity that tends to keep the people prostrate under the inflictions of their government. A large proportion of the population consists of wandering tribes, which are continually migrating from one pasture to another; and which, owning little other authority than that of their own patriarchal chiefs, are the only portion of the community that escape from the despotism of the government. As they are constantly changing their place of abode, they have few local attachments; they are always more or less at variance with neighbouring tribes; they commit depredations without deeming them crimes, and wage a continual war of plunder with the settled and agricultural districts. Their condition, as regards both their own habits and their relation to their neighbours and to the government, is precisely that of the Highland clans, before General Wade reduced their fastnesses by his unparalleled roads. It is only necessary to conceive these Celtic marauders, instead of being fortunately cooped up in a corner of the island, to have been at liberty to wander over it,—to produce a picture of the state of Persia. A portion of population kept in these circumstances, while it enjoys its own rude independence, is excellently calculated to co-operate with the character of the soil and the policy of the government, in keeping the whole community in a loose and barbarous condition, and preventing the possibility of any political institutions by which its condition might be improved.

Whatever be the source of the frequent contests for the succession by which the Persian monarchy is wont to be agitated, they certainly contribute to render it more absolute, by thinning and depressing the aristocracy. The effect of our own disputed succession was, to establish in the persons of the surviving competitor and his heirs, something not unlike the Persian despotism. Every second or third shah has to fight his way to the throne; and the individuals capable of annoying him when in possession of it, have for the most part perished in the conflict. Even when firmly established in his seat, the maxims of his policy are too unscrupulous to leave the survivors in a condition to organize the means of future resistance. 'How much blood,' used the late king to exclaim, 'have I shed, that this boy' (meaning his nephew and heir) 'may reign in peace!' The nephew has been guided by the same principles and, within

the limits of his authority, has not left a single chief of power or influence enough to be dangerous. Whatever be the merits of aristocracy and monarchy when separately considered, it is certain that both together weigh less heavily upon the community than either alone. In the former case, jealousies must and will intervene ; and amidst the dissensions of their tyrants, the people rise into importance. But in Persia, the aristocracy is kept at too low an ebb to serve for anything but the abject instruments of oppression, which as soon as they have served their turn, are themselves broken and destroyed.

In addition to all these exemptions from control, the priesthood, which in most countries has contrived to exalt its horn, does not in Persia constitute a body of any political pretensions, and the good or evil of ecclesiastical establishments is alike unknown. This simple fact shows how purely imaginary is Mr. Fraser's supposed 'combination between the government and the religion;' and how little the political misfortunes of Persia are to be ascribed to the latter. In no country is it the religion, but the hierarchy, that injures the commonwealth ; and the absence of a political priesthood is a wonderful feature in a religion that lies under the imputation of having degraded the sovereigns of Asia into despots, and their subjects into slaves. The effects resulting from the sinister union between the church and the crown in other countries, were perhaps what led Mr. Fraser into this obvious and ready mode of accounting for evils, which appeared to him too great to originate in any other combination.

The population of Persia, it thus appears, is thinly scattered over an immense territory, and broken into many small and distinct communities, as well by the nature of the country, as by the difference of habits existing among a people partly settled and partly migratory. Thus divided, they are chiefly employed in agriculture, and possess few facilities for communicating with one another. They are surrounded on all sides by independent barbarians or barbarous monarchies, have little acquaintance with European governments, know even the British but as conquerors hardly more scrupulous than their own shahs; and are therefore safe from the contagion of examples unfavourable to legitimacy, or likely to teach them a mode of combining together for mutual protection against a government that exists but to oppress. Finally, they are without even the doubtful advantages of an aristocracy, a political hierarchy, or a standing army;—they have not even a foreign enemy who might serve to make the monarch feel less secure upon his throne, and inspire a jealousy favourable in its results to the people. When it is considered how barbarously ignorant, for

the most part, are the peasantry of a province or country merely agricultural, particularly when remote from great towns and the conversation of persons engaged in more civilized pursuits, and how much these evils are aggravated by the peculiar disadvantages of Persia,—it is unnecessary to look further for the causes that have kept its inhabitants, though a lively and ingenious people, unconscious of any difference between political and natural evil, and have withheld them from taking measures to remove or mitigate a nuisance which ranks, in their eyes, with the cholera morbus or any other irresistible infliction incident to humanity.

A journey into Persia is valuable, then, as introducing to the *zero* of unlimited monarchy, and leading to an acquaintance with the nature of the simple, which the nations of Europe have been forced to mix up in their daily food and pronounce a wholesome diet. With Persia at one end of the scale, and America at the other, there is a boundless opportunity for observing the effects on human happiness resulting from different degrees of admixture. From this analysis the philosopher will principally desire to determine, how far each and any of the conflicting ingredients is the cause of happiness, and how far happiness exists in spite of it; to discover, in short, in different specimens of the political loaf, what particles are those which nourish and support, and what are the bran that loads, and the alum that glisters.

As neither the people, nor any portion of the people, whether the privileged classes or others, exercise, directly or indirectly, any control over the government, the monarchical principle is here allowed unlimited scope for discovering its natural tendency. What this natural tendency is, had already been theoretically deduced from a consideration of the principles of human nature in which government has its origin. It had been satisfactorily demonstrated, that 'the propensity of one man to possess himself of the objects of desire at the cost of another, leads on by infallible sequence, where power over a community is attained and nothing checks, not only to that degree of plunder which leaves the members (excepting always the recipients and instruments of the plunder) the bare means of subsistence, but to that degree of cruelty which is necessary to keep in existence the most intense terror *,' and this equally, whether the governing power be lodged in the hands of one or of many. The state of Persia, as described with singular accuracy by Mr. Fraser, is a practical demonstration of the truth of this conclusion. If in any points it does not answer exactly to the terms of the proposition, the difference is easily accounted

* Art. "Government," in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica.

for. As resistance is not apprehended, the exercise of 'cruelty' is reserved for the purpose of extortion, or the indulgence of the passions; and since the ruling *one* is in a condition to dispense with partners in the firm, it will be found that even the 'instruments of plunder' are but the temporary 'recipients,' and are only collectors of another description for the treasury of the shah.

The king in Persia is understood to have the whole community entirely at his disposal. He may exalt or degrade, fine, imprison, maim, or put to death his subjects, without rendering a reason, or being answerable for the act. The exercise of his power is limited only by the degree of insecurity it may occasion him, or, in other words, by the danger of provoking insurrection or conspiracy. But as it has been seen that there is little room for apprehending the former, and that by precautionary executions he usually anticipates the latter, it follows that the exercise of his power is in reality limited by nothing but his own will.

The right of a man to his own life has been ordinarily recognized under the worst imaginable governments. Even the Athenian democracy, which, whether justly or not, is usually classed among the worst, was wont to assign some reason for its political murders, such as danger to the state or church, or the policy of intimidation. But a perfectly absolute monarch pushes his authority to an extreme which, without consideration of either guilt or innocence, reason of state or apprehended danger, leaves no man in secure possession of his eyes, his ears, his nose, or any one member of his body, or even of his life. 'In proof of this, it is but necessary to refer to the pages of all writers on Persia, both ancient and modern; numerous instances will there be seen of the arbitrary and cruel acts of its kings. We may see the great Shah Abbas putting to death, with his own hand, an innocent traveller while asleep, because his horse started at him, 'and cutting off a man's nose for an offence equally trivial: Aga Mohammed Khan putting out the eyes of those who ventured to look upon his hideous countenance, and maiming or destroying numbers for slight or imaginary faults: and Nadir Shah shedding oceans of blood, with a sweeping disregard to every impulse but those of his own dark disposition.' Putting out of view all the murders in defence of which the slightest apprehension of danger can be alleged, an appalling catalogue is still left of executions springing from caprice, from the spleen, from indigestion, or from that wantonness in the exercise of authority, which unrestricted power is apt to engender in the unhappy person who possesses it.

The same disregard for life and limb pervades the whole line

of official persons. Justice must be bought; and murder has its price, both of exculpation and retribution. The criminal and the prosecutor try to outbid each other. If the former can back his statement with the requisite sum, a certificate from the magistrate is easily obtained, stating that he has inquired into the matter, and found 'all as it should be.' If the prosecutor can produce the largest douceur, it is at his option either to extort from his adversary the sum he has been obliged to expend in the suit, and to mulct him in a compensation for the wrong,—or to gratify himself by a less profitable, but deeper revenge, and deal with the offender as the offender had dealt with his victim. The criminal in return has his avengers, and the original murder is but the first of a series. In this manner a people not naturally sanguinary or cruel, are led to set little store by life, and shed blood on the most trifling provocation.

It appears, therefore, that the insecurity of life, which is held to be inseparable from the domination of a multitude, is equally consequent upon the absolute government of one; with this difference, that murder in the former case is the result of violent emotions, and, in the latter, springs from cool and premeditated cruelty.

As the nobility and privileged orders come most frequently into contact with the sovereign, and present the most tempting opportunities for the indulgence of his passions, they are in an especial manner the objects of his tyranny. No theorem is better established, than that a monarchy and an aristocracy cannot long divide the powers of government between them, where there is no rich and well-informed middle class to support the one against the other, or to reconcile them by inspiring apprehensions of a common danger. One of the two is certain to take from the other, till it engrosses the whole power of both. If this wanted any confirmation, it would be sufficient to instance Persia, where there is no middle class, and where the monarch, having got uppermost, tramples securely upon the aristocracy. The greatest noble is no more master either of his person or his property, than the meanest *rayah*. 'He may be beaten, maimed, and disgraced like the lowest groom, his person violated in a way degrading to humanity, his wives and daughters delivered to the lust of muleteers, without hope of remedy, and without even creating a sensation.' *It is the Shah's pleasure;* and this short emphatic sentence comprises the whole code of Persian law, or at least of that portion of it which is anything more than a dead letter.

For a person accustomed to the exercise of absolute power, the disposition of the present king is *by no means bad.* He is

neither cruel nor disposed to injustice: he is sincere in his religion, a good father, temperate and abstemious. This character must be understood as accommodated to the Persian scale of morality; for his merciful disposition did not prevent him from starving to death an uncle who had disputed with him the succession; nor did his sense of justice withhold him from cutting out the tongue of Hadji Ibrahim, his minister, who had sinned in having deserved *too* well of his master. But Fâtih Ali Shah, in the absence of greater vices, has one propensity, the effects of which are experienced by every man, high or low, in his kingdom. He is addicted to accumulation; he was born under Mercury; he hath fingers that will ever be collecting; his desire to possess he owns to be *insatiable*, and says, that on the days 'when he has not amassed a large sum by fines, bribes, or confiscation, he feels depressed and unhappy.' He ought, however, to be tolerably free from distresses of this nature; for, as the means of dissipating them, he draws into his treasury a large proportion of the whole wealth of his kingdom. In the collection of the royal revenue, two modes are practised. One is that of direct imposts; the other, that of confiscations, and what kings call benevolences; and the latter is the most prolific source of the two. The officers of government enjoy little more than nominal salaries: and to eke out their scanty allowance, full license is permitted to them of extorting as much as they can from those under them. But all the irregular modes of amassing wealth are known to his majesty; and he has the best opportunities of ascertaining the probable amount of each individual's extortions. The fortunes, therefore, which the governors and ministers contrive to amass, are only hoards accumulated for their master, who when the proper moment arrives, can always find the means of appropriating them to himself. For the preservation of office there is one recognized mode. The *ameen ud doulat*, or first lord of the treasury, is reputed to be very wealthy, and it is remarked of him as something marvellous, that he retains his influence and yet makes the king no *presents*. "But such officers do the king best service in the end; he keeps them, like an ape, in the corner of his jaw; first mouthed, to be last swallowed: when he needs what you have gleaned, it is but squeezing you, and, sponge, you shall be dry again." The author, who to a quick insight into character unites a considerable fund of quiet humour, has recorded many amusing instances of the shah's methods of turning a penny. Some of them savour strongly of the ingenuity which is held to be characteristic of the Persians. His sports and his jokes end invariably in some piece of extortion, and it is a moot point

whether it costs the courtier more to make a present or to receive one. None that are so fortunate as 'to reach the dust of the feet of the king of kings,' must presume to approach his presence empty-handed. Even the haram is converted into a source of profit. His majesty imparts his favours to none but those who will make a handsome return,—the ladies in his seraglio are positively made to pay for the prospect of adding heirs to the empire. His daughters are disposed of for large considerations in money; and his cast-off spouses, often without the consent of either party, are fastened upon rich men, who are made to purchase them with heavy dowers. When no better expedient occurs to him, it is 'What will you give for your life, you villain? Will you give me 100,000 tomauns? The shah knows you have got them;' and the unhappy delinquent is beaten and throttled into acquiescence.

Besides the shah's avowed aim of becoming the sole depository of the wealth of his kingdom, he is said to have a motive independent of the love of accumulation. He believes that the surest way to repress the turbulence of the Persian nobles is to keep them poor; and he drains them so successfully, that the nobility in general, and particularly the officers of government, are almost all of them deeply in debt. 'I am a ruined man,'—said Feridoon Khan, the mehmandar or πρόξενος of the mission from Bushire to Shiraz,—'like almost every one in my own and far higher stations.'

It is a consideration usually urged in favour of the monarchical form of government, that the people under it are exposed to depredation from only *one*, and that it is easier to satisfy one than many. That this opinion is more plausible than true, may be established on infallible grounds; but an example often weighs more than the most solid argument. The avarice of the king might be supposed to be satiated with the manifold extortions he practises upon his ministers and the nobility. But Mr. Fraser, who discerned the action of every wheel and spring in the whole machine, traces the effects of the monarch's favourite passion, in the humblest shed and the most remote village of the Persian dominions. The part which the king enacts with his ministers is played over again by each of the latter with his dependents. Under a government like the Persian, the office of collector of taxes is likely to be a valuable one; and the long-standing arrears of a dependent's wages are usually paid by some employment of this description. An incessant struggle is maintained between the governors of the provinces on the one hand, bent upon extracting as much more than their right as they possibly can,—and the agriculturists on the other, who are more justifiably striving, with all

the trickery in their power, to withhold even the acknowledged dues. Of course they seldom produce their assessments without an official summons: and the bearer of this has always his own peculiar demands, which must be settled before a word passes on business. The villagers generally find it their interest to satisfy his private claim upon them, though that is often the most difficult part of the arrangement. It must not be thought that his employer, meanwhile, is blind to his knavery. The minister has himself, most likely, often been despatched on a similar errand, and can calculate to a nicety how much his emissary may contrive to obtain from any particular village or district. He bargains accordingly for a share of the spoil, so large that his myrmidon must screw to the utmost, in order that of the fruits of extortion an adequate portion may remain with himself. But the money thus procured has not reached its final destination, even when it comes into the hands of the minister. The latter is obliged, from time to time, in the shape of fines or presents, to disgorge what he has amassed into the royal treasury. It follows that, though the cultivators of the soil seldom or never come within the sphere of the king's personal tyranny, yet every act of oppression practised by him falls doubly upon them. The governors are everywhere seen beating, maiming, and pillaging the rayahs subject to them, in order that, after gratifying the royal lust of gold, they may have a little left for the gratification of their own.

The land-tax was originally one tenth of the gross produce, but the cultivator was subject to various additional impositions, which were subsequently compounded for by another tenth. The regular tax is now one fifth, but the *sâderaut*, or irregular imposts, are still the heaviest grievance. Under this head, falls every extraordinary expense incurred by the government; and as the whole royal revenue appears to be consumed in the maintenance of the king's three hundred wives and their families, his gholaums or household troops, and other appendages of royalty, every outlay, for what purposes soever and by whomsoever made, is also at the expense of the rayahs. Of all that is received by the king, not one *réal* returns in any shape to those from whom it has been extracted, nor is expended for any public purpose whatever. What is not consumed upon the royal establishment, is laid out in presents of khilauts or dresses of honour, to enable those who are entitled to the honour of presentation, to appear in a suitable manner in the presence of the 'Father of the World.' The rayahs pay even for the charities of the sovereign. Should he desire to render himself popular in a district on any emergency, he *orders* a certain sum to be sent to such a mosque, or *directs* a caravan-

serai to be repaired; but the expense seldom lights ultimately on himself. It is the fashion of Persia to consider every stranger of consequence as the guest of the king. A person called a mehmandar is appointed to wait upon him, and his duty is the same as that of the purveyors who in former times used to accompany the march of our own sovereigns through their dominions. It is literally a commission to fleece the natives, and of course so lucrative an office must be purchased at a high rate, and is usually granted to some retainer of the minister's, on condition of his accounting to his principal for two-thirds of the whole plunder. The mehmandar who accompanied the mission from Shiraz to Ispahan, bid two hundred tomauns for the place. The journey was to occupy only ten days, and the recognized allowance for *soorsaut*, as this imposition is called, was but three tomauns per day. From these data may be calculated how many times more than the legal due is habitually extorted from the subject in the collection of the taxes. The soorsaut is regularly set down against the annual assessments of the villages; but the government, which allows this extortion to be practised, seldom or never admits any part of it in the settlement of accounts; or should anything be remitted, that portion never finds its way back to the rayahs, but sticks with some intermediate tool of administration. The stranger meanwhile for whose benefit these exactions are professedly made, comes but poorly off. The gentleman at the head of the mission which Mr. Fraser accompanied, refused the soorsaut. The mehmandar remonstrated, prohibited the villagers from *selling*, and ordered them to *give* their commodities. The mission was forced to acquiesce, which was done the less reluctantly, as, whether levied or not, soorsaut would still have been charged upon the unhappy villagers. 'It was so decidedly against the interest of the mehmandar and governor that this mode of providing for an ambassador should be given up, that it is no wonder they so stoutly opposed it; it would have been striking at the roots of some of their most valuable privileges.' They seem in fact to have considered it as a species of vested interest, and to have conducted themselves according to the approved rule in like cases. As all great men and government officers when on a journey claim soorsaut, it is not surprising to learn, that villages in the line of its operations, are often totally abandoned, and that whole districts have gone rapidly to decay. To give an instance,—Kâsim Khan, an insolent noble, the king's son-in-law, travelling the high road to Shiraz, halted at Deh Girdoo, a miserable village, and made a demand for sherbets, sweetmeats, &c. with the view only of extorting a sum of money. The villagers declared they knew not

the articles required of them even by name. The demand was aggravated by the claims of the servants sent to exact it, each asking a certain number of tomauns for himself. The people absolutely, in their consternation, took to flight; whereupon the Khan pillaged the place, destroyed the corn, and fired the houses. The inhabitants had not all returned when the mission arrived; and the state of the village bore full evidence to the truth of the story.

The governors of the provinces are for the most part the king's sons, dissolute young men, for whom these posts are considered as a provision, and who have under them ministers that are the acting and responsible governors. The king and council first agree upon a sum to be yielded by the province to the royal treasury, exclusive of all expenses of collection, police, salaries, troops, &c.; and beyond all this, the prince and his ministers are to make as much as they can. As each of the princes has an eye to the succession, and would not scruple to make his way to the throne over the necks of his forty-nine brethren, the sole object of his government is to amass a treasure for the anticipated struggle. His subordinates are equally vigilant, on their part, to provide for themselves against the day of trouble. Each has a double duty to fulfill, to satiate his master's avarice, and then his own; the whole of which is discharged at the expense of the subject, upon whom every tax, present, fine, bribe, from whomsoever received, ultimately falls. The most abject poverty reigns throughout the towns and villages of Persia. Occasionally, indeed, the peasantry will be found in possession of some of the comforts of life, for it is hard if all the duplicity and cunning, the falsehood and fraud practised to baffle the greediness of their masters, does not sometimes avail them; but, in reality, the exactions of the government are limited only by the fear of *exterminating* its subjects. 'The wonder,' says Mr. Fraser, 'is not that the country should be depopulated, but that any inhabitants should be left.'

The atrocity of these extortionary measures is equalled only by the barbarian ignorance which they discover. As the object of every man in power is to absorb as much, and expend as little as he can, the principle is certain to defeat itself. If a vein of metal be discovered, it is left unworked; or if a canal be wanted to fertilize a district, the land remains waste; for the government will be at no expense, and individuals cannot be expected to work or dig, when others are certain to reap the fruits. Upon commerce and manufactures, the influence of the government acts like the fierce Persian sun upon the vegetation, which in the two spring months barely tinges the sides of the mountains, and is scorched up in summer. Im-

provements no sooner become visible than they are blighted by imposts and violence. So insecure is every species of property, that the native genius of the people is everywhere repressed; for as the traveller observes, 'No man will work to produce what he may be deprived of the next hour.' The best workmen are kidnapped for the service of the court, with as little ceremony as maritime labourers in England are impressed for the fleet; so that every man is anxious to avoid acquiring distinction in any art or manufacture. Merchants and retail traders are scarcely in better circumstances than the agriculturists. The author mentions one that voluntarily underwent a daily beating from the hands of his own servants. The sounds of the blows accompanied with exclamations of 'Amaun! Amaun! —I have none; I have none,' were regularly overheard by his neighbour. It was a discipline preparatory to the ordeal to which he knew he should one day be subjected, in order to force a surrender of his effects; and he sought to fortify himself by this daily penance against the inflictions of the government extortioners. Foreign merchandise is preyed upon at every stage of its progress from the port to the capital, and, between Trebizonde and Ispahan, pays no fewer than *ten* Persian duties.

The traveller throughout his various routes, which crossed nearly the whole of Persia, from south to north, and from west to east, was every where stumbling upon the memorials of a population gone to decay. And these memorials were not, as in the sheep-farming districts of the Scottish highlands, the remains of cottage walls hardly distinguishable from casual heaps of mud or stone, and without anything in their vicinity to indicate how the honest means of subsistence had been procured;—but they were the relics of former industry, the tokens of labour successfully employed in the cultivation of the ground. Nature, that has herself been not overbountiful to Persia, is not so unfriendly to the soil as the government, whose measures are engraved upon its surface in characters of ruin and desolation. No roads are made or repaired, no bridges built or caravanserais erected; while such as have sprung up in the few brief intervals of prosperity which Persia has enjoyed, are rapidly hastening to decay. Water-courses, and *cannauts* or under-ground canals, that once dispensed fertility to the extensive plains they intersect, are now found choked up or destroyed. Towns and villages are either gone entirely to wreck, or exhibit a small proportion of habitable and inhabited dwellings surrounded by a labyrinth of mud walls and cottages in ruins. Whole districts, formerly well peopled, are now either partially or totally abandoned. Instead of man's reclaiming

land from the desert, the desert is everywhere encroaching upon *him*.

Exaction being the sole business of the king and his ministers, it would be vain to expect at their hands any of those benefits for the sake of which men submit to be governed. The administration of the laws, the equitable arrangement of differences, the preservation of order and tranquillity, are duties never dreamed of by rulers, whom no salutary lessons have untaught the belief that subjects are born saddled and bridled, and kings ready booted and spurred to mount. The police, which is too wretched to keep the roads clear of robbers, is just effective enough to fleece the traveller, and prevent the unhappy villagers from escaping from the tyranny of a governor like Kâsim Khan more than ordinarily brutal, to that of another chief moderate enough to be contented with a little less than the whole of their subsistence. Under these circumstances, there is nothing wonderful in the frequent repetition of violences committed by subject upon subject, or by subjects driven to desperation against the authority of their oppressors. The latter might seem inconsistent with the severe genius of the government, if it was not known that the misrule of a perfectly absolute monarchy is but one step short of absolute anarchy. In the language of Mr. Fraser, 'all order seems on the point of dissolution, and a disposition to anarchy obtains.' The end and aim of Persian politics, is to clothe one man in a blaze of jewels, and strip the others to the skin. The only duty of this one man is to produce sons among whom to bequeath the chance of sovereignty; that when all but one sleep with their father, the fortunate survivor may blaze, and multiply, and extort like his predecessor.

The moral degradation of the people is the last and worst consequence of their government. The ruling passion of the sovereign, particularly if it be of the baser kind, will be sure to be that of the people also. Mr. Fraser is of opinion that if, by accident, the king should prove liberal and merciful, his subjects would be liberal and merciful too. It is unfortunate for the national character that the attributes of liberality and mercy are as rare in a Persian king, as cruelty and avarice are common; and, even were it not so, these attributes are precisely of the kind which princes least succeed in making fashionable. It is the curse of absolute governments, that the effects of evil propensities in the monarch never fail to go abroad, and those of good ones to stay at home. Even had Mohammed Ali, the best of his tribe, survived to mount the throne, it may be doubted whether he would have seen his virtues reflected in any great number of his courtiers. A

passion for glory might have superseded the passion for lucre, but it is not clear that the substitution would have much availed the people, to whom it imports little whether they are racked for the support of an army or a haram. The produce of extortion might have been more equitably shared between the prince and his great men, but the mass of the people would have been trampled under foot as before.

It is sufficiently clear in the present instance, how the character of the people is coloured by that of the sovereign. The shah is avaricious: to gratify that passion he wrings from his ministers, and they from the heads of districts, who, in their turn, wring from the *zâbits*, who finally fleece the *rayahs*. The last unhappy class, having none of a lower rank to plunder, are under an irresistible temptation to plunder one another. All, whether by nature more or less prone to accumulation, are necessarily avaricious; for all, save one, have to satisfy some other person's cravings in addition to their own. From the king to the rayah, every man hungers and thirsts after his neighbour's property; and there is no meanness he will not stoop to,—no fraud he will not practise,—to make himself master of the thing he covets. This is the universal characteristic of the Persians, high and low; with this difference, that what the noble and man in office perpetrate by authority or force, the merchant and rayah accomplish by cunning or knavery. European notions of liberality are, in their eyes, mere flights of romance. No man, whether prince or peasant, ever makes a donation without looking for more than an equivalent in return; and never receives one, without concluding that the donor has his eye upon something valuable appertaining to himself. All presents are a species of barter, under the guise and pretext of a compliment.

Wherever the remoteness of any district has partially exempted its inhabitants from feeling the effects of their government, the Persians are said to discover a blunt honesty, and an independent spirit. In all other parts the opposite qualities are universally prevalent; and as every man is the abject slave of all above, and the brutal oppressor of all below him, the national character is a rare union of the two extremes of servility and arrogance.

The Persians are distinguished from the other Asiatics by liveliness of imagination, versatility of genius, and superior acuteness and intelligence. But the endowments that should have made them to excel alike in the pursuits of philosophy and the lighter paths of literature, are exhibited only in cunning sleights and well-invented tales of imposture. In the dreary vacuity of their history, a few works of genius make

their appearance, like those marvellous plants that are seen to grow where no mortal could believe in the possibility of vegetation. But these serve only as measures, by which to conjecture the extent of the natural powers with which the Persians are gifted, and which their government has deadened or destroyed.

Grave writers have amused themselves with considering 'whether an absolute monarchy, or a popular government,' be the most desirable issue of the conflicting elements of a mixed constitution. Subsequently to the French revolution, a considerable party has been excited in favour of the first; and history has been ransacked for evidence of the miserable condition of countries subject to democratic governments. A state of public happiness approximating to that exhibited in Persia, if it could have been found under the auspices of a popular administration, would have been a fortunate theme for the declamations of those, who have discovered no example more applicable to the question at issue than the democracy of Athens. Without regard to the difference between communities legislating for themselves *en masse*, and legislating by the intervention of representative assemblies, the history of that ancient republic has been brought forward as a warning to nations of the consequences of presuming to be their own rulers, or coveting too strict a control over those who rule for them. But, assuming the Athenian democracy to have been the worst form of a popular government that could be devised, its oppressions, however manifold, of a *few*, cannot challenge a moment's comparison with the Persian *one*, and his practices upon the happiness of all.

Even if it was granted, which no one will concede, that life and property were as insecure, and disorders of every kind as abundant, in ancient Athens as in modern Persia, one consideration would be sufficient to determine the preferable choice. The natural disposition of the Persian has been thought to resemble, in several points, that of the French; but perhaps it is nearer a-kin to that which has been described as belonging to the Athenians. Subtle, sharp-witted, inventive, plausible, mendacious and boastful, overweening and turbulent, the Persians possess in high perfection the qualities, good or bad, for which the Athenians were notorious. If allowance is to be made for the effects of religion, the Persians must be considered as more happily situated, by as much as their theism is preferable to the polytheism of the others. Nature endowed the two nations with similar qualities, religion was in favour of the Persian, and the government had no worse materials to operate upon, nor more obstacles to encounter, in one case than

in the other. Observe, then, the difference of the final results. In one case, the human mind is found sunk nearly to a level with that of man in a state of barbarism;—in the other, raised to an elevation that it has rarely attained elsewhere. Heroic men, lovely women, arts, muses, sciences, philosophy, were in Athens;—but where in Persia? If the Athenian democrats made their abode a hell, they at least walked the fallen angels of their own pandæmonium;—the Persian Tartarus is the seat of one dull dæmon, crushing with his weight a helpless multitude of damned. Before the adoption of Hume's conclusion that 'absolute monarchy is the true euthanasia of the British constitution,' let us remember Persia.

The frequency and bitterness with which the succession is disputed, may perhaps be objected as affording a competent cause for extraordinary evils. But this circumstance is in itself only the last and worst consequence of the entire prostration of the people. Where the people have any power, they soon attain to too much intelligence to permit contests for the succession to be either frequent or of long duration. In this as well as in other respects, exactly in proportion as the European sovereigns have approached to absolute authority, the state of their dominions has resembled that of Persia. To exemplify this in our own country, it is sufficient to refer to the wars of the Roses, and to the degree in which, in a later age, the efforts of monarchical power to throw off the restraints of precedent or law, reduced our ancestors to the condition of an Asiatic people. During the memorable suspension of parliaments under Charles the First, every one of the symptoms may be descried in his government, which the present condition of Persia discovers. There were slittings of noses and cuttings-off of ears,—fines, a single one of which often amounted to more than the shah realizes in the happiest day of his life,—extortions as flagrant, on pretexts as hollow, as he ever practises or alleges,—imposts and monopolies ruinous to commerce and manufactures, and destructive of enterprise,—seizures of goods,—revivals of obsolete laws,—questionings of titles to property, engendering a universal feeling of insecurity,—commissions and councils superseding the old established courts, which, by taking men out of the common course of law, left them no law but the pleasure of the prince,—and finally, the prohibition of escape from tyranny, men not being allowed the privilege of removing from their sufferings, when they found it impossible to remove their sufferings from themselves. The principal difference between the two cases, is in the share of the proceeds remaining with the intermediate agents. In the one case it was necessarily of considerable amount; in the other it is reduced to the smallest

magnitude that can be assigned. The administration of Charles the First approached as nearly to that of the shah as was compatible with the existing superiority of the English community in knowledge, wealth, spirit, and capacity for resistance. That this approximation was not permanent, is to be ascribed to the same superiority. From whence the difference originally came, it has, in part, been attempted to explain. But whatever were its sources, it is owing to the existence of this difference, that the Englishman bows in contrition for the death of his martyr, while the Persian exults in sinless and unbroken slavery;—that the first thanks heaven for the restoration of a race of tyrants when the sun draws near one tropic, and for sending a man to drive them out, when it approaches to the other,—while the Persian must live under one equinox of servility, till some angel shall turn askance his poles, and give him the prospect of a varying year.

When a state of things so incomparably deplorable is discovered, the first question of a humane mind is, how it is likely to end. There do not appear to exist within the limits of Persia itself, the means of shaking off its intolerable incumbrances. The remedy must come from without, and will most likely be the sharp and doubtful one of conquest by some neighbouring power. The tribes to the east, whose ancestors overturned empires and founded others upon their ruins, may once more combine for the purpose of conquest; and according to Mr. Fraser, they did, not long since, actually unite in considerable force, under a leader whose fanaticism alone prevented their penetrating to the 'City of the Sun.' But this is a remote contingency; though even a Turkoman conquest would be comparatively a blessing. The Persians, who, however ignorant, are not so foolish as to affect loyalty to their execrable government, would gladly submit to any power strong enough to break their chains. With India before their eyes, they cannot, it is said, be induced to believe that the British do not entertain views of conquest in regard to their country; and several of them scrupled not to avow their wish that this were actually the case. But the British are not likely to be placed in the predicament with regard to Persia, in which Mr. Fraser assured his Persian friends they had found themselves in India, of being led insensibly, and as it were unwittingly, to conquer the country. The author himself has expectations of great effects to be produced by our emigrants, in this quarter of the world. 'The north as of old begins to teem with numbers,' and 'the tide of migration may be some day diverted towards Asia.' His imagination reaches forward to a species of millennium, which is to comprehend not only Persia and British

India, but the whole habitable globe. All mankind are to be 'collected into the same fold,' and the world is in this manner to 'be brought back to the simple and beautiful principles inculcated in the gospel—charity, love, humility, peace, and goodwill to all men.'

The progress of the Russians seems very likely to anticipate this peaceful process. Should the Czar make himself master of Persia, it would be opening the way for the gradual introduction of the same spirit of improvement which is already making an unwelcome progress in his own empire. But though it might be convenient to the Russians to occupy the fertile provinces about the Caspian, it is hardly probable that, while British India offers a prospect so much more inviting*, they will dispute with the Shah the possession of his deserts.

Should the reformers of Arabia eventually gather strength enough to diffuse a freer spirit through the neighbouring kingdoms, a dynasty of Wahabees would be the euthanasia of the Persian constitution. It is more likely that time should soften down the asperities of these rude warriors, and introduce among them a portion of the lights which have civilized Europe, than that any spontaneous improvement should arise out of Persia. The invention of lithography, by rendering it as easy to print in the Oriental languages as in the European, has broken down the wall which excluded the Arabs from the knowledge of the west. Where danger has never been apprehended, precautions cannot exist; and the invasion of a torrent of opinion, would be a novelty of peril, against which the Persian court would be found utterly unprepared to contend.

* Mr. Fraser has 'thought it his duty' to warn the authorities at home of a route by which the Russians may invade India. This, although the road pursued by all former conquerors, he concludes to be unknown; and with some reason, as the government appears to have thought only of strengthening itself on the side of Persia. Upon this beggarly power, without an army, and with magazines more like shooting-closets than military dépôts, the English authorities have 'lavished larger sums than would have sufficed to over-run half its territories.' Now that it is found that an invading army may reach India without setting foot in the shah's dominions, it becomes important to inquire in what the means of defence consist. It is not by missions to Bokhara, or Khyvah, or Caubul, or by expending hundreds of thousands to buy out the Russian envoy and announce that the influence of Great Britain has finally predominated at the court of Tehran,—but it is by making such a use of power as every man wishes to be applied to his own case, that India must be preserved if the end is attained at all. In any imaginable contest with a foreign power, the inclinations of the people of India must decide the issue. The British government there, has the enormous happiness of being free from the curse and weakness of personal slavery; and the administration of civil justice is scarcely less pure than at home. With these advantages if India is ever lost, it will be because men preferred violence to conciliation,—because with the best of all opportunities of making friends, they refused to condescend to make them.

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ART. XIII*.—*The United States of America.* By Achille Murat, *ci-devant* Prince Royal of the Two Sicilies, and Citizen of the United States. With a Note on Negro Slavery, by Junius Redivivus.—Second Edition. London; Effingham Wilson. Small 8vo. pp. 402. 1833.

EXPERIENCE seems to show that dethroning kings is far from being without compensation; and if the ex-royal families of Europe that are to come, will prepare themselves for applying their leisure as profitably to mankind as the imperial dynasty of France has done, the change of system might be anticipated with less of apprehension. The written recollections and recorded prophecies from St. Helena, are really more glorious to Napoleon than his victories; and as lessons they are not less important to his country than many of his laws. The pens of other members of Napoleon's family have been less successful than his own; but the productions of its younger branches are no discredit to his name. The book on American ornithology by Charles Buonaparte, is a treasure in every great library; and weak upon some points as are the works of Achille Murat on American institutions, they will excite thought in thousands in Europe, whose awakening betokens anything but repose to crowned heads.

The occasion of these remarks is a new work written by the son of King Murat upon republican government, and its improvement in the United States of North America. With much that will be found worth a careful reading, it is a hasty, ill considered book; but nothing can come amiss to Europeans, which explains the machinery of the American government, and shows the suitableness of good popular institutions to the old world.

The work is not exclusively a book upon the United States. It is, on the contrary, a general treatise upon the old question of what form of government is the most calculated to make the millions happy. To which the author replies, the form of a federal republic; and in the United States, he finds more abundant materials to justify his opinion, than time had permitted to the Brissotines and others forty years ago. These materials he has used with ability upon some topics, interspersing with them however, sentiments which will be little acceptable either in North America or in Europe. For example, he thinks that the punishment of death represses crime by the terror it excites, more effectually than any other punishment.

* The first part of this article, to a place indicated, was by another writer, with whose leave it is inserted here.

The example of the United States has refuted this opinion, by exhibiting a diminishing scale of capital offences whenever by the change of legislation the amount of capital punishments has been diminished. And in France, while the mass of crime is more considerable than the mass of crime in England, the violent crimes are less, under a milder legislation, than the violent crimes in England are under a more sanguinary one. He has however decided against the employment of death as a punishment, upon the ground that no restitution can be made after execution, however erroneously awarded. But instead of putting criminals to death he would transport them to penal colonies, of which it is plain he knows nothing; and he disapproves of penitentiaries, upon grounds which, as an American citizen he ought to have been long ago aware, have for years been abandoned by the best informed and most judicious men in his adopted country. With such questions M. Murat is not sufficiently familiar; and the whole Chapter upon Civil and Criminal justice, is the most defective in the volume. It seems to have been written not so much in order to enlarge upon the subject whose title it bears, as to be a vehicle for an argument in favour of divorce, which the author maintains boldly to be the grand means of curing most of the evils of social life, and especially of those the developement of which has immortalized Malthus. (pp. 367—383.) It is impossible to avoid the reflection, how easily this individual might have been '*la haute sagesse de sa Majesté;*' and if he had, how much he would have been of a piece with most that are.

The best Chapter in the book is that in which the inconveniences of Centralization in government, upon the French system, are contrasted with the advantages of local government as in America, in numerous states, with a common centre for some purposes, but for other purposes absolute independence of each other.

'If it be true,' says the author, 'that no government ought to exist except upon the condition of promoting the interests of the governed, it is plain that legislation must change as often as these interests shift their ground. The system of centralization does not permit this change to be made. But in a federation like that of the United States, government follows the interests of the mass. No man pays a tax to support a public functionary useless to him; and the charge of defending the country falls upon those who require its defence. If in one quarter crimes are more frequent than elsewhere, it is there that judges, gaols, and gaolers are multiplied, but at the expense of that particular district. One state wants a sea-port improved, another a guild-hall built; and each supplies its own wants. The rich and the poor contribute to all only according to their respective means, and to the share they enjoy in the works done.'

'Every thing is found too, to be better done by those who know the local circumstances; and whatever in remote spots does not affect strangers, may be safely left to the inhabitants, whose interests and taste, will in this way be properly respected. Opinions also differ; and it is good to let experiments be made in different neighbourhoods. In one a more convenient tax will be imposed, or an improved prison will be built. The example will become the subject of examination; and the general legislation will gain by individual success. The sum of happiness is increased by this course, along with national civilization.'

'Another great advantage of the federative system is its effect in spreading intelligence equally over the country. Under it, there is no provincial inferiority. Education, fashion, and wealth spring and animate every part of the land instead of being confined to one city. Where the system of centralization prevails, the capital absorbs all. The men of ability throng to it, with the certainty of great numbers failing to find employment. In regard to intellect, Germany and Italy are federations; and the lights of civilization are more equally spread abroad there than in France. Out of Paris, there is not to be found a single good college, a single good theatre, and scarcely any where a single man of good taste. Italy presents a striking example of the advantages and disadvantages of these two systems. Before Rome conquered and absorbed all, Magna Græcia was covered with flourishing towns. From the conquest downwards, they have been sacrificed to her, and to centralization. Now, in the south of Italy, Naples is everything; and therefore the only large city. But in the north of Italy, in Tuscany and Lombardy, the division of the country into small states has raised fine towns everywhere. A common centre for a defensive government against the foreigner, is only wanted to ensure to these countries a glorious career in every object of public honour and national happiness.'

'This point is illustrated in a remarkable manner by the example of the United States; and it is shown advantageously by the comparison of all countries which possess local municipal administrations, as Holland, Belgium, and England, with France. Industry of all kinds prospers by being allowed room to expatiate in. Particularly are political abilities and honour improved and fostered by exercise in the distant provinces; where men are practised in public local business before they are called upon to guide the affairs of the state. At present in France, it is from Paris that candidates are sent, by the favour of a party, to be deputy for a department. The stranger is elected, and, as was to be expected, deceives his constituents with whom he has nothing in common. The reverse of this ought to be the rule. Reputation in a Commune ought to recommend a real patriot to the body of surrounding electors; and the vigilance of those who have long known their deputy, would be his best check against the seductions of the executive government.'

The foregoing is an abridged view of what the author enlarges upon with much force of illustration; and in the chapters upon municipal administrations, he has collected

matter of infinite value to French readers, who for the most part are utterly unaware of the evils of their own system of centralization.

But M. Murat betrays the strongest want of even common information with regard to the actual conditions and the history of what he calls the uncivilized races of mankind. His opinion is, that they must all be destroyed by the civilized races now in possession of Europe, of much of the two Americas, and who are sprinkled over other parts of the globe. He has discovered that Negroes have no families, nor family affections beyond those which prompt a sucking child to recognize its mother. A writer who presumes to discuss the great subject of the prospects of the different races of man, in the deplorable state of ignorance which these ideas betray, must not be surprised if his readers turn with doubt from the parts of his book which are really valuable *.

Think of its being told in England, that a foreigner had written such passages as the following:—

'General and universal philanthropy, is doubtless, a very fine thing; but it is not to it that we owe our liberty and our prosperity; it has never, that I know, made any body the richer; it is our duty to apply ourselves assiduously to our own affairs, without regarding those of our neighbours.'—*p.* 109.

always meaning by "our own affairs," robbing and grinding the weaker, like the Cacus whom the early Hercules was born to squash.

'For myself, who am not a philanthropist, I frankly avow that I think this result [the extinction of the Indian race] is very desirable.' —*p.* 280.

What an escape, for all that *mangia maccheroni!*

How long will Europe submit to the disgrace of maintaining friendly relations with a country where

'Slavery is and will be the grand pivot on which our internal politics must turn.'—*p.* 81.

The Algerines were a race of worthies in comparison.

'All labour deserves its price. Merchants went to the coast of Guinea, &c.'

There are some species of labour, which civilized nations are in the habit of paying with a halter.

Reflect, that the author of all this might by possibility have been a king in Europe, if Providence, along with much evil,

* End of the part alluded to in the first Note.

had not intermixed the good of banishing him to congenial spirits in the Southern States of America.

The writer with a name that is not like precious ointment, whose extended Note on Negro Slavery is appended at the end as a kind of fig-leaf necessary to fit the book for appearance before a British public, has dispensed with the necessity of some comments upon this subject. At the same time the apologist himself has fallen into enormous weaknesses on the question he takes in hand; for which his phrenology seems chiefly responsible. He dislikes the negro being called "brother," and says that "there can be no doubt that the negro races are far inferior to the whites, both physically and mentally." His evidence of what he calls their "bastardy," being interpreted, seems to intend the intimation brought forward in other quarters, that negroes have an ill smell. It was rightly said on another occasion, that 'all the persecuted stink.' When Mr. Cobbett or the old Crusaders want to undignify the descendants of either the patriarch's right or left-handed marriage, this is the first thing they think of. The first-mentioned of these assailants ought to be too well acquainted with the odour of a European battalion in close column in the dog-days, to be hasty in appealing to this kind of test. And suppose the fact were, that connected with the peculiarity of organization which fits the negro for inhabiting a torrid climate, was something that, under lack of washing, was unsavoury to the olfactory nerves of Europeans. Would this prove "bastardy;" or would it prove rather that he was God's particular child, begotten on purpose to inherit the hot side of the estate? It could never be so bad as the effects of calomel and the reminiscences of the last emetic, in a sickly European. But the strong and palpable testimony upon this point,—and it is only introduced here because the matter in question is actually whether God has made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth or not,—is in the fact that no efforts have availed to prevent, or in any considerable degree diminish, the sexual intercourse between the two races wherever the opportunity is afforded. After this, the most ridiculous piece of hypocrisy on earth is to see the white man turning up his nose with an affectation of injured superiority. The Mohammedan too, a licensed connoisseur, gives his evidence to the same purpose*. If

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* طيب في وقت الغيظ *Tayyib fy wakti 'l gheidh*, (Good in the hot weather) was the expression of an Arab friend at Mocha, with a gravity that left no doubt of his sincerity. It is perfectly true that the Mohammedan, under the bounty of his prophet, like Mrs. Bell's *Belle Assemblée* has his changes

there ever was an absurdity got up by judicial infliction to display the weakness of the calumniators of nature's works, it is this.

The evidence for the "physical and mental inferiority," is that in Jamaica the negroes are nearly seven to one, and are not free. "Could anything but gross ignorance bring this to pass?" Nobody has denied the ignorance; the next thing produced will be the ignorance of the negroes in the Southern States of America, where an individual was prosecuted a few months ago for teaching a school. But who is to limit the numbers that shall be kept in slavery, when one side has all the ignorance and the other all the force? The Maroons in Jamaica are next brought forward. "Fifty American riflemen would have destroyed the whole of the Maroons;" the reason why,—because their "weapons were of the most ordinary kind, and in many cases loaded with metal buttons, for want of bullets, as was proved after the surrender." Is there any dealing with a phrenologist that argues thus? there must be a bump too many or too little somewhere. The Maroons were brave men defending themselves vigorously with such arms as they could get, as other brave men have done before and since; and here comes a literary character, and says that they were less than men because they used metal buttons when they had no bullets. It is exceeding likely that fifty American riflemen would have destroyed them, just as they would have destroyed the largest Political Union that ever defended itself with the tongs and fire-shovel. The writer manifestly instances *King Cudjoe* as a man that might have been his contemporary; whereas the potentate of that name made a treaty with the commissioners of George the Second in 1738. In short he is the '*rege Latino*' of the Maroons; the "old former-time people" as their expression has it. When a man goes about to prove half God's children "bastards," there should be something in his facts. The Maroons for a long time kept at bay the whole forces, horse and foot, of the island of Jamaica; and when they at last gave in, it was by no means from "the fear alone of some twenty Spanish hunters and bloodhounds from the island of Cuba which were never used." It was a very different thing that made the Maroons think of giving up their "cock-pits." Saving the presence of all who may find the expression rude, it was the "gun with a little gun in its belly," that was too much for the poor Maroons. General Walpole got a $4\frac{2}{5}$ inch howitzer through the woods; and when he

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for the seasons; but contrary perhaps to Mrs Bell, chuses the dark colour for the warm weather. There is manifestly an arrangement of Providence.

began to pitch the shells into their cock-pits, it produced as much dismay as it probably would among our British ancestors of the time of Cæsar. Instead of "some twenty Spanish hunters and bloodhounds from the island of Cuba," the dogs were a hundred-and-four and the chasseurs forty *. When a man sets about illegitimatizing half the human race, there should, as said before, be some dependence to be placed upon his facts. It is true the dogs were never used; and the Maroon report is, that all they did was to eat up an old woman, which Dallas confirms. At the same time they were not without effect. The writer of this was intimate with the virtual though not nominal commander of the Maroons in that war, Colonel Johnson,—an exceedingly brave and intelligent man, the same who on being wounded in the leg in action, took his knife and cut out the ball on the other side and went on. He, like all the Maroons, affected to laugh at the dogs, and say they produced no effect. He was asked, how many men he took with him in his progresses, when he attacked and fired a plantation on one side of the island at night and on the other the next morning; and he replied "never more than fourteen." He was next asked what chance he and his fourteen would have had in the night against 104 dogs and 40 chasseurs; and then he acknowledged, that after the arrival of the dog corps, he was obliged to discontinue his expeditions, and so give up his most powerful means of carrying on the war. He admitted that the Maroon war grew out of slight causes; some of the Jamaica authorities punished a Maroon with whipping on a charge of petty depredation, and nothing would serve "their young men" but measuring their strength against "the young men" of Jamaica. The writer once asked the same individual, in the confidential half-hour that passes over a bottle of Madeira, what were his opinions with respect to a future state; and to his astonishment he replied, that he had heard many, but his own had always been, that everything we saw was God, and what stayed in man till death and then left him, was a part of God and returned to whence it came. It is to be hoped the writer with a hard name, will produce this Platonist of the woods, the next time he wants to prove God Almighty the father of "bastards."

But the phrenological argument is to come. "Look at the physical formation of the ordinary negro,—his mis-shapen limbs and deformed feet." Now all that can be said upon this subject is, that look at any troops, European, American, Indian, Arab, or Turkish, and the writer of this has looked at them

* Dallas's Maroon War. Vol. ii. p. 109.

all,—and the negroes may be picked out behind their backs, as fine and personable men. Among the Indians and Arabs, the "Habshy" as he is called, looks like a bull of Basan among the rams of Midian. In no race are there so many models among the men, of the form that may be christened Herculean; and it is only because the European ladies allow no fair play, that it cannot be decided in which race there are most forms that approach the Medicean Venus among the women. Certain it is, if it may be spoken without offence, that an African village is the best chance a gentleman has of meeting such an apparition, who is not given to frequent the model-room of the Academy. But after all, it *is* understood to be decided, that the African race has a somewhat slenderer thigh and calf in proportion to the rest, and a somewhat larger foot. Suppose, now, a dog or a pig were to maintain, that he was the only veritable dog or pig of God's making, because the others had a somewhat slenderer leg and broader foot;—what a fool of a four-footed animal he would be held to be. Who has proved that the African leg and foot is not the best of the two? It is analogous to all known proceedings of the divine maker, that it should at least be found to be the best in Africa. A ducat to a maravedi, that it is either the best adapted for some peculiarity of a tropical climate, or the result of some long-continued habit, as for instance going without shoes. If going without shoes is the procreation of large feet, large feet may extenuate the leg and thigh, as is said to be the effect of hob-shoes; and is a man to be a "bastard," because he has worn hob-shoes? His voice, too, is not satisfactory. Suppose the phrenologist and his posterity rebuked in Barbary, for not croaking out the Arabic with the true sound of a crow in a vomit. We should at this rate all be disinherited,—Scotch, Irish, and north country,—and nothing left above-board but the genuine cockney *. Then again on the phrenological ground, there is no doubt that certain formations of head are within certain limits connected with different mental powers. Defect of organs must

* As an instance of the unblushing confidence in the difficulty the English people may have in detecting falsehood from over sea, may be mentioned the cry attempted to be raised against some part of the slave regulations of the English government, which directed *razors*. Now will they tell an old governor of Sierra Leone, that a negro has no beard?—when it is notorious that wearing the beard is the distinction of the chiefs, priests, and learned men on the coast of Africa. On the other subject too,—the writer has been familiar with crowded balls at Sierra Leone where all were black, and in India where all were white, and on the self-same day of the year, the 4th of June. In the first, he certainly has no recollection of any unpleasant consequences; whereas the white society stank abominably. The smell of a couple of hundred European gentlemen and ladies, all now or lately under the action of calomel, is no joke. All men stink occasionally, and in certain circumstances; but to say that God's tropical man does it more than his neighbours, is a trade lie.

produce defect of mental power, as being in the relation of cause and effect; and the cultivation of particular faculties may reasonably lead to the extension of the organs concerned, as the exercise of a blacksmith's muscles leads to the enlargement of his arm. There is no doubt also, that mental powers are to a certain extent transmissible, and that if there was indefinite power over the preliminaries, men of talent with large heads might be bred like Leicestershire sheep with little ones. But what does all this prove? The uncultivated races have in general little and bad heads, like our pauper bumpkins. But that is no proof that the race might not have better. The argument is a specimen of the same defective bumpology, as where it was argued that the Jamaica negroes were an inferior race because they were ignorant. It is by no means certain, that civilization did not come to Egypt out of Æthiopia; and it is beyond all doubt that the Indians, who pass for "black fellows" in the vocabulary of these white philosophers, were a civilized and learned race, when *our* progenitors were painting their skins and roasting one another alive. "O Lord, what is man," when he gets a little vanity into his head, and sets about deciding that himself is God's only gentleman!

After all the prodigious folly that has been talked upon the subject in America and elsewhere, the final result will be, that the tropical regions of the earth will be occupied by the races to whom nature has given the organization favourable for existence in such climates, modified by such mixture with Europeans as circumstances shall bring about. Instead of the blasphemy of the American negro-driver, that the country is *his* and the negro has no claim to equal rights in it, the honour of God and man are concerned in proving upon him, that it is his whom God has fitted for it, and his in the end it will be. And the simple instrument (as all nature's instruments are simple) will be the greater physical desirableness of the race of females adapted to the climate. Imagine a race of animals adapted to the soil, and another the contrary, and think how quickly one would supplant the other. Inferiority of mental cultivation may be a check to the progress, but it will be a check every day diminishing. There is no use in an American slave-breeder and his family going into fits about it; but their posterity are all doomed to be yellow men, and all the world is banding together to help them to it. There will never be any good for the Americans, till they have a Sambo President; and it may be sooner than some people think. When the blood of Europe has had a little more time to fritter under a tropical sun, it will be found that no white man of the laborious classes (if such there are to be), will be of bad taste and bad economy

enough, to prefer a puking partner of his own sickly race, to one that can be an efficient helpmate and bring him children who may be an aid instead of an incumbrance; and if there are to be no whites of the laborious classes, then the others will be strong enough to put the holy bayonet into the oppressors. There is no mincing the matter; it is precisely by the same right as we walk without fear of cut-throats in the streets. But the Americans cannot *all* have got the iron in their souls, the sore remembrance, like what in some families is understood to produce the aversion to a rope;—what, for instance, has the blood of the Puritans or of the men of the Civil Wars, (of which Europe was not worthy), to do with the scoundrelism of slave-making? They will find out in time, that mankind despise them for it; and that the true mark of the beast, far beyond all hawking and spitting and even picking of teeth with a fork, is believing in the superiority of the hickory-faced animal. In Europe, a stronger feeling is fast gaining ground. The liberals there have an arrear to settle, for the disgrace unwittingly brought upon them by American association. A quarter of a century may be allowed for the check to European freedom, arising out of the misfortune of having connected its cause with the habitual abnegators of the principles of public and private morality, the *hostes humani generis* who by their own acts place themselves at war with all that bears the human form. People may be stout-hearted; but it is a fearful thing to fall into the detestation of the human race. There never was man-hated yet, that man did not contrive to bring up with a stiff turn in the end.

The *ci-devant* prince of the Two Sicilies does not appear altogether unaware of the dangers which already begin to press upon the *caput lupinum* of the American slave-holder. To the north he has the pleasant prospect of St. Domingo and the British Colonies; and to the south and west, still nearer, the Mexican government and the Indian league. As he rightfully observes, "more than three-fourths of the Mexican army is red, and who knows if their leader will not be so himself?" [p. 297.] In Europe also, it is now perfectly known, that the military strength of the Southern States is not worth a brigadier's command; they have an internal enemy, whom the slightest foreign support would raise upon them to their destruction. The English Tories, as every military man knows now, would have upset them *de fond en comble*, if they had not been restrained by the consciousness of another villainy of their own. Such is the weakness God has attached to national baseness everywhere. The tolerance of the civilized nations is at this moment inexplicable. Both English and French seamen have

been taken out of their merchant-vessels and imprisoned, for the avowed reason that they were dark-complexioned. "*We* are banditti who exist by the commission of injustice; and we will not tolerate that a French or English seaman should display proof that *his* nation does not do the same." The English people once made a prodigious turmoil about a certain Jenkins's ears. It would appear that they expended all their spirit, and an American may trample on an English citizen now, for no reason given but that it is unpleasant to him to see him free.

From the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for April, 1830. Conclusion * of Art. IV. *Three Years in North America.* By James Stuart, Esq.—Edinburgh, Cadell. 2 vol. post 8vo.

Washington, the capital of the republic of the west, is situated in Maryland, a slave-holding state. In every state to the south of this, between the Atlantic and the Alleghany mountains, slavery is also the law. In Maryland, says Mr. Stuart, it appears in its mildest form; as he proceeds in his journey, it will be seen how far a people jealous of their own equal rights, can and will degrade and maltreat their fellow-men.

At Halifax in South Carolina, while the horses were changed, Mr. Stuart sat down in the portico of the inn, for the day was very hot;—

'I was accosted by a gentleman, who requested me to let him know what was the number of slaves for sale at the court-house today. I explained his mistake to him, and I then asked him some questions with respect to the slave market here. He said the price generally given for a young man was 375 dollars, though for the best hands 400 dollars are sometimes given; that 250 dollars was the price for a fine young woman, until after she had her first child, after which she became more valuable, as she was then more to be depended on for increasing the stock. He never, he said, separated husband and wife, but some people did separate them, as well as children, and then they had a crying scene, that was all.'—Vol. ii. p. 113.

Almost every resting-place furnishes an anecdote of the atrocity of slavery, told too by one evidently not disposed to go out of his way to make a case, though he must have all credit for

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* This portion, bearing particularly on the question of Slavery, is inserted with the leave of the coadjutor mentioned at the head of the last Article.

his deep hatred of the institutions under which such horrors are permitted.

'In the course of this and the following day, we crossed no less than seven ferries, over considerable rivers, called the Great Pedee, Lynch's Creek, Black River, and the Santee, before we got to Cooper's River, adjoining to Charleston. I made a stop on my way at a pretty large plantation, where guests were admitted; and though there was a considerable number of people in the house, I succeeded in getting a comfortable bed and a room to myself. As soon as tea and supper were over, I went to my bed-room, and told the slave to whom I gave my shoes to be cleaned, that I was so much fatigued that I did not intend to appear next day until eleven o'clock, and I adhered to my intention, although the landlady sent me a message that eight was the breakfast hour. I, however, found an excellent breakfast prepared for me when I did appear, and was not a little surprised, when I sat down to partake of it, to find one female slave fanning me from the opposite side of the table, with a fan of peacock feathers, while another brought me what I required at breakfast. My stopping-place was on a rice plantation, so unfavourably situated during the unhealthy season of the year, that the planter and his family always leave it. The slaves were numerous, and were, I had reason to believe from what I afterwards heard, as well treated as they generally are in this country; but it did not seem to me that their want of education, and the want of ordinary comforts, place them in a situation much removed from the brutes. They had little clothing, all of one drab colour; and not one of them had bed-clothes. I had full leisure to talk with them, but of course I was bound to do so with prudence. Every one of them, however, with whom I had an opportunity of conversing, declared themselves unhappy and miserable in their situation. A certain task is allotted to each of them, and if this is not done, they are subjected to one of three punishments, whipping, wearing irons, or putting in the stocks. They detest nothing so much as to be punished by a black overseer—by one of their own race; they view the degradation to be comparatively trifling when the punishment is inflicted by the master himself. I was told here, on authority which seemed to be quite unquestionable, that of a wealthy planter who lived in this neigbourhood, that a planter, whose estate is at no great distance from the high road which I was travelling, was in the habit of punishing his slaves, when he thought that they required severe discipline, by putting them in coffins, which were partly nailed down, and that this punishment had again and again resulted in the death of the slaves. The gentleman who communicated this information to me spoke of it with horror; but upon my asking him why such conduct was not punished since it was known in the neighbourhood, by virtue of the law which declared the killing of a slave to be murder, he replied, that his neighbour took very good care of himself. The punishment was inflicted only in the presence of slaves, whose evidence was inadmissible. He added, however, that the coffins had been seen, and that the slaves, who it was said had lost their lives, had disappeared,

and that no doubt was entertained that their deaths had been occasioned by their being shut up in coffins. The same person who has recourse to this savage punishment works his slaves on Sundays, though contrary to law, taking care that no white man sees them ; but the usual practice in the West Indies is not only to allow Sunday to the slaves, but also part of another week day. The slaves here, as in other countries, speak a broken language peculiar to themselves,—the consequence of their total want of education,—but still many of them go to church, and are admitted to church privileges. The church is ten miles distant from the plantation where I stopped. Still many of the slaves go to it; but I have seen enough, even already, to be satisfied that, generally speaking, they are brought up in such ignorauce, as well as in a way so repugnant to moral feeling in the earlier part of their life, that it is surprising to see so many marks of civilization among them. Marriage among the slaves is generally allowed ; but where a young man has a fine family, the planter very often, with a view to the increase of his stock, forces him to have many wives ; and in the same way married females are often obliged to receive more husbands than one, as the planter may order. In fact, the slaves are as much obliged to obey the commands of their masters, in respect to sexual intercourse, as anything else, the effects of which upon their morals may be easily conceived. Such a system is no doubt discouraged by many of the masters whose dispositions are humane ; but that this evil does exist to a great extent is unquestionably true.'—Vol. ii. p. 117.

Do men from that country ever come among Englishmen ? Is there any danger of ever sitting by one in a coffee-house ?

The road from George Town to Charles Town was enlivened by the following conversation between a doctor and a planter.

'The planter and the doctor seemed to be on intimate terms, which rendered their conversation tolerably unreserved. The doctor asked the planter, what could have induced him to stay at such and such a plantation during the unhealthy season. I shall never forget the *sang froid* with which the question was answered by his friend. He said, he found that half a dozen of the girls could not longer be trusted without a husband, for one of them had been already seized by the blacksmith at his gate ; and that he thought it was not only for his interest, but that of the plantation generally, that he [*the planter*] should be the first husband [*meaning, that he should be the father of the first children of them all, with the consequence of giving mulatto slaves to the estate instead of black*]. This answer, of course, gave rise to a great deal of merriment among the friends; and the doctor, who gave us accounts of his management of his own slaves of a similar kind, of course admitted the validity of the reason. In the course of the conversation which followed, it turned out, that this planter was frequently waited upon at table by his own children, and had actually sent some of them to the public market to be sold as slaves.'—Vol. ii. p. 127.

Mr. Stuart has made the above unintelligible to half his readers, by a sort of false delicacy. It is hoped the commentary inserted will supply the defect.

The cold-blooded worms and no men !—and one part of the excuse they put forward for their baseness, is that there is a constitutional difference between the races which makes it impossible to get over *a natural aversion*. Even Mr. Stuart appears to have in some degree fallen under the effects of this fraud, though his evidence, being sifted, cuts curiously the other way. Speaking of Liberia, he says,

> 'One reason exists in the United States for the establishment of such a colony as this of a very peculiar kind. The white people, in the greater part of the country, have invincible prejudices to the intermarriage of persons of different colours, and to any intermixture between them. Nothing is more repugnant to the feelings of an American, than the mere idea that any female relation should be connected with a man of colour. The mere emancipation of the slaves, therefore, would still leave them a totally separate, and, of course, an unhappy set of beings.'—Vol. ii. p. 94.

The immediate inference from this is, that the American young ladies or some of them, have no intrinsic objection to a dark Othello, though it is not wonderful that their male relations should be repugnant, so long as men of that complexion cannot walk the streets without a pass from some white Iago in their pocket. Suppose by way of parallel, it had been stated, that 'nothing was more repugnant to the feelings of an English aristocrat, than the mere idea that any female relation should be connected with a footman.' Would it establish the fact that there was an aversion 'of a very peculiar kind' to the genus footman ; or would it establish on the contrary, that the objection was to the *status* and not to the animal, and that as far as the mere flesh and blood was concerned, it had been found to be rather a temptation ? And as concerns the aversions of American *young gentlemen*,—every fifth man in their streets is a walking commentary.

When an Englishman gives into such an error, there is no wonder an American should ; for it is an established fact, that any given falsehood may be dinned into men's ears, till even sensible people, especially if born under it, believe it. President Nott of Union College in the State of New York, evidently a man sincere and on the right side, theorizes as follows ; and there are most meritorious men in broad brims, traversing this country at the present moment, and holding forth in like set terms, on the invincible aversion of their countrymen to that peculiar modification of female beauty which

the colloquial language of mixed countries denominates black velvet.

" To sustain such an abuse, (says Mr. Nott,) is impossible. There needs no domestic insurrection, no foreign interference, to subvert an institution so repugnant to our feelings, so repugnant to all our other institutions. Public opinion has already pronounced on it; and the moral energy of the nation will sooner or later effect its overthrow. But the solemn question here arises, in what condition will this momentous change take place ? The freed men of other countries have long since disappeared, having been amalgamated in the general mass. Here there can be no amalgamation. Our manumitted bondsmen have remained already to the third and fourth, as they will to the thousandth, generation,—a distinct, a degraded, and a wretched race. When, therefore, the fetters, whether gradually or suddenly, shall be stricken off,—and stricken off they will be, —from those accumulating millions yet to be born in bondage, it is evident, that this land, unless some outlet be provided, will be flooded with a population as useless as it will be wretched ;—a population which, with every increase, will detract from our strength, and only add to our numbers, our pauperism, and our crimes. Whether bond or free, this will be for ever a calamity. Why then, in the name of God, should we hesitate to encourage their departure ? It is as wise as merciful, to send back to Africa, as citizens, those sons of hers whom, as slaves and in chains, we have to our injury borne from thence."

" The existence of this race among us,—a race that can neither share our blessings nor incorporate in our society,—is already felt to be a curse ; and though the only curse entailed upon us, if left to take its course, it will become the greatest that *could* befal the nation."—Vol. ii. p. 95.

The most illiterate American would not have made such a mistake in treacle. But they must not mystify the old country. It may do for the single ladies ; but all Englishmen who know what a mixed population is, will laugh in their faces. It shall be demonstrated on opportunity, that Providence has not made a race of human salamanders for nothing ; and that all settlers in hot countries, are doomed by the agency of irresistible causes, to blacken according to God's ordinance in their posterity, and be thankful for the dispensation that enables them to mend the breed by crossing.

Charleston is one of the great capitals of bondage ; half the population is the property of the other.

' When I returned to the hotel in the evening, I found the streets totally deserted. I hardly met a person of whom I could ask my way home. This is owing to a regulation, which requires that none of the coloured people,—that is about one-half of the population,—shall be out of their houses or residences after nine o'clock in the even-

ing [*Par Dieu*, they are treated like Irishmen]. On opening the hotel door, the male servants of the house were, I found, already laid down for the night in the passages with their clothes on. They neither get beds nor bedding here, and you may kick them or tread upon them as you come in with impunity.'—Vol. ii. p. 132.

At his hotel here, on first looking out of his window in the morning, the traveller detects the virago of a landlady, Mrs. Street, in giving a young man (a slave) such a blow behind the ear, as made him reel. Mr. Stuart afterwards found that it was her daily and hourly practice to beat her servants male and female, either with her fist, or with a thong made of cow hide.

In the following extract, Mr. Stuart refers to the calculations of his friend Dr. Tidyman, on the comparative cost of free and slave labour. Were the calculation correct, it has no force; unless it be allowed that there is no harm in human degradation, provided it is done at a saving of money. The last part of the paragraph will effectually 'nullify,' to use a word fashionable at Charleston, any effect such calculation might produce, supposing it correct, which it is not. Four hundred dollars may be the outlay on a slave, but he may die the day after he is transferred into his new hands; sickness may greatly impair his efficiency, and as men are never known to work vigorously under the motive of the lash, there can be no comparison between the results of a free and a slave operative. Their ailments would, if introduced into the calculation, make a serious difference in the result. The fact is, if the profits on slave labour were such as are represented by Dr. Tidyman, the price of a slave would instantly be quadrupled.

'Dr. Tidyman, in a late publication, relating chiefly to the establishment of the recent tariff, states the expense of providing clothing, food, &c. for a slave, on a well-managed plantation, to be about thirty-five dollars per annum. He also states the amount of the wages of a labourer, a white man, in the United States, to be three times as great as in Europe. Now, supposing the price of a slave to be 400 dollars, and 40 dollars a year's interest at ten per cent on his price, the prodigious saving of employing slaves is obvious. The wages of a white man cannot be reckoned at less than 500 or 600 dollars. Dr. Tidyman mentions that, with kind masters, the condition of slaves is rendered as happy as a state of slavery can admit of. This is unquestionably true. Indeed I myself have seen instances of quite as strong, if not stronger attachment, on the part of a slave, than I ever saw on the part of a white man to his master,—but the master may, at pleasure, be guilty of abuse of power to his slave; and it is quite notorious in the southern parts of America, that even the greatest slave proprietors, whose interest ought to lead them to

treat their slaves well, treat them the worst. I could easily refer to many instances. One, however, is so well known, that there is no impropriety in mentioning it, viz. that of General Hampton, one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, slave proprietor in the United States, a South Carolinian, with, however, the chief part of his property situated in Louisiana. He not only maltreats his slaves, but stints them in food, overworks them, and keeps them almost naked. I have seen more than one of his overseers whose representations gave a dreadful account of the state of slavery on his plantations, and who left his service because they would no longer assist in the cruel punishments inflicted upon his slaves; but I do not mention such a fact as this merely on such authority. General Hampton's conduct towards his slaves is matter of notoriety.'—Vol. ii. p. 137.

Were a particular order of men ever heard to calculate—"the prodigious saving" of taking what they may want upon the highway?

Mr. Stuart had more personal experience of the treatment of slaves in Charleston; and these, be it observed, are domestic slaves—'the mildest form of slavery.' The free people of colour do not get much by their liberation as long as they remain in the United States.

'My driver was a free man of colour. He gave a frightful account of the treatment to which he and all the people of colour, whether free or slaves, are subject in this state. He had been accustomed formerly to go every season to the State of New York during the period when, owing to the inhabitants leaving the city, business was almost at a stand; but, by an act passed a few years ago, it is declared that a free person of colour leaving the state, though merely crossing the boundary, shall never be allowed to return; and as this person driving me has a wife and family, he feels himself really and truly a prisoner in the State of South Carolina. The same law declares, that it shall not be lawful for free persons of colour to come from another state into this. If they should be brought in a vessel, they are immediately confined in gaol, till the vessel is ready again to proceed to sea,—the captain paying the expenses of their detention. It is now contrary to law that even free persons of colour should be educated;—they are incompetent witnesses in any case where the rights of white persons are concerned; and their trials are conducted by a justice of the peace and freeholders, without the benefit of a jury. So far as respects the slaves, they are even still in a worse situation; for, though their evidence is in no case admissible against the whites, the affirmation of free persons of colour, or their fellow-slaves, is received against them. I was placed in a situation at Charleston which gave me too frequent opportunities to witness the effects of slavery in its most aggravated state. Mrs. Street treated all the servants in the house in the most barbarous manner; and this, although she knew that Stewart, the hotel-keeper here, had lately nearly lost his life by maltreating a slave. He beat his cook, who was a

stout fellow, until he could no longer support it. He rose upon his master, and in his turn gave him such a beating that it nearly cost him his life ; the cook immediately left the house, ran off, and was never afterwards heard of,—it was supposed that he had drowned himself. Not a day, however, passed without my hearing of Mrs. Street whipping and ill using her unfortunate slaves. On one occasion, when one of the female slaves had disobliged her, she beat her until her own strength was exhausted, and then insisted on the bar-keeper, Mr. Ferguson, proceeding to inflict the remainder of the punishment.—Mrs. Street in the meantime took her place in the bar-room. She instructed him to lay on the whip severely in an adjoining room. His nature was repugnant to the execution of the duty which was imposed on him. He gave a wink to the girl, who understood it and bellowed lustily, while he made the whip crack on the walls of the room. Mrs. Street expressed herself to be quite satisfied with the way in which Ferguson had executed her instructions ; but, unfortunately for him, his lenity to the girl became known in the house, and the subject of merriment, and was one of the reasons for his dismissal before I left the house ;—but I did not know of the most atrocious of all the proceedings of this cruel woman until the very day that I quitted the house. I had put up my clothes in my portmanteau, when I was about to set out, but finding it was rather too full, I had difficulty in getting it closed to allow me to lock it ; I therefore told one of the boys to send me one of the stoutest of the men to assist me. A great robust fellow soon afterwards appeared, whom I found to be the cook, with tears in his eyes ;—I asked him what was the matter ? He told me that, just at the time when the boy called for him, he had got so sharp a blow on the cheek bone, from this devil in petticoats, as had unmanned him for the moment. Upon my expressing commiseration for him, he said he viewed this as nothing, but that he was leading a life of terrible suffering ;—that about two years had elapsed since he and his wife, with his two children, had been exposed in the public market at Charleston for sale,—that he had been purchased by Mr. Street,—that his wife and children had been purchased by a different person ; and that, though he was living in the same town with them, he never was allowed to see them ;—he would be beaten within an ace of his life if he ventured to go to the corner of the street.'—Vol. ii. p. 141.

The Duke of Saxe-Weimar describes the instrument of torture he found in the Charleston gaol in December 1825.—'The machine consists of a sort of crane, on which a cord with two nooses runs over pulleys ; the nooses are made fast to the hands of the slave and drawn up, while the feet are bound tight to a plank ; that the body is stretched out as much as possible, —and thus the miserable creature receives the exact number of lashes as counted off.' To this torture any slave may be sent by his master, and here he is whipped and beaten as that master desires.

'The following extract of a letter from a gentleman at Charleston, to a friend of his at New York, published in the New York newspapers while I was there, contains even a more shocking account of the public sales of slaves here.—"Curiosity sometimes leads me to the auction sales of the negroes. A few days since I attended one which exhibited the beauties of slavery in all their sickening deformity. 'The bodies of these wretched beings were placed upright on a table,—their physical proportions examined,—their defects and beauties noted.—'A prime lot, here they go!' There I saw the father looking sullen contempt upon the crowd, and expressing an indignation in his countenance that he dare not speak;—and the mother, pressing her infants closer to her bosom with an involuntary grasp, and exclaiming, in wild and simple earnestness, while the tears chased down her cheeks in quick succession, 'I can't leff my children! I won't leff my children!' But on the hammer went, reckless alike whether it united or sundered for ever. On another stand, I saw a man apparently as white as myself exposed for sale. I turned away from the humiliating spectacle."

"At another time I saw the concluding scene of this infernal drama. It was on the wharf. A slave ship for New Orleans was lying in the stream, and the poor negroes, handcuffed and pinioned, were hurried off in boats, eight at a time. Here I witnessed the last farewell,—the heart-rending separation of every earthly tie. The mute and agonizing embrace of the husband and wife, and the convulsive grasp of the mother and the child, were alike torn asunder—for ever! It was a living death,—they never see or hear of each other more. Tears flowed fast, and mine with the rest."

'Charleston has long been celebrated for the severity of its laws against the blacks, and the mildness of its punishment towards the whites for maltreating them. Until the late law, there were about seventy-one crimes, for which slaves were capitally punished, and for which the highest punishment for whites was imprisonment in the penitentiary'

'A dreadful case of murder occurred at Charleston in 1806. A planter, called John Slater, made an unoffending, unresisting slave, be bound hand and foot, and compelled his companion to chop off his head with an axe, and to cast his body, convulsing with the agonies of death, into the water. Judge Wild, who tried him, on awarding a sentence of imprisonment against this wretch, expressed his regret that the punishment provided for the offence was insufficient to make the law respected,—that the delinquent too well knew,—that the arm which he had stretched out for the destruction of his slave, was that to which he alone could look for protection, disarmed as he was of the rights of self-defence. But the most horrible butchery of slaves which has ever taken place in America, was the execution of thirty-five of them on the lines near Charleston, in the month of July 1822, on account of an alleged conspiracy against their masters. The whole proceedings are monstrous. Sixty-seven persons were convicted before a court, consisting of a justice of the peace, and freeholders, without a jury. The evidence

of slaves not upon oath was admitted against them, and, after all, the proof was extremely scanty. Perrault, a slave, who had himself been brought from Africa, was the chief witness. He had been torn from his father, who was very wealthy, and a considerable trader in tobacco and salt on the coast of Africa. He was taken prisoner, and was sold, and his purchaser would not give him up, although three slaves were offered in his stead. The judge's address, on pronouncing sentence of death on this occasion, on persons sold to slavery and servitude, and who, if they were guilty, were only endeavouring to get rid of it in the only way in their power, seems monstrous. He told them that the servant who was false to his master would be false to his God,—that the precept of St. Paul was to obey their masters in all things, and of St. Peter, to be subject to their masters with all fear,—and that, had they listened to such doctrines, they would not now have been arrested by an ignominous death.'

'The proceedings of this trial made some noise at the time. An official account of it ws published, in which the execution of so great a number of persons was justified by the precedent of George the Second, who executed fifty-four of the first men in Britain for the rebellion of 1745.'

'The existence of slavery in its most hideous form, in a country of absolute freedom in most respects, is one of those extraordinary anomalies for which it is impossible to account. No man was more sensible of this than Jefferson, nor more anxious that so foul a stain on the otherwise free constitutions of the United States should be wiped away. His sentiments on this subject, and on the peculiar situation of his countrymen in maintaining slavery, are thus given in a communication to one of his friends:—"What an incomprehensible machine is man! who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose. But we must await with patience the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full,—when their groans shall have involved Heaven itself in darkness,—doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and, by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or at length, by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of a blind fatality.'—Vol. ii. p. 144.

Mr. Stuart now enters Georgia, where whatever may be the other social and natural advantages of the country, there is no mitigation of law—no softening of the heart—no amelioration, moral or political, for the poor slave. The law thus denounces him and all his fosterers and well-wishers.

'The laws on the subject of slavery in the state of Georgia are as tyrannical as in any of the states.'

'In case any slave, or free person of colour, teach any other slave,

or free person of colour, to read or to write either written or printed characters, the free person of colour, or slave, is punished by fine or whipping; and a white person so offending is punished with a fine, not exceeding 500 dollars, and imprisonment in the common gaol.'

"Any slave, or free person of colour, *or any other person*, circulating papers, or bringing into this state, or aiding in any manner in bringing into the state papers for the purposes of exciting to insurrection, conspiracy, or resistance among the slaves, or free persons of colour, against their owners, or the citizens, is to be punished with death.'

'All ships coming into any port of this state having on board any free negroes, or free persons of colour, whether passengers, or in any other capacity, are subject to quarantine for forty days. This regulation is obviously intended as a prohibition of free persons of colour from entering the state by sea.'

'Cutting off the ears and the pillory are punishments for slaves sanctioned by the legislature of Georgia; but the universal punishment is whipping. The infliction of this punishment, to the extent of twenty lashes, on the bare back, is deemed in a great variety of cases of insufficient moment to claim the investigation even of a single magistrate. Any white person, a drunken patrole, an absconding felon, or a vagabond mendicant, are supposed to possess discretion enough to interpret the laws, and to wield the cow-skin or cart-whip for their infraction; and should death ensue by accident, while this slave is thus receiving moderate correction, the constitution of Georgia kindly denominates the offence justifiable homicide.'—Vol. ii. pp. 163, 164.

At New Orleans again, the frightful evil of slavery presents itself in more than its ordinary monstrosity. The following is Mr. Stuart's abstract from the diabolical code of this slave state.

'The laws respecting the slaves are as cruelly strict and tyrannical here as at Charleston, or in Georgia. The state legislature have now, on the 6th and 17th days of March, passed two acts not many days before I reached New Orleans, containing most objectionable provisions.'

'The first act provides, 1*st*, "That whosoever shall write, print, publish, or distribute any thing *having a tendency* to create discontent among the free coloured population of this state, or insubordination among the slaves therein, shall; at the discretion of the court, suffer death, or imprisonment at hard labour for life.'

'2*nd*, That whosoever shall use language in any public discourse, from the bar, the bench, the stage, the pulpit, or in any place, or in private discourse or conversation, or shall make use of signs or actions *having a tendency to produce discontent* among the free coloured population in this state, or to excite insubordination among the slaves therein, or whosoever shall knowingly be instrumental in bringing into this state any paper, pamphlet, or book, having such

tendency, as aforesaid, shall, at the discretion of the court, suffer at hard labour not less than three years, nor more than twenty years, or death.'

'3*rd*, That all persons who shall teach, or permit, or cause to be taught, any slave in this state to read or write, shall be imprisoned not less than one, nor more than twelve, months.'

'The second act provides, 1*st*, For the expulsion from the state of all free people of colour, who came into it subsequently to the year 1807; and then confirms a former law, prohibiting all free persons of colour whatever from entering the State of Louisiana.'

'2*nd*, It sentences to imprisonment, or hard labour for life, all free persons of colour, who, having come into the state, disobey an order for their departure.'

'3*rd*, It enacts, that if any white person shall be convicted of being the author, printer, or publisher of any written or printed paper within the state, or shall use any language with the intent to disturb the peace, or security of the same, in relation to the slaves or the people of this state, *or to diminish that respect which is commanded to free people of colour for the whites*, such persons shall be fined in a sum not less than 300 dollars, nor exceeding 1000 dollars, and imprisoned for a term not less than six months, nor exceeding three years; and that, if any free person of colour shall be convicted of such offence, he shall be sentenced to pay a fine not exceeding 1000 dollars, and imprisoned at hard labour for a time not less than three years and not exceeding five years, and afterwards banished for life.'

'And 4*th*, It enacts, that in all cases it shall be the duty of the attorney-general and the several district attornies, *under the penalty of removal from office*, to prosecute the said free persons of colour for violations of the act, or, *whenever they shall be required to prosecute the said free persons of colour by any citizen of this state.*'

'These acts are signed by Mr. Roman, speaker of the House of Representatives; by Mr. Smith, president of the Senate; and by Mr. Dupre, governor of the State of Louisiana, all in March 1832.'

'Nothing can be more clear than that neither the liberty of the press, nor the liberty of speech, exist in a state or country where such laws are to be found on the statute-book. The following occurrence proves, pretty convincingly, the truth of this observation. It took place on one of the last days in March, while I was at New Orleans:—A slave was hung there for some trifling offence, but none of the newspapers took the slightest notice of the execution; the editors being naturally afraid that their doing so might be construed into an offence against the laws passed only a few days previously. I only accidentally heard of the execution some days after it happened, and was told there were not thirty persons present at it.'

'What makes the severity of those laws even more galling is, that their retrospective effect forces into banishment many citizens of New Orleans,—free men of colour,—who were among the most conspicuous defenders of the state during the invasion of the British in 1814.'

'The enactment against writings was intended to be enforced

against the only liberal paper at New Orleans, "Le Libéral," which occasionally inserted articles favourable to the black population.'

'The publication of newspapers is not a thriving speculation in the despotic states of the union. I view South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana decidedly in that light, because in those states the liberty of the press is denied altogether to the coloured, and, in a very considerable degree, to the white population. Compare the increase of newspapers in some of the free states with their present condition in the three slave-holding states to which I have alluded, and the result will go far to establish my proposition. Sixty-six newspapers were published in the State of New York in the year 1810: 221 are now published. Seventy-one newspapers were published in Pennsylvania in 1810: 185 are now published. Fourteen newspapers were published in Ohio in 1810: sixty-six are now published. But in South Carolina ten newspapers were published in 1810, and only sixteen now. Thirteen newspapers were published in Georgia in 1810, and only the same number now. *Ten* newspapers were published in Louisiana in 1810, and now *only nine* are published. Louisiana is the only state in which the number has decreased during the last twenty years, and yet during that period the population has increased from 20,845 to 215,272, that is to say, the population is *nine* times as great as it was in 1810, and the effect of the arbitrary laws has been such, as to render the number less for 215,009 inhabitants than for 20,000,—so much for slavery and a government despotic, so far as concerns a great part,—more than one-half of its population.'—Vol. ii. p. 244.

One question to Europe, or such parts of it as this may ever reach. Is it creditable that a resident from such a country as this, should be received by any government, except on the same kind of terms as a messenger from the King of the Cannibal Islands? Will any man, royalist or republican, legitimate or lazzarone, risk his personal character on affirming, that the region where things of this kind are originated, does or by possibility can come within the pale of national law, or is anything but a horde of robbers bearing the *caput lupinum*, and to be put down whenever Providence in its goodness shall give the power? Take the worst of the bad governments of our Europe, and see what splendid virtue it is, in comparison of these nests of felons under the abused title of *republics*. There is no flinching upon the matter: the man who robs his fellow of personal freedom, is a felon of the darkest grade;—look the words out in the dictionary, if there is any doubt about their meaning. These are the men who have made us as dirt in the eyes of our enemies, and given the same kind of blow to every liberal in Europe, that the royalists of France received when their heroine of romance turned out with child. Truce with the Cossacks, peace and fraternity with the Algerines; there is neither tyrant

nor barbarian but in America. Mrs. Trollope, and the rest of the musquito-fleet, just scratched America. But Mr. Stuart has squashed the character of the Southern States for the next two generations; which is as early as a civilized man would feel comfortable in the presence of New Zealanders at table, and get rid of the horrible idea of their picking their teeth of remnants of humanity.

But the urgent thing, is to do something towards getting rid of the dishonour. And here first, consider the nullity of military strength, which must exist among a people who have an equal or superior number of oppressed men within their borders, burning for justice and revenge. Our West-Indian plunderers have threatened us with transferring their allegiance to America. Suppose the thing done; and calculate the smallness of the force, that with a single proclamation would raise a black army in the house of each of the blusterers who are just now insulting their countrymen with that peculiar compost the gazettes of the Slave States call 'eloquence,' and which appears to have been inflicted on them that their speech may bewray them. It may be asked, what would the other States be doing? But why should not they be asked to join? What could be more for the welfare and consolidation of America, after taking the mote of the stupid Tarif out of their wholesome eye, than such a combined point upon the slavers' holds, followed by an evacuation the moment all classes of the population were invested with the privileges of humanity. How differently would the name of American stand in the world, after such an operation. And it would be great mercy to those who would most resist. If they are not abated in this way, they will in a worse. The coloured population multiplies like the Israelites; and Europe and America are on their side, and anxious to assist in raising up some black or mulatto Spartacus with better fortunes than his prototype. In South America the dark races are rapidly rising to power and command. It will not be long before black generals hover on their frontiers; and then it may be predicted, that the cause of humanity will be too strong for the armies of the book-keepers. The plea of property, is like a man's pleading property in cholera; it can be calculated to a fraction of per-centage, how much substantial loss is inflicted on a State and on the Union, by the rotting ill of slavery. Hear the opinions of Americans on this point. Near Cincinnati, Mr. Stuart says,

'The party in the stage on this occasion was a very agreeable one, several of them Kentuckians, *and all reprobating slavery as the great bane of this fine country, and wishing that it may speedily be put an end to.*—Vol. ii. p. 473.

Now fair play for Kentucky. The fact is that in England,—

on no better foundation perhaps than some random jest in a stage-play,—the notion is that the Kentuckians are the wild men of America. The dozen words above, are enough to show the difference; and it is of more use to notice it, lest it should be supposed there was any lurking ill-will for the great beating Kentucky helped to give an unfortunate English army some years ago. Let him but assist to get rid of this shame attaching to our common blood; and then let him come over in his hunting-shirt and leather stockings, and see how his cousins in the old country will behave to him.

From the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for 1 January, 1835.

ART. XVI*.—1. *On the Present Crisis.* An Address to the Electors of North Derbyshire. By T. Gisborne, Esq. M. P.—London; Ridgway. Chesterfield; Woodhead, Ford. pp. 8. Dec. 7, 1834.

2. *On National Property, and on the Prospects of the present Administration and of their Successors.*—London; Fellowes. 1835.

MORALISTS and preachers take advantage of the new year to review the past, and enforce resolutions for the future. Merchants take stock of their wares, balance their accounts, and adjust the state of their affairs. Honest people pay their debts if they can. Enmities are abandoned; friendships are formed; hospitalities exchanged, and all prepared to begin an æra, or to arrange future operations. What people do in individual and social matters, is not unbefitting in political. The past year has been most favourable for this purpose, closing a period rich in incident, with a position of public affairs never exceeded in interest and importance.

The people have before them the two sides of their account with their rulers. They know the problem to be solved. Shall the powers of evil, or the powers of good have the ascendancy? Where shall rest the decision? Shall it be in the few, or in the many,—for one, or some, or all?

The Whigs, like Napoleon and so many others, refused to do right when they might; and they are broken to pieces. Half principles will not suffice, one whit more than half honesty. Human nature may be weak; knowledge may be limited; experience may be wanting; still the sincere, honest, hearty effort, and nothing else, can do good.

The proceedings of the whole year have made manifest the feebleness of Whiggism and compromise; and it has ended in what everybody said it would, the return of the party whose object and principle is everywhere to sacrifice the good of the community to that of the few. There is this good, at least, that the Goliath is before us.

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* The first part of this article, to a place indicated, was by the same friend; with whose leave it is inserted here.

There is a greater good still. The source of the overthrow of the Whigs is now put beyond question. The court has put itself in opposition to the country, by adopting the Tories, who are the people's enemies.

A seer of political events might have foretold this issue: and it requires no seer, to discover what is to come after. By a *coup d'état* with quite a different object, the king has saved the country from the greatest danger that could have happened. The people despairing of the successful issue of the principle of Reform through want of leadership, might have sunk one part into apathy or fear, and the other into impatience or violence. By this timely stroke, all people have been thrown into their proper rank; and there is fair hope of the good fight being fought.

It is not worth while to go into a tedious inquiry of how all this came about. The Whigs were weak, because they had not learnt the strengthfulness of honesty. The court and the king had long wished to get rid of them. The Tories were known to be ready. And the king seized the first opportunity that offered, for reinstating his friends the Tories.

It is now plain, that the king is adverse to Reform,—moved by what influence, it matters not. The king, it seems, has exercised his prerogative; whether wisely or well, history is preparing a page to show.

The monarchy, to all appearance, might have lasted for ever, if it could only have got out of its head that the abuses of other institutions were necessary to its existence. Thus, it is said that the House of Lords is necessary to the existence of the monarchy. Now the House of Lords has set itself directly against the hopes and wishes of the great majority of the people, and therefore is considered by them as an evil. At all events, therefore, from the good of the monarchy, the people in their balance-sheet will deduct the evil they consider as derived from the House of Lords. In the same manner the tyranny of the Church of England sectaries, is declared necessary to the monarchy. Another deduction therefore must be made for the evils of the Church; and the same in other instances. The danger of all this is, that instead of the monarchy's being a good which compensates for all these evils, it should at some time be represented to the people as the great unreasonableness, set up and maintained that all lesser unreasonablenesses may flourish untouched under its shadow. There is no use in rashly endangering the strongest cause. There is manifestly a point, beyond which the most ardent admirer of monarchy cannot with safety hazard the object of his worship. Least of all was it politic to add the irritating cir-

cumstance, of putting the monarch on the naked and rude exercise of his personal judgment and interference; a complication of the case most perilous to the advisers, because it is obvious to the meanest capacity, that they can never expect to carry through the matter with advantage to the crown, except by achieving an entire conquest over the people, and returning to the worst and most fearful times of English *and of Irish* history. Let the least trip or failure occur in the course they have thus marked out for themselves, and the monarchy they profess to love, stands by their act and interference, shorn of all the beams that can be cut off from it by failure in an unpopular design.

The present posture of affairs is an excellent lesson on Reform, for those who desire not revolution, and would cherish, because they love, existing institutions. Before the Reform Bill was carried, it was accounted unsafe to make large demands. The public and its friends were like considerate creditors. They were contented to receive a part at once, with reasonable prospect of the rest at convenient intervals. The daring denial of the necessity of Reform by the Duke of Wellington, entirely shook the Whig tactics. He brought the question to a simple issue. 'There is no evil in the state of the representation.' The whole front of the mischief at once flashed on the public mind. The Whigs had not room to compromise. The public feeling was too strong for them. They could not dally with Reform as a party object, the mere occasion of a field-day display. The national mind was bent on entire Reform; so, spurred on by the excitement of the times, and aided by one or two ardent friends of Reform, they brought forward a plan that surpassed all expectation.

Two years passed away in a doubtful struggle. The public leaders, as a body, betrayed their want of an understanding of the soundness and safety of the principles of their measure. They seemed to regard it less as a measure of national regeneration, than a prudent concession whereby to keep things in nearly the same state as ever.

The Reform Bill was passed; and they proceeded to ulterior Reform,—slowly, spiritlessly, like post-horses on a second stage,—whose strength was exhausted by their efforts on the first. They had not been used to run so far or so fast; and the length of the journey and the speed, combined to defeat them. What has been done, the whip and spur impelled them to do; but it was impossible to get a third stage out of the same cattle*.

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* End of the part alluded to in the first Note.

In this state of things, came the exercise of the prerogative, in the worst taste of the Czar or Louis XIV. The policy of the advisers of the monarchy in this unfortunate affair, has manifestly been to get possession of the government at a moment when a considerable interval would intervene before the popular force could be brought into action, and try what could be made out of the circumstance. In this point there was some resemblance to the plan of the conspiracy at Paris against Napoleon at Moscow; the object of which was to declare him dead, and take advantage of what could be done before the mistake should be found out. Nothing, however, but the consent of the people to their own undoing, appears to give much probability of the plot's success. And the very calmness of the people is a kind of proof that they are moving on their point; for nothing in the habits of the numerous classes of the community, leads to the supposition that they are so enervated as not to see, that the question is of going back to all, for the endurance of which they have been accustomed to half despise their fathers. Aristocratic feebleness may announce, that it cannot understand what is going on, and will tell the people when it knows; and it may advise the men in the ranks to halloo, and believe themselves impregnable to twenty times the hostile force that is all the time moving round their flanks. But this will not do for the well-informed among the masses, and still less for the honest subaltern leaders. Everybody knows what such counsel means; it means giving up the army to the enemy. Ask the proud man, who thinks to ride rough-shod over the liberties of Europe, and replant the banner of 1815 on the fortress of 'the movement,' what *he* would think of such anility? Diamond must cut diamond; if there is to be any resistance, it must be conducted with the same disciplined vigour, the same cultivated good sense, the same application of strong minds and not of weak, which are arrayed upon the side of the people's foes*.

The immediate intentions of the enemy have been kept uncertain. The probability is, that this uncertainty was the best certainty he had been able to hit upon. The 'Times' newspaper was ordered to lick up what it had emitted the day before, upon the subject of 'no Dissolution.' It is one of the advantages which power, acting on the offensive against a people's liberties, will always have, that it can conceal its plans. Besides, the Tories were much better organized than the liberals, inasmuch as the defence of plunder is often a more urgent motive than the recovery; and they would have counted it all joy, if after the utmost of their exertions they had been told that the 'balance of the public convenience,' which means the

chance of trampling on the people's interest, required that their efforts should go for nothing.

The Tories had the option of going down in their present ship, or jumping overboard to hinder it. Like other people, they put off the evil hour, and were seen hanging by the ends of ropes, and looking wistfully into the water, in painful meditation on the alternative before them. It certainly seemed difficult in either case, to find out how they were to escape. But no fools' confidence should be displayed, under a state of things where everything that can by possibility be used against the people, is organized and polished to the extreme of preparation, and everything that is in their favour is scattered, postponible, and to be come at, *if* come at, through the channels of the opponent.

Of all existing wonders, surely the most wonderful, is that there exists any popular liberty at all. To see how everything must be strained through the jaws of the enemy, and be come at by picking it out of the very teeth of the parties to be most dreaded! A man cannot obtain justice against a thief, but the lawyers must squeeze it through the silly fiction, that he has justice because the king pleases it, and not that the king is king in order among other things that men may have justice. And still more in nicer questions. If a man was born with a hedge-hog's skin turned inwards, and a great hole in his stomach that everything he ate and drank might run out again, it would only be a type of the practical organization against which the well-being of the public has to contend. As a man on this construction would be a living miracle, so is the marvel little less, by which the European nations that pass for free, preserve the vital principle at all under the difficulties that surround them.

The cant of the day, is 'Measures and not men.' Did anybody ever marry a harlot, and say 'Measures and not women?' And this at once shows the weak point of the fallacy. It lies in supposing that *past* measures do not make part of a man, or woman either as far as entering into any confidential connexion with them is concerned. Fancy, for example, that after the success at Waterloo, a bevy of French marshals had presented themselves to the British army and had said, 'We do not pretend to deny that you have had a great victory. It is written in the page of history; where it is quite impossible that we should think of disturbing it. But you will not be so exclusive as to say, that one set of men only are to command the British army. We feel certain therefore, that you will let us take our turn.' It would be curious to speculate upon the postures of countenance, with which the

various constituencies of that army would have received the annunciation. Or imagine again, that certain interested persons, as for instance, Juno, had done all in their power to destroy a Bacchus, before his birth, and at his birth, and after his birth; and calculate the addle-headedness of such inveterate old women, as should go about recommending to try Juno for dry nurse.

There have been some terrible mistakes made on this point; and men riding at the head of the crack and pattern squadrons of the popular force, have turned round and recommended letting the enemy into the fort, upon an understanding to turn him out again on misbehaviour. All however have not taken this course; and it is agreeable to note the contrast. Here follows the Member for North Derbyshire.

'Gentlemen, I address you not as a candidate for your representation but as your Representative: a connection which still subsists between us, but which hangs by so frail a thread, that the moment of its dissolution, probably depends on the speed and endurance of successive relays of Italian, Alpine, and French post horses.'

'You appointed me to watch over your interests, and those of the country, for you in the House of Commons, and I think that I shall hardly step out of my sphere if, now that Parliament is not sitting, nor likely to sit again during our connection, I invite you to go with me into a Committee on the state of the nation.'

'Let us consider what was the state of the nation up to the middle of last month.'

'Externally—the country was at profound peace; a peace which every succeeding year of a liberal administration of the affairs of this country appeared to have consolidated. Important negociations were known to be going on. The most interesting to this country had for its object an increase in our commercial intercourse with France, on terms of reciprocity; a point on which considerable progress had been made. The Belgian negociation had lost much of its interest, for, though tedious, it had evidently been so conducted, that it was not likely to lead to war. Internally—greater general contentment and satisfaction subsisted than I, or probably the oldest of you, ever remember. The only persons who were uneasy were those whose privileges, or interests, were likely to be affected by the Reforms which the Government was known to have in progress; privileges and interests held in every instance for the private benefit of individuals, or of castes, either to the detriment, or to the exclusion, of the rest of the community.'

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'The revenue was steadily increasing. The Government was *harmoniously* preparing those measures of reform, to which the country was looking forward, against the meeting of Parliament. "There was no such difference of opinion upon great impending public measures as was likely to interfere with the harmonious and united

action of that administration." I quote the words of Lord Melbourne, whose answer to the Derby Address has been put into my hands while I am writing; and I think that even the lowest and most lying Tory paper in existence (if you know where it is to be found) will not venture to impugn his Lordship's veracity. Such was the internal state of the Government. Externally—up to the last day of the Session, it had been supported in parliament by unexampled majorities. I say, with confidence, that it was trusted by the country—and not without reason. It was trusted by a great majority of the *disinterested* Conservatives. I know it, in many instances, from their own lips. I do not mean that if a somewhat more Conservative Cabinet had been offered to them, they would not have preferred it: but they lived under the Government as then constituted, with confidence and without dissatisfaction. They saw that the Government brought forth no wild or sweeping or subversive changes. They found, and admitted, that many of their apprehensions as to the working of the Reform Bill had not been verified: the Parliament was not bowed down before popular clamour: no man was assailed in his property or in his station: never was a Parliament more resolute to keep extreme faith with the public creditor, than the first Reformed Parliament.'

'Among reformers some dissatisfaction had existed at the delay of reforms to which they felt themselves entitled. The feeling was alleviated, it was almost wearing away. Some internal changes in the Government which I will not go through, had tended to remove it. But this was not all—reformers (and in using that word, I describe nine-tenths of the intelligent men in England, who have no personal interest in abuses), began first to suspect. and then to perceive more clearly, the position in which, not only the Government, but in which they were themselves placed, by the operations of a party of great influence in high quarters: a party which operates not in the nation, or among the nation's representatives, but in the House of Lords, and in the Court: a party stung to madness, by the loss of power and plunder: a party which has earned, and deserved, and enjoys as it has deserved, the country's hatred: in one word, the Tory party. I do not mean the few ignorant but respectable persons, who are Tories by birth, or bigotry, but without any personal interest in Toryism. I mean the Tory party as it exists in the palace; in the House of Lords; in all the public offices; even in the offices of the Reformed House of Commons, from the highest to the lowest; in the close Corporations; in the Universities; and in the head-quarters of the army, and of the Church. But more of this anon. Reformers began to perceive their situation, and to cling more closely to the existing Government.'

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'Such I believe to be a fair and an unexaggerated description of the state of the country, up to the 15th of November. On or about that day, an old nobleman full of years and honours, was gathered to his fathers. The necessary consequence was, that the present Earl Spencer was removed from the House of Commons, and from

the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. The late Earl was seventy-six years old, and had been for some time in an infirm state of health. This was no sudden explosion, no thunder-clap. Do you think Lord Melbourne took office a few months ago, without considering how he should get over such an emergency? Do you think he took office knowing that he should be "dismissed" whenever Lord Spencer died? You have no such mean opinion of him. We had all speculated on this occurrence. We all knew, that if the executive in all its branches was sound at heart, there would be no difficulty. There never was a period, when, as far as the country and the parliament were concerned, it was so easy for a Reform cabinet to govern. We used to ask one another constantly, in a familiar way, in the House, "who will be our leader here, when Althorp goes to the Lords?" And we had our various favourites. Some inclined to Lord John Russell—some thought it would be our distinguished neighbour at Stubbing *—and others the Secretary for the Colonies. When this question was asked, did it occur to any one, to answer—Sir Robert Peel?'

* * * *

'Lord Melbourne went to the King to take his commands as to filling up the vacancies, and the King dismissed his Ministers. I am delighted that I did not write to you yesterday as I had intended, because to-day I can use from authority Lord Melbourne's own word "dismissed." When I read an account of these transactions in the public papers, I said involuntarily to myself—Is it about this happy, contented, and prosperous country that I am reading? This country, deeply engaged in the pursuits of peaceful industry? This country, so worthily and temperately employed in reforming her institutions, and in endeavouring to bring comfort and happiness to the cottage-door of her meanest inhabitant? This great country, whose slightest convulsion is liable to affect the interests of so many millions of the human race? I seemed to myself rather to be reading of some looseish fellow, who, on an idle day, was amusing himself with bowling down a set of nine-pins, and setting up others of a different colour in their place: or of some man, who, being at a gambling-house where they stake money on the coming up of cards of different colours, and having won on the black, should say, in the reckless spirit which befits such an occupation, now I will change my colour, and take a hazard on the red.'

'Now I am told that all this is done in the exercise of the Royal Prerogative, which I admit—*and that we must not question it, which I deny. It is an assertion fit for nobody but a slave.* Now this prerogative is either to be under responsibility or not. If it is irresponsible, then His Majesty may send for six men from the ranks of the first regiment of Dragoons, and six from the forecastle of the Flag-ship at Portsmouth, and make them his Cabinet Council; and some people have even talked of his Majesty going to St. Luke's, or the Hulks for his Ministers. Well—it is the Prerogative. We are not to question the appointment. We are to wait, I suppose, for the

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* 'Mr. Abercromby.'

measures of the new Administration. I give the consequences of this argument to the Tories. I will maintain, that the prerogative is only to be exercised under responsibility, and for the benefit of the nation. The only question, therefore, is, where does the responsibility rest? and to that question I will apply myself. First then—It does not certainly rest on the King. It is a neccssary principle of our Constitution that no responsibility can rest on the King, except in extra-constitutional cases, that is, cases in which the Constitution provides no remedy within itself; and that it provides abundant remedies in the case which we are discussing, I will shortly show you. Even if we were to suppose a case in which the King carried on all the acts of the Executive by his own mere will, the Constitution would presume advice, in order to create responsibility. In instances like the present, where there is no apparent adviser, the party responsible to the country is he who, by his acts, gives effect to the advice. It is not material for us to inquire, though it might be a subject of curiosity, and we may have our own opinions on it, whether the Duke of Wellington was an accessory before the fact; it is enough for us to know that he is an accessory after. But for the act of the Duke of Wellington, the pestilent advice given to his Majesty to dismiss his reforming Ministers, would have fallen effete and inoperative to the ground. It was open to the Duke of Wellington, instead of advising his Majesty to send for Sir Robert Peel, to have addressed his Majesty as follows :—'

"The advice given to your Majesty to dismiss your Ministers, would, if unhappily followed, place your Majesty before the country in a very equivocal character. Your Majesty will recollect that when Lord Stanley, the Duke of Richmond, and others, seceded from the Government, your Majesty suffered the vacancies to be filled by men, whose known principles were a pledge to the country, of your Majesty's determination to forward with increased energy the work of Reform. Again, when the resignation of Earl Grey, and of most, or all, the members of your Majesty's then Cabinet, placed the construction of a new Government, naturally and necessarily in your Majesty's hands, your Majesty did not call to your councils those who stood before the country as men of opposite principles to the then self-dissolved administration, but ordered the Government to be reconstructed in such a manner that it should, in the eyes of the public, differ only from the preceding Government, in bearing a still more uncompromising reforming character, both in Church and State; and this Government, so re-constructed, received, in an eminent degree, the support of the representatives of the people. Your Majesty, therefore, in following the malignant advice which has been tendered to you, must either bear the imputation of having acted towards Lord Melbourne's Cabinet, ever since its construction, with a degree of duplicity almost unexampled among Princes, and having been a member of a back-stairs plot against your own Government, and against the Parliament recently chosen; or your Majesty must appear to have acted, in these matters, so interesting to the nation, with a looseness of principle, a trifling levity, or a wanton indifference,

which must destroy the affectionate confidence hitherto reposed in your Majesty by a loyal and grateful people. As a faithful subject and counsellor of your Majesty, no act of mine shall sanction and give effect to advice which must be followed by such destructive consequences."

'Such advice, in substance, it would have become any man, I care not who he might be, to have tendered to his Sovereign on such an occasion. But did the Duke of Wellington so act? Far from it. Whether a member of it before or not, he entered into the plot against his Majesty; he adopted it; he gave effect to it; and became responsible for it. Hitherto we are only considering the Duke of Wellington's guilt towards his Majesty. We are only considering him as a conspirator against his Majesty's character and honour. But he has something to answer for also to the people. *He has counselled and is responsible for the most arbitrary act, which, since the time of Queen Elizabeth, has been enacted by any British Monarch, who has not lost either his head or his crown.* I do not call the act tyrannical, because it is not tainted with cruelty. He has trifled with the quiet and repose and peaceful and contented industry of this country—not wantonly, but for an object. And for what object? Simply and solely to bring a rejected faction back to power. It is a last and desperate effort to quarter the Tory Aristocracy again on the country. It is for nothing else.'

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'Gentlemen, I have nearly done. I have written to you as I might have spoken, in a desultory manner, and without much premeditation. I was determined not to address you till I could speak from some authority as to the dismissal of the late Ministry. That authority, Lord Melbourne's explanations have supplied. I have been obliged to write quick in order that I might keep some pace with Sir R. Peel's post horses. I have not written you a mere electioneering address; indeed I do not know that what I have said has any particular tendency to promote my re-election. You will gather from it, however, that I will not go into parliament to support the Wellington-and-Peel Administration. I will not support them, *because the mode of their admission to power ought to be resisted by every man who is not willing to be a slave: because they are already surrounded by, and must bring into power with them, a corrupt and greedy faction: because the principles and connections, and particularities and antipathies of both, will lead them to place the utmost possible extent of power in the hands of the Aristocracy, in whose hands it always has been abused to the injury of the people; because the one has no perception of, and the other no sympathy with, popular feeling;—because both have always supported and maintained the exclusive privileges of particular classes and bodies, more especially of those classes and bodies who have been long and corruptly linked with Tory Governments; because both of them have always resisted and delayed to the uttermost all substantial, and more especially all popular reforms; and lastly, because general contentment and happiness, and comfort and security, which had been brought to a very low ebb under a succession of Tory Governments, were manifestly reviving under the*

guidance of men of opposite principles. If, therefore, you wish to be represented by a supporter of the new administration, you must not look to me. But if you approve of my principles, as evinced by my parliamentary conduct, and as applied to present circumstances by this letter, I will be at my post—I will not fail you at the poll, if you are driven to one; and I will maintain our common principles when I am again returned as your Representative.'

'I am, Gentlemen,

'Your faithful and obedient Servant,

'T. GISBORNE, JUN.

'*Charnwood Heath, 7th December*, 1834.'

This is as it ought to be. This is a man with something of the soul strategic. Men do not put a leader at their head to have to tell him when he is to go to the right or to the left; but to receive the benefit of his individual energy upon emergency.

The next is a remarkable pamphlet, and not a little important to those who can discern the signs of the times. It is anonymous, but apparently by one that has looked history in the face and read of revolutions.

It begins by putting the matter upon its true basis: which is, that the question is altogether one, of whether certain sets of men shall rob.

'The great object and the great difficulty in government is the preservation of individual property. All the fraud and almost all the violence which it is the business of government to prevent and repress, arise from the attempts of mankind to deprive one another of the fruits of their respective industry and frugality. Among savages these attempts produce robbery and theft. To these simple modes of unjust appropriation civilized nations add the less palpable forms of monopoly, combination, and privilege; abuses which, when of long standing, it is not easy to detect and expose, and which it is still more difficult to remedy, without occasioning much immediate injury to individuals. But the most revolting, and perhaps the most mischievous form of robbery, is that in which the government itself becomes an accomplice; when the property of whole classes of individuals is swept away by legislative enactments, and men owe their ruin to that very institution which was created to ensure their safety.' —*On National Property, &c.* p. 3.

The connexion between this and the constitutional question, whose decision the country is now entering upon, will readily be supplied.

'It has for many years been admitted, that a minister, though appointed by the Crown, and nominally subject to be dismissed *mero*

motu regis, without warning or explanation, really holds his office at the will, not of the Crown, but of the two houses of parliament. He might be disliked by the court, he might be unpalatable to the king, it might be his duty, indeed, to take steps which would necessarily produce one or both of these results; but while he retained the confidence of the houses of parliament, he was, according to the doctrine which prevailed until the 15th of last November, secure. And the necessity of this principle is obvious. If a minister held office at the caprice of the court, the court, not parliament, would be the field on which the battles for power would be fought. The arts which succeed in courts, and the measures which please courts, would be the arts and the measures adopted. Despotic governments and constitutional governments have each their peculiar merits and their peculiar inconveniences; but this would be a mode of uniting the faults of both: the slow and cumbersome machinery of the one, and the ignorance, prejudices, corruption, and vacillation of the other. Even in despotisms, where public opinion has acquired any force, deference to that opinion prevents any capricious change. "*C'est moi*," said Louis XV, "*qui nomme les ministres, mais c'est la nation qui les renvoie.*"

'Those whom this reasoning does not convince, may, perhaps, yield to the authority of Mr. Burke. That acute observer, after dwelling on the necessity that a minisier should be connected not only with the interests, but with the sentiments and opinions of the people, adds, in words which we might now adopt, "These are con-"siderations which, in my opinion, enforce the necessity of having "some better reason in a free country and a free parliament for sup-"porting the ministers of the crown, than that short one, '*That the* "'*King has thought proper to appoint them.*' There is something very "courtly in this; but it is a principle pregnant with all sorts of mis-"chief, in a constitution like ours, to turn the views of active men "from the country to the court. Whatever be the road to power, "that is the road which will be trod. If the opinion of the country "be of no use as a means of power or consideration, the qualities "which usually procure that opinion will be no longer cultivated. "And whether it be right in a State so popular in its constitution "as ours, to leave ambition without popular motives, and to trust "all to the operation of pure virtue in the minds of kings, and minis-"ters, and public men, must be submitted to the judgment and good "sense of the people of England.—When a ministry rests upon "public opinion, it is not indeed built upon a rock of adamant; it "has, however, some stability: but when it stands upon *private* "*humour*, its structure is of stubble, and its foundation is on a quick-"sand. I repeat it again—he that supports every administration "subverts all government. The reason is this: the whole business "in which a court usually takes an interest goes on at present equally "well in whatever hands, whether high or low, wise or foolish, scan-"dalous or reputable; there is nothing, therefore, to hold it firm to "any body of men, or to any one consistent scheme of politics. "Nothing interposes to prevent the full operation of all the caprices, "and all the passions of a court upon the servants of the public,

" The system of administration is open to continual shocks and " changes upon the principles of the meanest cabal, and the " most contemptible intrigue. Nothing can be solid or perma- " nent. All good men at length fly with horror from such a service. " Men of rank and ability, with the spirit which ought to animate " such men in a free State, while they decline the jurisdiction of " dark cabal on their actions and their fortunes, will, for both, cheer- " fully put themselves upon their country. They will trust an in- " quisitive and distinguishing parliament, because it does inquire and " does distinguish. If they act well, they know that in such a par- " liament they will be supported against any intrigue : if they act ill, " they know that no intrigue can protect them. This situation, " however awful, is honourable. *But in one hour, without any as-* " *signed or assignable cause, to be precipitated from the highest autho-* " *rity to the most marked neglect,* is a situation full of danger, and " destitute of honour. It will be shunned equally by every man of " prudence, and every man of spirit." *

' It is to be added, that if this principle is to be abandoned ; if the king is to be at liberty, merely because he thinks his own opinion better than than that of the nation, speaking through its representatives, to dismiss a government which enjoys the full confidence of the House of Commons ; if he is at liberty to do this at his own personal pleasure ; this absurdity follows, that his Majesty can act without a responsible adviser in one point, and on one point only. that point being the most important one which he ever can have to consider. The question, who is responsible ?—for some one must be responsible—for the sudden and total dismissal of a ministry, has not been decided since our constitution assumed its present form, because in fact it has not been necessary to raise it. A parliamentary vote or a resignation has preceded every previous change. It has now been raised, and painful as the discussion is, it must be decided.'

' The king of course is not responsible. Royal responsibility is inconsistent with monarchical government. Of course, too, it would be absurd to fix the responsibility on those persons who may be supposed to have had private access to his Majesty's ear. The country does not recognize such advisers, either for good or for evil. The domestic comfort and privacy of the sovereign require that those who, filling no political office, are familiarly about his person, should be considered to be, as in reality it is their duty to be, unconnected with politics. The persons on whom this responsibility falls most naturally and most usefully, are those who are to profit by the act in question, the immediate successors of the dismissed administration. If it be once understood that, whether really consulted or not, they are to be considered as having advised the measure which, by their acquiescence, they have adopted, and that no administration, for whom a vacancy has been made by a court intrigue, or by mere personal predilections or dislikes, or by caprice, or, in short, on any ground of which parliament does not recognize the sufficiency, how-

* " Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents.—Burke's Works, Vol. II. pp. 265—326."

ever personally eligible, will receive parliamentary support, we shall return to our established system, and the events of last November will be a warning instead of a precedent.'

'It may be asked then, what was the Duke of Wellington to do when he was summoned from the hunting-field at Strathfieldsay, and the King threw himself on his loyalty? Was he to refuse to aid the King in his difficulties?'

'Unquestionably it *was* his duty so to refuse.'

'It was his duty to say, not in words, but in substance, "Four months ago, your Majesty appointed Lord Melbourne your minister. The country approved of your choice, and nothing has occurred to diminish its approbation. I cannot be a party to any change which has even the appearance of having originated in intrigue, or caprice, or any personal feeling whatsoever."

'It is now the duty of the houses of parliament to say, "*We will not bind on our necks, and on those of our posterity, a yoke from which the country has worked itself free. We will not abandon the trust which the practice of the constitution has reposed in us of deciding by what party the government shall be carried on.*"

'It will be the duty of the electors, if Sir Robert Peel shall be blind enough to appeal to them, to proclaim, "*We will return those men, and those men only, who will maintain their station as representatives of the people. We have not broken the chains of an oligarchy to put on those of a court. We will not sanction a single step towards a return to those unhappy times, when the sovereign was the real minister, and placed and displaced at pleasure, the puppets who bore the name.*"

'It appears, therefore, that under any combination of circumstances, the present administration cannot stand. And the arduous question is forced upon us, On what terms are their successors to take office?'

'It is obvious that they cannot accept it *simpliciter*, without pledge or condition, subject to be summarily ejected, while apparently possessing the full confidence of the crown, and of the people, without even a pretext that will bear a moment's discussion. *Some pledge must be given, and it must be more than a mere nominal pledge: it must consist of more than mere words, which four months after may be forgotten or explained away, or disavowed. It must be a pledge, deriving its force, not from the giver, but from the thing that is given.* It must be a pledge not merely promising the means of good government, but actually affording them.'

'Our readers must at once acknowledge that only one such pledge is possible, and that is, a majority in the House of Lords. It is now admitted, indeed it has long been obvious to every impartial observer, that ever since the passing of the Reform Bill the hostile majority in the lords has been the great obstacle to measures of improvement, and even of safety. While that majority continues virtually impregnable, it is the master of the administration, the House of Commons, and the country. Even Sir R. Peel, at the late Mansion-house dinner, promised the redress of only those abuses which can be remedied "*consistently with the independent action of the House of*

Lords." Of what use is the expensive farce of elections, debates, and votes, if a small, compact, irresponsible, and practically unalterable body, can oppose, and for ever maintain, a peremptory veto? if the House of Lords is the ultimate court of appeal, not only on civil but on political matters, before whose tribunal the Commons are allowed indeed to debate every question, but without power to influence the judgment?'

'It may be said, perhaps, that such a state of things cannot be fundamentally wrong, since it is, in fact, the ancient constitution of the country; the constitution under which we have prospered for centuries. It may be said that the mutual independence of the two houses is so thoroughly of the essence of our institutions, that there is only one instance on record, in which it has been broken in upon, and the submissiou of the lords avowedly forced by a creation of peers.'

'The answer is, that since the time that parliamentary, instead of regal, government became the real constitution of this country, no such mutual independence has existed. The lords have in fact been independent of the commons, because the commons have been dependent on the lords. The influence of the lords in elections was so preponderating, that they were virtually represented in the commons; and the majority of the commons expressed the opinions not of the body of the people, but of an assembly partly elected by the people, or rather by a small portion of the people, and partly nominated by the peers. On some insulated points, such as the granting offices in reversion, and catholic relief, the two houses differed, but as to the general management of affairs, they coincided. The spectacle of one party omnipotent in one house, and its opponents in the other, was never exhibited. Such a state of things would have been incompatible with good government, while it lasted, and if permanent, with any government whatever. The theory of three estates, each acting independently and mutually controlling one another, or in Sir W. Blackstone's own words, "Two houses naturally drawing in two directions of opposite interest, and the prerogative in another still different from both," is perhaps a good subject for school-boys' themes, but is totally inapplicable to the affairs of a great nation.'—*Ib.* pp. 49--60.

'But how is this change to be effected? Of course, in the first instance, by the use of that safety valve afforded by the constitution—the creation of peers. It may be said, that such a creation, though it might relieve our present difficulties, would create a permanent evil by the large increase of the titled aristocracy. *The obvious remedy is, that* the *new peers should be created only for life.* It is strange that a peerage, not of inheritance, should be considered an anomaly, or even a novelty. Without recurring to the cases of the Scotch and Irish peers, or to the English spiritual peers, who sit only while bishops, we may recall to the reader's recollection the case of the Irish bishops, who sit only in every sixth session. Express creations of English peerages for life occur in our earlier history; and it appears that they may be legally created for even a shorter period.

When a peerage is created by writ, it is said, indeed, to confer, by law, an estate of inheritance; but when it is created in the usual mode by patent, the duration of the grantee's interest depends not on any general rule of law, but simply on the words of the grant. If a peerage be granted to a man and his heirs, it will descend to any one of his relatives male or female, lineal or collateral. If it be granted, like the Devon earldom, to him and his heirs male, it will embrace all his relatives, lineal or collateral, of male descent. If it be given to him and the heirs of his body, it will vest in any of his posterity, male or female; or if it be given in what is now the more usual form, to him and the heirs male of his body, it will descend only to his male posterity. If it be given to him indefinitely, without any mention of his heirs, it will cease with his life. And it has been laid down in the House of Lords, and by the highest legal authority, that if a peerage be granted to a man during the life of another person, it will cease on the death of that other person.'—*Ib.* p. 63.

'It may be objected, however, that if the example of a large creation is once set, as each successive ministry will create its own majority, we shall in no long time be encumbered by an assembly too numerous for useful deliberation. We see no reason for that fear. The example once set, will not be followed, for it will not again be necessary.'—*Ib.* p. 65.

The answer to the objection to a creation of peers is not complete. There is a better answer than this; which is, that the operation now demanded, is for undoing a previous operation of the Tories. Were not they making peers during all their palmy days, by way of supporting themselves in their places when bad times should come? It would be an odd argument which should object to the compensation directed by a court of justice, that if this was allowed, there would be no end of men's taking money from one another. That there is reason for its being done once, is the very thing that is to hinder its being done twice.

The point of curiosity about all these demonstrations is, whence they come from. There are remarkable negative signs. Not a word of the ballot; nothing about short parliaments; scarcely a whisper upon the corn laws; considerable approbation of the sect established at the Revolution under the title of Church of England; nothing, in short, much newer than the fashion of 1688. It is plain enough who these are; they are the Old Whig "Heavies" coming into line. Men not easily moved, and just now under a cloud for having caused all the mischief by the refusal to bestir themselves; nevertheless good men at their weapons, as John Bunyan would say, when they can be made to march. They are for none of the new fal-lals, but stick to the pigtails and *bottes fortes*, and probably enough some Ramillies periwigs among the heads of departments; but

for all that, they "weel bobbit" once, and may "bob it again." So no nonsense, gentlemen of the young regiments, but send and ask them to your mess and make much of them, for you may all be in a mess of another kind together, before you are a great deal older.

The Tories made light of the more nimble Radicals, who were to be found always in the forefront, which Homer calls ἐν προμάχοισι μάχεσθαι; and now they have fallen in upon the ἔρκος πολέμοιο, the 'bulwark of war,' made up of the stout Whig proprietors and their heavy-handed retainers. If the Whig leaders would go for the Ballot and Triennial Parliaments, they would walk over the course; and as it is, it is quite time to arrange for following up success. And here the policy is the same as on talking of 'republics.' No sabring at a rag, a voice, a name, in the form of the king's prerogative; but break up and disperse the masses which alone make the symbol an object of alarm. Pass a razor through the elf-locks that Tories breed in; cut away the harbour—saving the presence—*nits and all.* This is what wanted doing the last time; and people will perhaps be wiser now. The court story is understood to be, that the king is to be advised to dissolve the parliament *toties quoties* till he gets one to support the present ministers. They have counselled or adopted one act which has no parallel for grossness since Louis XIV presented himself with his boots and horse-whip to a parliament; and they had better wait till they see how this turns out, before they think of another. The immediate tendency of such advice would be, to raise the question whether the taker could be sane. There is probably no possible act, a king might not find somebody to advise him to; but the fact of his having found advice, will not hinder mankind from putting their own constructions on the taking it. Another version says, the thing is to be tried twice, and then *the dragoons.* If so, we shall be in a way of showing our children something of the *prælium equestre.* The dissolution of parliament has placed the first part of the question in the people's hands; and for all the other dissolutions that may intervene before the dissolution of the monarchy, sufficient for the day will be the evil thereof. The point to be settled *now,* is whether an exercise of arbitrary and despotic power such as is not usual among the carcase-butchers of the continent, is to pass without resistance on the ground of nobody being responsible.

ART. XI*.—1. *The Mayor of Wind-gap. And Canvassing.* By the O'Hara Family.—3 vols. London; Saunders and Otley. 1835.

2. *Speech of Lord John Russell at Honiton*, 17 *Jan.* 1835.

THE novel and speech convey each a commentary upon the other. But on the whole it may be preferable to take the facts first, and the speech upon them afterwards. Attend to Mr. Banim's description of the thing called an Election, the egg from which are to spring our boasted liberties. There may be a portion of caricature, in consequence of the scene being laid in Ireland and among the gone-by 40*s.* freeholders; but no demand is made, on the strength of anything, but what the conscientious reader may know to be common to the elections within his experience.

'The streets were thronged with Castle Wilmot freeholders hurrahing, and shouting "Warringdon for ever." Jim Naughten's report of the English lord's generosity, and of his being in "every pertick-lar, the thruth of a gintleman," (in support of which assertion, the compliment of the five pound note was not forgotten,) had already secured him an overwhelming majority of the dhrivers, butchers, grocers, and butchers' and grocers' boys, waiters, ostlers, carmen, beggars, and such like gentry of the town—and Jim was now flying about in all directions, waving his hat, and jumping over his stick, collecting his boys, and exhorting them for the honour of God, and of their town, to be sure and break the head of every Archer, who should dare shew himself in their free, loyal, and religious streets.'

'Here might be seen groups of gentlemen, gesticulating and thumping one another's shoulders, in their eagerness to prove, for the hundredth time, a position already admitted as incontrovertible; viz., the superior wisdom, valour, and social importance of every individual composing the party to which they belonged, and of the consequent certainty of their triumph. A little further on might be observed some member of the Roman Catholic priesthood, more quietly, but not less zealously, haranguing an attentive audience on the liberal and enlightened principles of the Right Honourable Viscount, who was proclaimed by them, and admitted by their listeners, to be an honour to England, and anticipated as a blessing to Ireland.'

'Nor were the female part of the population indifferent spectators of the preparations for the approaching struggle, which engrossed their husbands, fathers, lovers, brothers, or friends; there they were elbowing, scolding, and all but shooting whoever presumed to gainsay their fiat, that Lord Warringdon, and none but he, should be returned for their town.'

'The ladies being among his most zealous advocates,—first, because he was *not* an Orangeman; and, secondly, because he was young and handsome:—the old ones might be seen hurrying to chapel to pray for him, while the young ones, sauntering up and down the

* The commencement and conclusion of this article, to places indicated, were by the same coadjutor as before.

square, listening to the band, or standing looking out at window, flirted for him; exhorting those already his friends, confirming the vacillating, and endeavouring, by smiles, or poutings, to cajole, or frighten, his declared enemies,—kneeling to some, almost embracing others; and how could they do less for so handsome, so gallant a candidate, who had given a ball at the assembly-rooms, and had danced with "every girl of consequence" in the room? Besides, he had such beautiful dark eyes, and he made such an elegant bow, and another "besides," which they did not, however, add, but which we will do for them,—"Besides, he had all the dashing young men of the county on his side!"

'Nor were the females of lower degree less energetic in his behalf, groups of them were gathered round the shop doors, or hall doors, insisting to one another, and all of the worthier gender (*soi disant,*) they could get to listen to them, "that it would be a murther outright, a mortal sin, troth it would, to disappoint such a darlin', purty, free-spoken, free-givin' gintleman, the frind and son-in-law to be of mister Wilmot, the Lord prosper and purtect him!"—vol iii. p. 177.

Then comes the scene of strife—the day of election; the bullyings, and back-slanderings; the craft of the agents; the ignorance and servility of the voters.

'The eventful morning came, and the whole town was alive at the dawn of day; crowds of partizans of all ages and ranks gathering round the committee-rooms, of the opposing candidates; electioneering agents, oratorizing, explaining, or mystifying, as suited their purpose; looking over certificates, and "making Pat Conny sinsible he was only to be Pat Conny the first time he voted, but Dennis Sleevan, the second time, in regard of poor Dennis not being convanient just then, because he was berried last week; and reminding Martin Donovan, he musn't forget to slip a flea inside his lase, that he might swear with a safe conscience, that the life in it was still in existence," and other trifling, though necessary, arrangements, for the proper carrying on of their employer's interests; and voters were eating, drinking, shouting, laughing, and whirling their ferrals to give them "the raal fighting touch," and among the noisiest of the noisy, as in duty bound, were the Castle Wilmot boys, who strove hard, by all the means in their power, to keep up the honour of "the family," and make as much riot as possible.'

"Which of you has seen or heard anything of Mc Alpine?" demanded Mr. Malony, as he entered Lord Warringdon's committee-room, his face flushed from pain and impatience.'

"Still at Mount Pleasant, I suppose," replied one of the group he addressed.'

"Still at Mount Pleasant! confound him! what is he doing there?"

"Making love to Lady Mary Pemberton, I hear."

"Making love to the devil, man;—why isn't he here? who ever heard of a man leaving his freeholders to themselves in this way? how can he tell who they vote for when he's not on the spot?

Making love indeed! the bletherem skite of a fellow! always bothering some woman or other with his cursed poetry, or romance, and she wishing him at the devil all the while, for his pains. I bring up my men myself, my Lord; I take care that nobody dare meddle with a freeholder of mine, or I'd put a bullet through his head, and distrain every beast belonging to the tenant who dared even to think of voting according to his own vagaries. Making love, indeed—the numbskull!"

'Mr. Malony's invective against the romantic Mr. Mc Alpine was cut short by Father John Molloy's entrance, looking as if he were the bearer of portentous information. Lord Warringdon advanced, and shook hands most cordially with "his kind and excellent friend, Mr. Molloy."

"My lord, I am credibly informed that there's a batch of Mc Alpines in town, along with Archer's men!" and the worthy priest accompanied this startling intelligence with an ominous shake of the head.

"Pooh! pooh! Father John: 'tis impossible," Malony interrupted. "Is it the Mc Alpine servants, who are at rack-rents, and dare not call their souls their own? Do you think they would have the courage to vote against his orders? not they."

"But, Mr. Malony, what do you say, if 'tis by his orders they are voting?"

"Do you suppose he wants to have cold lead lodged in his brains?" quietly demanded, in his turn, Mr. Malony.

"But, my dear sir, have you ascertained that Mr. Mc Alpine *has* sent down his men for Mr. Archer?" queried the Viscount.

"Why, my Lord, I have it on good authority that he has. A sister of Pat Sullivan's wife (Mr. Mc Alpine's foster-brother, you know, Mr. Malony) told Mrs. Mc Donogh's daughter's husband, a first cousin of her own, and nurse to Mr. Wilmot, that Mr. Mc Alpine's agent, Misther Fahy, had sent back orders to Pat Sullivan, for all the men, them that lived by the say-side, and them that did not,—to come down by wather, unknownst, for fear would any of the Castle Wilmots murdher 'em, if they come by the road; but to take care for his life would Pat Sullivan let on, 'twas his masther t... bid him."

'Here "Rascal, scoundrel, blackguard, liar, coward," and other synonymous and equally euphonious epithets arose from all parts of the room, coupled with the name of Peter Mc Alpine of Mc Alpine castle.

"The only way in the world is to send him a message at once," observed Mr. Malony. "Here, my Lord, sit down, I'll get you a pen and ink in a minute;—now for it!" he cried, clapping the table with the only hand he had at liberty.

"Now for it!" echoed all the bye-standers.

"The cannibals!" muttered the Viscount. "But," he added, aloud, "before I send Mr. Mc Alpine a message, I think we should have better authority than that of foster-brothers and nurses. How can we tell whether one word of this story be true? My respected

friend here, Mr. Molloy, does not give it on his own authority, or it would, of course, be conclusive."

"Oh, well,—may be so," Mr. Malony reluctantly acquiesced. "However," he added, "you may as well write the letter, my Lord, to have it ready to send when we want it, for I dare say, before the election is over, he will be playing us a trick, and then we have our challenge written, and nothing to do but to dash it off; and even if we shouldn't want it for him, we shall for somebody else; with a few alterations, you know, the same copy will serve for a dozen different people."

"Lord Warringdon did not much relish the idea of an assortment of ready-made challenges, but, however, he was too prudent to object to the proposal; and in a very few minutes, a letter full of flogging, posting, and shooting, dictated by Mr. Malony, and penned by his lordship, was read aloud, to the great delight and admiration of the company at large.

"Do you know, I am in great hopes that you will have to fight Mc Alpine: it would make you so popular with the mob! for the fighting candidate has always the best chance, you know, of being the sitting member. I assure you, Mr. Wilmot would not have kept the county so long, but for his handiness with the pistols. He fought four men one morning before breakfast, and wounded them all,—don't you remember, O'Leary?" Mr. Malony added, turning to the electioneering agent, *en chef*.

"Aye, faith, Mr. Malony, but he was left for dead himself, you recollect."

"I know he was; but what does that signify? he gained his return by it, and never would else; for the opposite party, by bribing, and tricking, and telling lies, of one kind or other, had contrived to get eight hundred a-head of us, and we had but three days left to pull up. Well, my Lord, the mob got outrageous when they heard Mr. Wilmot was badly wounded, and they threatened to burn the town, if he died without being elected. In all your life you never saw such a row; the women running about screeching, and clapping their hands, and swearing they'd have the lives of them that took his; the men shouting, and cursing like mad. I had my skull fractured by the way, but only in a mistake, you know, the poor fellows took me for somebody else."

"Pleasant mistake!" thought his lordship.

"Well, Mr. Malony, and how did it all end?"

"Oh, as well as possible, my lord: the army was called out, but the Colonel was a friend of ours, and behaved very handsomely, so we beat the other party fairly out of the town, and Mr. Wilmot was elected that very day."

"Mr. Malony, I beg pardon for interrupting you," said Father John; "hadn't we better see after them Mc Alpines; they'll slip through our fingers else. I was thinking of going myself into the———booth, to watch them as they come in, and know the truth at once."

'This idea met universal approbation, and accordingly, Father

John hurried to the———booth, the strong hold of the Mc Alpine interest.

'A batch of the suspected freeholders had arrived before him, and a ragged, half-starved, miserable-looking creature, was now undergoing the usual interrogatives by the deputy-assessors.

"Who do I wote for, is it? I wote for—for,—by my conscience, then, I can't remember the name just at this present minute. Misther Fahy! Misther Fahy! which of 'em is it you tould me to wote for?" demanded the puzzled freeholder, in a stage whisper.

"Archer. Hav'nt I been able to bate that into your head yet, ye omadhoun?" inquired, in his turn, Mr. Mc Alpine's confidential man of business.

"Omadhoun! Misther Fahy!" repeated the voter: "faith, an' the 'cutest boy in the county, 'ud be bothered when he's never tould two days runnin' the same thing:—one time I'm to vote for the English Lord; then I am'nt, but it's for Misther Archer I'm to wote, how are we to know what's wanting of us at all?"

'This dialogue excited shouts of jeering laughter from the Warringdon party, and cries of "Success to ye! your scholar does you credit, Misther Fahy! he's a nate boy at his A, B. C."

"Silence?" cried the deputy assessor. "Your vote, my honest man."

"Archer! why don't you spake out at onst, ye ohnshuch?" whispered Mr. Fahy, angrily, in the ear of his very stupid, and now somewhat sulky, pupil.

"Oh, it's for the English lord he's goin' to vote," loudly and scoffingly laughed the Warringdons.

"By the powers! then, it isn't. I'll wote for neither of 'em;—but for my own masther, Mr. Mc Alpine, and nobody else," replied the persecuted and displeased freeholder.

"Mr. Mc Alpine is not a candidate, my honest man," replied the deputy assessor.

"Well, for Miss Kitty, then!"

'This answer was received with shouts of laughter by the Warringdons, and with muttered curses by the Archers.

"Ladies are never elected to serve in parliament, my honest man. You must, therefore, take your choice of the three candidates in question, Viscount Warringdon, Mr. Fitzgerald, and Mr. Archer; and make up your mind at once, if you please, for you are stopping the poll all this time."

"Faith! an' with the blessing of God, I won't stop it any longer," and the indignant voter turned suddenly round and took to his heels.

'He was succeeded by another of the batch, who got through his lesson more creditably to himself, and Mr. Fahy.

"My blessing to ye, Phanick O'Dea!" said Father John, "how long is it sence you turned Protestant?"

"Me turn Protestan', is it, Father John! The Lord save us!" And Phanick crossed himself reverentially. "Sure I'm no Protestan', nor one belongin' to me; the heavens betwixt us an' harum!"

"If you arn't a protestant, and a bitther black one, too, how do ye come to vote for the Orange candidate, my man?"

"Avoch, Father John, sure it isn't of our own will we're voting! didn't Pat Sullivan threaten to burn the houses over our heads, and banish us the place, if we didn't wote the way we were ordhered? An' how would we stand the counthry, Father John, if we didn't? always in arrares of rint, you know."

"But, Phanick, didn't your masther promise the English Lord; how can he go back of that, now?"

"Phanick twisted his hat between his fingers, shifted from one leg to the other, and was silent a moment.

"It isn't for the likes of us, you know, your Reverence, to be faulting him, whatever he'd do: sure he'd sweep us off the face of the earth if we didn't do his biddin'?"

"But do ye know it is his biddin', Phanick?"

"Sure if it wasn't, would Pat Sullivan be goin' on the way he was, sthrivin' to get us down, and threatnin' our lives, if we wouldn't be said by him?"

"Michelleen! Mavourneen! are ye there?" Father John cried, turning towards the crowd of Castle Wilmot freeholders and idlers, who crowded the booth.

'The same little bare-legged, red-headed boy, already introduced to our readers, obeyed the summons, and after having performed his customary *salam* of pulling forward his hair, and scraping his foot, awaited deferentially the priest's commands.

"Michelleen, be off this minute, as fast as ye can set fut to the ground, to Lord Warringdon's committee-room, and——"

'And Michelleen was galloping off, when recalled by Father John.

"Come back, ye little omadhoun! is it goin' ye are without knowin' what it is ye are goin' for?" He continued,—"go to the committee-room, and tell Mr. Malony I want to speak to him immediately;—now, away with ye, my man!"

"In a few minutes Michelleen re-appeared, ushering in Mr. Malony.

"Well, Father John, what is it?"

"Which of us was right about Mc Alpine? here are his men votin' for Archer, and by his orders, as I have found out by one of themselves."

"Ha! I wouldn't doubt him, the slippery rascal!" exclaimed Mr. Malony. "Where in the world did I leave the challenge?" he continued, searching his pockets. "Oh, I forgot, it is in the committee-room. Michelleen! run and tell Mr. O'Leary to get an express ready directly for Mount Pleasant, and to send him after me to Lord Warringdon's committee-room. The only way to deal with such a fellow as Mc Alpine is to frighten him, Father John; or, if he is not to be frightened, shoot him like a dog."—vol. iii. p. 188.

More characteristic still are the accounts that follow, of the proceedings held towards the 'free and independent electors.'

'The answer to the hostile message arrived in due course, and was as follows:—

"MY LORD,

"You appear to me to have made an extraordinary mistake, for I am under no promise to support you, nor ever was; you must remember I always declined engaging myself. It is true that I have declared my intention of voting for you, but I never bound myself by a distinct promise. A declaration is one thing—a promise another. Such being the state of the case between us, I have promised to support Mr. Archer, and cannot see how, in so doing, I deserve the imputation contained in your lordship's favour, received this day, of "dishonourable conduct." However, as you have been led, as you say, to depend upon my support, I will manage thus:—I give my personal vote (as I have promised) to Mr. Archer, and my people I leave to themselves."

"I have the honour to remain, &c."

"It is all right you see," observed the young Viscount, not sorry to be rid of a pistolling match, to his friends assembled in full divan.

"All right, my Lord! all right? any thing but that;—all wrong you mean!" exclaimed Mr. Mahony.

"Why, does he not leave his men to themselves? and is not that just what we wanted?" asked the candidate.

"Oh, the schemer! doesn't he know well they dare not go against his orders, already given? And the poltroon won't fight! you see how he backs out of that! I don't know what we are to do with him, at all," said Mr. Malony, rather despondingly.

"Never mind now, don't be one bit unasy," interposed Father John; "but give me the letter, and I'll go among the tenants. Lave Mc Alpine with me, Mr. Malony, and I'll settle him, I promise you."

'And now what had been only noise and confusion, became wild tumult, and deafening roar. The freed freeholders of the Mc Alpine estate, found their newly accorded liberty of thinking and acting for themselves a perilous as well as puzzling privilege; beset on one side by Father John's eloquence, and the Warringdon shillelagh, and on the other, by Mr. Archer's money, and fear of their master.

"Do you want to deny your religion, ye unfortunate misguided cratures?" Father John cried; "oh that ever I should live to see a man of my flock voting for an orange candidate and protestant ascendancy; and the downfall of their ancient thrue and holy religion! and when I'll be witness agin ye at the last day, that I warned ye, but that ye wouldn't give heed to me, how will it be with you then, boys?"

"Avoch, Father John, bad enough! sure we'd be said by you, afore the world, and why not only for the masther. But Father John? Oh! if we displase him, how will it be with us at all, and our long wake little families?"

"But don't ye see his writing, boys?—what more would ye have! sure he laves you to plaze yourselves,—doesn't he, my men?"

'His auditors however, still hesitated.

"If he shouldn't mane what he says, Father John?"

"Och, is it making a liar of your masther ye are?" queried the orator with a half laugh.

"God help us!" they groaned; "well, Father John, we'll do your bidden, and vote for the English Lord.

"Do at your peril!" would say Mr. Fahy; "do, and I'll dhrive every mother son of ye, not a baste ye have, that shan't be in the pound twenty-four hours after you give that vote."

"Ohra, murdher! what's to become of us at all!" cried the poor trembling wretches.

'And then an electioneering agent for Archer would whisper, "A couple of pounds a head boys, an' the best of ating an' drinking, what do ye say to that!"

"Which way do ye wote, ye vellians of the world?" the Jim Naughten's boys, and the Castle Wilmots would roar, whirling their "ferrals."

"For ye, for ye!" cried they, more influenced by the dread of hell-fire in prospect, and of a sound drubbing at the moment, than by love of money, or even fear of being made houseless.

"Success to ye! glory to ye! hurrah for the thrue and staunch friends of their religion; high for the Mc Alpines!" the Warringdons shouted.

"Ye impident blackguards! ye shall pay for this,—take my word for it, every identical man o' ye!" the infuriated agent vociferated. And, perceiving some signs of vacillation of purpose in the crowd, he added:

"If there are any among ye, will stand by their masther and their cabins, and the bastes, and their children, let 'em come over to my side!"

'A few answered the appeal.

"Ah the renegades! the apostates! the vellains;' the Castle Wilmots howled, as they rushed on the small and terrified band.

'The yells and shrieks became so appalling, and there occurred so many bleeding heads and fractured fingers, that the military were called out, to restore order; and indeed, after shooting two or three, and wounding twice as many more, the military partially succeeded in [illegible] object.

'But the Mc Alpines took advantage of the general confusion, "to slip away unknown," and return quietly to their own homes, leaving the Archers and Warringdons to dispute as to whom they by right belonged: and great was the astonishment and indignation of both parties, when they discovered the absence of the objects of their contention.'—vol. iii. pp. 201—206.

* Now with this, or so much of it as may exist in any borough that is taken for an example, contrast the speech of Lord John Russell. His Lordship, who is now the Whig leader in Parliament, delivered himself to the following effect, on the occasion of a dinner given to him by his constituents at Honiton in Devonshire, on Saturday the 17th of January 1835.

'After the remarks that had been made in favour of the ballot, and

* Beginning of the part alluded to in the first Note.

the reference to the objection that it is "un-English," I think it due, in that spirit of candour which I wish always to observe towards my constituents, to explain to them my views on the subject. Hitherto I have voted against the ballot, both when out of office and during the time I was in office; I mean to continue the same course—my reasons I will presently state. But first I must declare that the objection stated by Sir Robert Peel when the question was discussed in the House of Commons, and on which he mainly relied—namely, that ballot would increase the power of the democratic branch of our Constitution—is no reason of mine. Our most ancient statutes, our greatest constitutional lawyers, our most established maxims, all lay down the position, that the people of England ought to elect their representatives "freely and indifferently." Whether this right gives too much influence to democracy or not, I do not inquire; the right is theirs; the only question is, whether secret voting is the manner in which it ought to be exercised? My first objection is, that secret voting gives to the electors irresponsible power. All other authorities are exercised in the light of day, and subject to public opinion. Our courts of justice, our parliamentary discussions, are open to the world. In all these places does the general sense of the country at once denounce the attempt to influence the judgment; the voters alone are to exercise their power unseen and irresponsible. Let us consider in the next place how contrary this practice would be to our habits and feelings. The elector is proud of his independence; be he Whig, Tory, or Radical, he boasts of the candidate of his choice; he wears his colours; he adopts his motto; he follows his banner. Can you, or ought you, to prevent this honest and open exhibition of the free spirit of Englishmen? But we are told that this may continue for the voters who are independent, while the rest may keep their opinion a secret. Have those who thus argue considered the consequences? We should then have two classes of voters—one open, bold, and manly; the other skulking from an avowal of their sentiments, bearing about with them the load of anxious concealment, and afraid to whisper even to their nearest connections, of the dangerous secret. Will this be an improvement of our institutions? I am sensible, gentlemen—no man more so—of the progress which the question of the ballot has made during the late elections; nor will I defy that as an ultimate remedy, we may be obliged to adopt it—but let us first exhaust every other. If by the force of public opinion and public shame—if by rigid investigation and exemplary punishment we can find means to check intimidation and corruption, let these means be fully tried. Nay, more—let all hope of a remedy by these means be terminated before we agree to a change at variance with our ancient habits, inconsistent with our best institutions, and degrading to our national spirit.'

First, then, for the assertion of Lord John Russell, that 'all other authorities are exercised in the light of day, and subject to public opinion.' That is to say, waiving for the present all question as to whether voting is a personal privilege or a public duty, Lord John asserts, that there is no other case in which a distinctly legal authority is exercised under the shelter of

personal secrecy. Join issue then with his Lordship upon this; and *ex pede Herculem.*

By the 90th Article of War, as contained in the Mutiny Act for 1834, and in substance in all the Mutiny Acts within military memory, it is directed that 'In all Trials by General Courts-martial, the Judge Advocate, or person officiating as such, shall administer to each Member the following Oath;—and in Trials by all other Courts-martial, the same Oath shall be administered by the President to the other Members;—and afterwards by any sworn Member to the President:

YOU shall well and truly try and determine according to the Evidence in the Matter now before you. So help you GOD.

I A. B. *do swear, That I will duly administer Justice, according to the Rules and Articles for the better Government of His Majesty's Forces, and according to an Act now in force for the Punishment of Mutiny and Desertion, and other Crimes therein mentioned, without Partiality, Favour, or Affection; and if any Doubt shall arise, which is not explained by the said Articles or Act, then according to my Conscience, the best of my Understanding, and the Custom of War in the like Cases: And I do further swear, that I will not divulge the Sentence of the Court until it shall be duly approved;* NEITHER WILL I UPON ANY ACCOUNT, AT ANY TIME WHATSOEVER, DISCLOSE OR DISCOVER THE VOTE OR OPINION OF ANY PARTICULAR MEMBER OF THE COURT-MARTIAL, *unless required to give Evidence thereof, as a Witness, by a Court of Justice, or a Court-martial, in a due Course of Law.*

So help me GOD.

And as soon as the said Oaths shall have been administered to the respective Members, the President of the Court shall administer to the Judge Advocate, or Person officiating as such at General Courts-martial, an Oath in the following words:

I A. B. *do swear,* THAT I WILL NOT, UPON ANY ACCOUNT WHATSOEVER, DISCLOSE OR DISCOVER THE VOTE OR OPINION OF ANY PARTICULAR MEMBER OF THE COURT-MARTIAL, *unless required to give Evidence thereof, as a Witness, by a Court of Justice, or a Court-martial, in a due course of Law. So help me GOD.*

Here, then, are men exercising the most solemn and important of legal acts, that of sitting in judgment on the lives and fortunes of their fellow-creatures; and though they are of the classes who of all others would most kick and bounce at the imputation of being operated upon either by fear or interest, yet the moment it becomes personally convenient to them to avoid the demand for the exercise of such valour or disinterestedness, the law at once interposes the shield of secrecy. Not a word of the "exercise of irresponsible power" when the object is to shield the men of epaulettes from inconvenience. Not a word of how contrary this practice must be to "the habits and feelings" of Captain O'Rafferty, or the horrors of bearing

about with him "the load of anxious concealment, afraid to whisper even to Mrs. Captain O'Rafferty, of the dangerous secret." Not a word of all this when a man of some having is concerned: it is when the poor voter who has a conscience and a wish, and an overpowering rich man to put them down, represents his apprehensions, that caution becomes contemptible. *That* in the voter is rank cowardice, which in the whiskered sabre-swasher is manly prudence; and Lord John Russell, who has probably helped to enact the *sabreur's* indemnity twenty times over, stands forward in the furiousness of his moderation, to assure the voters that there is no other case but theirs, in which men think of exercising "power unseen and irresponsible."

But the men of war, the fire-eaters, are not the solitary objects of the legislature's care. That more pacific but no less meritorious class of officers the medical, come in for their share of the protection. It is as disagreeable for Dr. Tourniquet to be asked by his colonel, 'Pray, Sir, how did you vote upon my bad leg?'—as for Captain O'Rafferty to be examined touching his vote when the colonel's nephew was tried for being absent without leave; and the amiable legislature, which loves medical as well as military rank, provides for the comfort of the doctor as tenderly as of the captain. It declares, therefore, by the 88th Article of War, that 'For the Purpose of securing a Provision for Life to the Officers of Our Army who have sustained serious and permanent Injury by Wounds received in Action with an Enemy, according to the Rules and Regulations for granting Pensions to wounded Officers,—it is our Will and Pleasure, that when the State of the Officer's Wound shall be such as to require him to be inspected by a Military Medical Board, convened by Our Order through Our Secretary at War; —such Board shall be composed of Five, and in no Case of less than Three Medical Officers, not under the Rank of a Staff or Regimental Surgeon:—The Proceedings of the Board in the Inspection of wounded Officers, and in certain Cases of Officers retiring on Full or Half Pay, shall be conducted as follows:—The senior Medical Officer shall act as President, and shall himself make, and require each Member to make, the following Declaration in Presence of the Officer whose Case is under Enquiry:—

I A. B. *do declare, upon my Honour, that I will duly and impartially enquire into and give my Opinion on the Case of the Officer now before this Board, according to the true Spirit and Meaning of His Majesty's Orders and Regulations, and the Instructions issued by His Majesty's Orders on this Head:*——AND I FURTHER DECLARE, UPON MY HONOUR, THAT I WILL NOT, ON ANY ACCOUNT OR AT ANY TIME, DISCLOSE OR DISCOVER MY OWN VOTE OR OPINION, OR THAT OF ANY

PARTICULAR MEMBER OF THE BOARD, *unless required to do so by competent Authority*.

It is wonderful what good there is in history;—what a blessing in knowing a little more about the things that are, than a Whig leader. The protection for the medical man has the quality of making the protected declare, in more pointed terms than in the other case, that he will not disclose or discover 'his own Vote or Opinion.' And see now how this operates. Suppose some impertinent individual should think of pumping the doctor or the captain as to the nature of his vote,—the answer is ready made, 'Do you mean, Sir, to ask me, what you know I am under an engagement not to tell?'—and the necessary consequence is, no puppy ever asks. See how tender the aristocracy are of their own comfort in even the remotest contingency, and how resolutely bent on resisting the extension of anything like fairness to the people who most need protection. Their simple principle is this,—'It is honourable for a rich man to be protected, base and cowardly for a poor.' Why should not the voter make a declaration that he will not 'disclose or discover his own Vote,' by way of providing him with the means of parrying impertinent inquiry? Making as much uproar as he pleases before or after voting, is not 'disclosing his Vote;' for it may have been given the other way after all. The law runs beforehand with protection where the chances of intimidation are comparatively null; but lords and gentlemen jump up and are lordly and gentlemanly in their protestations against the baseness, when the object is to extend the same protection to the man who needs it. In all their intercommunications with one another, the upper classes are equally condescending on the question of their own convenience. Is there any society, political, literary, philosophical, or social, to which the so-called gentry belong, where the mode of secret voting is not provided?—and if there be any, what proportion do they bear to the number of the others? This is the best test of the excellence of the method, or at least of its recognition among intelligent persons. Do they not invariably adopt it? Is it 'English,' then, for the gentry to do in their societies, what it would be 'un-English' for other people to do in similar circumstances? Their object is the free use of the suffrage, when it is for themselves;—the *not* free use of the suffrage, when it is to be used by other people.

But there is another light in which the question may be tried. Does anybody believe the captain and the doctor give their "votes and opinions" the worse for the protection? Does anybody believe they would give them better, or more in the line of the public interest, if the protection were taken away? Has it been maintained in any quarter, that the captain would be

oftener bullied into justice than into injustice; or the doctor more frequently tempted into acting fairly by a sore leg, than into the contrary? If not, what establishes the crop of advantage to the public, which is to arise out of the voter's being bullied and tempted from all the winds of heaven? The Tory bullies him; and the Whig grieves over the possible loss of the power to do the like. The Tory tempts him; and the Whig sighs over the progress which public opinion is making towards an eventual check. He prays that all remedies may be exhausted, except the tried and proved one. Why does he not go about to try the effect of 'public opinion and public shame' in the army? Why does he not beg to exhaust the experiment whether 'by rigid investigation and exemplary punishment we can find means to check intimidation and corruption' in the military service, before he consents to such a rude and coarse way of giving it no chance to sprout? Simply because men take the reasonable course when they like an object, and the reasonable course when they dislike it too. The way taken in one case is as reasonable for promoting 'intimidation and corruption,' as in the other for repressing them. The whole thing is easily classified. It is part of the systematic war carried on by the rich against the poor, and which the poor must balance as they may, when they have union and leaders that shall produce the power.

It will be found that in every case where intelligent people of the wealthier classes have to protect themselves from resentments or intimidation, they resort to the ballot; they feel no 'load of anxious concealment,' nor is their intercourse with their nearest connexions at all interrupted, nor does it produce any obvious moral effect on the bearing of the gentlemen who employ it. Nobody is found less open, bold, and manly, upon other occasions. It is only when it is to be adopted to protect the poor, that it becomes odious in lordly eyes, detestable, contemptible. Lord John Russell does not bear about with him the smallest 'load of anxious concealment,' when he ballots in safety for the man among his equals he prefers for admission to his club; it would only be if he was a poor man and a defenceless,—one that the other could browbeat with impunity and 'sweep him off the face of the earth if he didn't do his bidding,'—that he would be conscious of the unmanly baseness of the proceeding.

His Lordship expresses his inclination to adopt this remedy, if by the force of public opinion and public shame, if by rigid investigation and exemplary punishment, means cannot be found to check intimidation and corruption; but first of all he asks that these means should be fully tried. The rigid investigation is very costly and very uncertain. It suffers the crime

to be committed, which might have been prevented by suitable precautions; and, with all the pains a committee of the House of Commons can give, it is difficult to substantiate the case. Why does not Lord John forswear the ballot at his club, and ask for a committee to sit upon the man who shall try to intimidate or corrupt another? Simply because he knows a more excellent way. No man leaves open the stable door, in his own case; it is for his neighbours he keeps the counsel, to look for remedy when the steed is stolen. The right of voting, in all cases, is either a personal privilege, or a public duty, or a junction of both. 'In as far as it may be a personal privilege, why is not the owner to have the enjoyment of it, like Lord John, without running the gauntlet of other men's bullying?' In as far as it may be a public duty, why is not he to be protected in it like the captain? Captain O'Rafferty is not called 'a skulking coward, blushing at his own weakness;' because Captain O'Rafferty is of the higher orders, who make the law for their own convenience. The private soldier who should happen to be a voter in a borough, would be a 'skulking coward;' and if he did not blush it would be because blushing is not expected from the swinish multitude*.

It would at least be only fair to try the feelings of Englishmen, which it is said would be outraged by the introduction of a measure so alien to them. Let them be tried. Let the inhabitants of the place decide the matter for themselves; and begin by making a trial with some place that shall offer itself to be the victim. If two-thirds of the voters, and two-thirds of the inhabitants, are for the ballot, let them have their wish. But how shall they express their wishes? By the ballot; that is to say, give each man a card with the words $\frac{\text{BALLOT}}{\text{NO BALLOT}}$ printed on it, and let him run a pen through which he likes, and put the card into a box. It will give the people in such place some means of judging of the matter and the manner. But 'It is impossible;—The thing cannot be done;—It may do for small bodies and intelligent people,—but it will not do for large bodies, and people who cannot read.'—Let us see. And as there is no doubt that immense interests would be directed to discredit and disappoint any practical attempt at the ballot, it is of more importance not to leave room for failure. The speech of Lord John Russell has greatly narrowed the subject. He has denounced the anti-democratic argument urged by the present Premier. He admits that the representation is to be the representation of the

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* End of the part alluded to in the first Note.

people. There remains therefore only the point of practicability to be dealt with.

The mode of balloting which experience has proved to be the most perfect, is by every voter having a printed list of the candidates, and running a pen through all but those to whom he means to confine his vote.

At the East-India House the voter takes his card into a separate room; and there, free from the observation of any one, crosses out the rejected names. At the London University and other places, the same care is not observed; the member merely turns aside, and holding his paper or card out of view, strikes out as he pleases.

These are very simple methods; but where the voters may not all be of the rank of persons whose position forces them to observe an abstinence of dishonourable curiosity towards others, and enables them to enforce the same abstinence towards themselves, further facilities for precaution should be afforded.

The mechanical means need only be a card, and a box which should turn round in the manner of a lottery-wheel.

The card should have the names of the candidates printed on it one above another, in alphabetical order. A voter who could not read, would only have to ask a friend the order of the candidates,—or for precaution, if he chuses, two or three friends,—to enable him to strike out according to his desire.

It should be a card; because there is more difficulty in substituting two cards for one, than two pieces of paper for one.

The cards should be printed and prepared by an authorized person; be all of one size, thickness, and appearance, and with a figured back like modern playing cards; and be taken by the voter out of a heap, on application to the officer in possession of the registry. If men lose their cards, or have them taken from them, new ones to be issued only upon statement of the facts to the scrutineers. The necessity of completing the registry before voting, and the impossibility of raising a question afterwards on the ground of a defective registry, would be among the great benefits of the ballot.

The box should have a hole, lined with brass, which should be only wide and long enough for the admission of a single card at a time.

An appointed officer to view the back of the card, and see that two are not put in by the same person; but not to touch the card.

The box should be every now and then turned round, that the cards might be shuffled so as to preclude the possibility of tracing the voter whose card should be put into the box last.

The cards ought to be given out to the voters on the day that intervenes between the nomination and election, at the expense of the candidates. The power of nominating new candidates on that day, to cease.

To recapitulate. The stages of voting would be thus.

1. The registry of the vote.

2. The final determination of the individual's right to vote, before the day of election.

3. The delivery of a card to the voter by the registrar.

4. The striking out the names of the rejected candidates. Leaving a name or names too many, to make the whole vote null; but the voter to be at liberty to confine his vote, as now, to as small a number of the candidates as he chuses.

5. The inserting the card in the box.

6. The turning the wheel of the box from time to time.

7. At the close, the inspection of the cards by scrutineers appointed by all the different parties. Any cards found under tokens of intended fraud, as by splitting, &c., to be declared null by the scrutineers; the circumstances to be authenticated in writing, for production before any future tribunal.

These processes are all consecutive. There is nothing complicated or impossible: nothing but what a check-taker from the theatres would perfectly arrange, if it was his interest to arrange it. If deficiencies are discovered,—as happens in the trial of most human arts, and may happen in the art of Ballot,—they may be supplied in the next experiment.

All that has been so vehemently objected to, has to the writer's own knowledge been done in an extensive parish in the City of London, that of Marylebone. A few years ago, an open vestry was established in the room of a very *select* one. It was a keen question in the parish, which contains a great number of high aristocrats and well-to-do middle-class people, with a very large labouring class. The subject had enlisted as much vehemence of feeling as the election of a member of Parliament. Yet so quiet and soothing was the operation of the ballot,—so unirritating the process of voting,—that the lamest of the lame, and the feeblest of the feeble, might give their votes. The writer has seen females (for females may vote there) without fear or interruption proceed to the ballot-box, insert their paper, and proceed straightway where they listed. What has been, may be. This takes place every year, and nobody apprehends a general conflagration of the parish.

The ballot-question becomes yearly of greater importance. At every election there is a cry that the result is to show the state of public feeling; and the Tories are now making a handle of this fallacy, to aggrandize their strength. If the cry were true, the system of representation would be faultless. That

it is not true, is the very body and soul of the complaints on which the cry for ballots and short parliaments proceeds. It is very natural for public men to affect to be governed by the public voice as now expressed. It is nothing more than the avowal of their contentment with that state of things, which places them in power against the people's wish and interests.

There is one point which ought to be noticed,—the different principles on which the question of the Ballot is argued by Tory and Whig. The Tory objects to it on the score of the corruption of the people, which must be controlled by the influence of their betters; the Whig, on the score of the public spirit that it is to do away with. The Whig whose means and position place him above the reach of foul influences, may not perceive that what is sport to him is death to smaller men. The Tory pretends to nothing of this; he says plainly, 'I ought to have the power of intimidation, it is the natural influence of property. I want to know my enemy, that I may deal with him; and my friend, that I may pay the right man.' But is it not the real fact, that *both* have interests equally opposed to those of the community? Lord John Russell's outbreak against the Ballot, ought to do much towards urging the people to secure their own interests by their own efforts, and live no longer upon the charity of either of the obsolete parties who have been accustomed to hold them alternately in thrall.

Extract from Art. 9 on *Military Law*, in West. Rev. for April 1832.

The enemies of the people have been ready enough to bring forward the principle of responsibility when it told upon their own side; as in the case of Colonel Axtell, who commanded the guards at the trial and execution of the Stuart.—'I did but my duty,' that unfortunate man urged, 'in going to my regiment; the general saith, go to such a place, stay there; if I refuse, by the law of war I die; if I obey, I am in danger likewise*.'

Axtell's case was a mere murder, committed upon a man who had acted under a government *de facto;* but why, when the theory of responsibility has been used in favour of the tyrant, is the contrary opinion to be let loose upon the people? The subject is of great importance. In spite of law, a soldier will be an instrument, not entirely so unreasoning as a pistol, but very apt to be unreasoning in a high degree. The question is whether at any time he is, in civil feuds, to be allowed to go off of his own accord; or whether the civil magistrate shall be responsible for cocking and for firing. But there will be nothing

* State Trials, vol. 5. p. 1161. A. D. 1660. Upon the trial of Axtell, 'he justified all that he did was as a soldier, by the command of his superior officer, whom he must obey or die. It was resolved that this was no excuse.'—*Ib.* p. 1163.

done; the people are without alarm, trusting mainly to the power they think they have of getting the upper hand when they please; in which, like the hare that raced with the tortoise, they may possibly overshoot their mark. Not that the people will be overpowered in the long run; but the existing state of things is very likely to operate powerfully in bringing on and prolonging that state of contest, bloodshed, and temporary defeat, though followed by final victory, to which the treachery of some, and the weakness of others, are inducing all sagacious men at this time to direct their expectations.

Extract from Art. 17, "*Sugar without Slavery*," in the Westminster Review for 1 July, 1833*.

And what *are* these sugar islands respecting which so long a delusion has existed? They are one vast prison, where the manufacture of a necessary of life for a whole nation is carried on with all the waste and extravagance incident to the labour of prisoners,—where the prisoners are condemned to hard labour for life, and their posterity after them,—where they are prevented from increasing their numbers, by the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, by excess of toil, and inadequacy of food,—where the turnkeys and jailors are of a different lineage and complexion from the innocent captives, and where to support the prison discipline, and prevent rebellion among the prisoners, the nation is compelled to maintain an army, a navy and a civil establishment, at a charge nearly equal to the entire prime cost of the commodities manufactured, the whole advantage received by the nation for this sacrifice, being the enjoyment of the contract for supplying the prisoners with such food and clothing as are sufficient to keep body and soul together. A precious branch of industry, to be encouraged and pampered by a nation calling itself civilized. It is in support of this system, and to curry favour with their enemies by dispensing to them the plunder of the honest part of the community, that the Whigs have just thrown away twenty millions of the public money. They hardly waited to be asked; the boar 'cry'd *oh!* and mounted.' If it had been to relieve the people from a tax upon their knowledge or their labour,—if it had been to serve the cause of humanity at home, or support the true honour of the country abroad,—it would have been the maddest of all mad things to expect to get 100,000*l.* But when it was to pay robbers for having robbed us hitherto, the crooked was made straight and the rough places plain. In one of the wars of the East, a party of irregular horse came to a shepherd. 'We are hungry; give us mutton.' The shepherd killed and set before

* Inserted with permission of the author of the remainder of the Article.

them, and waited on them at their meal. And when they had done, 'Now pay us for eating it,' said the in-grained ruffians; and their host was obliged to surrender all the money he could produce. *The people of England have been made to pay twenty millions for having their mutton eaten.* All the claim of the plunderers arose out of the fact that they had taken two millions a-year from us before, by forcing us to pay a fraudulent price for slave-grown sugar; and for this we are to lay down twenty millions more. It is part of our *born-thrall*dom; and we must get rid of it, like the negroes, when we can. The shabby plot was first to propose a loan, to be repaid by the sufferers; and when the good, honest, and well-meaning people of England turned on them, as they knew they would, and said 'What a shame, to be making that poor man pay for his own body to the Burkers,'—they leaped at it with shrewish glee, and exclaimed 'Of course then, you have no objection to pay for it yourselves.' The five millions additional, was a mere effusion of delight between the parties at their joint success. *First* then, the Whigs paid for the horse as the price of working him in harness instead of by the tail; though nothing disproved the assertion, that the change instead of being a loss would be a gain. It is true they took the pains to cut off a quarter of the working without wages, and *not* to cut off a quarter of the red herring that was the slave's allowance; but this was a mere *ruse* to puzzle the question, and get up a case of apparent damage for the planters. *Secondly*, they paid for the horse half as much more as anybody could say was his whole value to the 'knackers.' *Thirdly*, they knew that the horse altogether had been bought and paid for out of the pockets and by the contributions of the British people; and that they had nothing to do but threaten to stop the current robbery, and the opponents must jump at any terms they pleased to offer. *Fourthly*, they knew that the West Indians, by their own unmanly and revolting misconduct, evinced in the refusal to modify their codes of infamy in even the most disgusting particulars, had brought things to the condition where *themselves*, for their private safety and escape from the justest and most desirable punishment, *ought to have proffered millions to the British people as the price of helping them out of the scrape.* *Fifthly*, they knew that so far from giving five millions to secure the *co-operation* of the West Indians, it would have been much better to have given five millions for their hostility; the pretence of co-operation altogether, being only a way of giving the defeat of all expected good consequences into their hands. *Sixthly*, they took care for the twenty millions to get *nothing*;—except the increased chance that Negro courage and intelligence may free *us*, the down-trampled people

of Great Britain, from the nuisance we have not spirit and understanding to abate ourselves. But *vote for the Whigs,—stand by the Whigs.* The people's game is going on twice as fast under them, as it could under anybody else. This one act of theirs, will probably rid us of the funding system. The more moderate part of what is called the 'Movement,' would have stood out to the last gasp against the others, as long as the question rested on the hardship to individuals, and the impossibility of making any abstract national gain out of ceasing to pay the dividends. But if it is decided that there is to be no stay or relaxation except the refusal of the people to pay the interest of the debt;—that till this takes place, the property of every man in the country is only held by sufferance till some dishonest interest stands up with the connivance of the government, to take it from him through the intervention of taxation to pay the interest of the debt;—it is as demonstrable as any proposition in mechanics, that the sooner the explosion takes place, the less loss for everybody. The twenty millions to the slave-holders for robbing us of two millions a-year besides, will not sink into the ground. One recommendation is strongly urged on the community;—which is, to declare and openly avow, that whenever the power of doing it by fair legislative means is in their hands,—and nothing but the want of a few *men* prevents them from having it speedily,—they will take the amount from all such quarters as on deliberation shall be found to be most justly open to retribution. The loss, is far less than the insult; and as the twenty millions are not to be thrown into the sea, the time is not far off when somebody will disgorge.

Notes in Art. 6 on *Clapperton's Travels in Africa*, in West. Rev. for July 1829.

The rationale of evaporation, without entering into particular magnitudes, is simple. Every lake without issue, as for instance the Caspian, must be of surface exactly sufficient to carry off by evaporation a quantity of water equal to that of all the rivers that run into it. For if its surface were either greater or less, it must be altered till it became equal to it. If the country does not form a basin of sufficient magnitude to effect the evaporation, a new river will issue from the first point where the water finds an exit; and the magnitude of the new river will be equal to that of the old, diminished by the evaporation of the lake. One result fom this principle is, that no objection can be drawn to the identity of two rivers, from the circumstance of the lower one being the least; for a given quantity of lake may have produced this effect to any imaginable extent.

It is remarkable that lakes which have no issue, are salt. It is probable that all rivers collect a certain portion of salt from the soils through which they pass; and where there is no exit, it accumulates. In this sense, the sea may be considered as a great lake, and must consequently increase in saltness. It would be curious to know, whether the cause is adequate to the production of its saltness altogether.

Is it certain that *Tchad* is anything but the Arabic word شط *shatt*, which means the border of any natural collection of water? An Arab groom, if asked

Note in Art. 12 on the *State of the British Stage*, in West. Rev. for Jan. 1834.

Another cause why people absent themselves from the theatres, is undoubtedly the idea of personal danger. A man may be very willing to face any necessary peril, and very unwilling, with no necessity, to incur the risk of either himself or family having a "Sunday Reading" made about them as the people who were killed at the theatre. The list of accidents that have happened at the entrances of those parts of theatres which are tenanted in common, is, as everybody knows, far from a consoling one; and fire, or the alarm of fire, will some time or other produce a misfortune which will be trembled at by future generations. What a discredit to the Mechanics of the age, that nobody has produced a pit entrance where the public should pass between two palings of breast high, as is done at Paris, and should in addition be separated by divisions lowered from above in the manner of a portcullis, each (as the company gradually arrives) cutting off some known number, as for instance thirty, with full room and comfort, to be liberated in succession as suited the pay or check-takers. A pit ticket-office distinct from the entrance, and open during the same hours as for the boxes, is evidently another step which it appears strange any civilized people should be without. By such arrangements, the pit might be entered on occasions of the highest excitement, with the same ease as a drawing-room; but perhaps this would be too good for those who are not of the high aristocracy. The still more serious evil of fire, might be provided against by multiplying *vomitoria* in the lower part of the house, having doors that opened outwards by the simplest fastening removeable from within; and in the same manner, widening and multiplying stair-cases to the upper stories. A theatre in a metropolis like London, ought upon the first notice of danger to be all door and staircase like the Great Pyramid. For want of such precautions, we shall some time be all roasted alive, as a Frenchman roasts *ecrevisses* in a crucible.

From Art. 11 on *Improvements of the Metropolis*, in West. Rev. for July 1834.

At an enormous expense, a company, which had bought the old Hungerford Market, obtained an Act of Parliament to extend it; and great advantage has already accrued to prudent housekeepers in its vicinity. In other ways too, it is a public benefit. Its airy situation makes it a scene of family festivity Sunday in summer; the writer of this passed through "first day," and if Sir Andrew Agnew had seen it have rushed violently down a steep place into the

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* The thing was manifestly too good to go on without opposition to carry the smoke-dried citizens to Greenwich, was the place; so the wherry-men armed themselves with brake a multitude of holes in its bottom. For this put them on their true instrument of mischief, the appeared in one of the daily papers opposed to

'At the Thames Police-office on Wednesday steam boat Adelaide, which has recently market and Greenwich for the convenience and annoyance of the Thames watermen, Watermen's Company, for acting duly approved and licensed by this verdict will go to put a stop wich; as it is the intention to any steam-boat which sh

Here then is a direct or citizens from going to G and drowning boats i specimen of law as it

Note in Art. 7 on *Arabic MSS. in Spain*, in West. Rev. for Oct. 1834.

It would be interesting to know more of the real nature of what the ignorance of the dark ages denominated the "curious arts." Much that has fallen under this denomination, would probably be found to contain gropings after physical knowledge, at some times obscured by hieroglyphics, and at others mingled with the imaginary. As an instance in point, it is a subject of perpetual regret to the writer of this note, that at Cairo in 1822 he did not purchase an Arabic book which was brought to him, and which was manifestly of the kind which among our ancestors would have condemned the possessor to the flames. The margins were covered with rude portraitures of dæmons in glaring colours, hideous in horns and tails, and acting apparently as a sort of running index to the text. But upon examination, the most fearful and constantly recurring of these apparitions was found to be always labelled زيبق (*zîbak*, quicksilver), and another nearly as formidable حامز (*hâmiz*, an acid). The book was on chymistry, mingled probably with alchymy. It was in size between an 8vo and 4to, and the price asked was only forty piastres (about thirteen shillings). Unluckily it was not bought upon the spot, and it was seen no more.

Note from Art. 3 on *Memoirs of Napier of Merchiston*, in West. Rev. for July 1835.

"Napier's empiric *rule of the circular parts*."—As a specimen of artificial memory of a similar kind, it may be useful to give one, which was learned from an eminent mathematician deceased, and may be often very serviceable to practical men. The eminent individual alluded to, wanted the proportion between the diameter of a circle and the circumference, and was seen scratching on a sheet of paper in a manner which indicated some extraordinary operation. At last he burst out, "There, Sir; Write down the three first odd numbers in pairs and cut them in half; . . . 113|355."

This proportion of 113 to 355 is sufficient for all calculations except where extreme nicety is required. And it is given here, from a remembrance of the interest with which the mode of recollecting it has been received, by persons of the industrious classes making no pretensions to being mathematicians.

END OF VOL. III.

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